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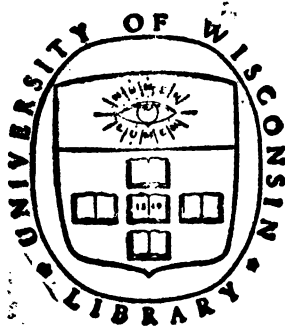
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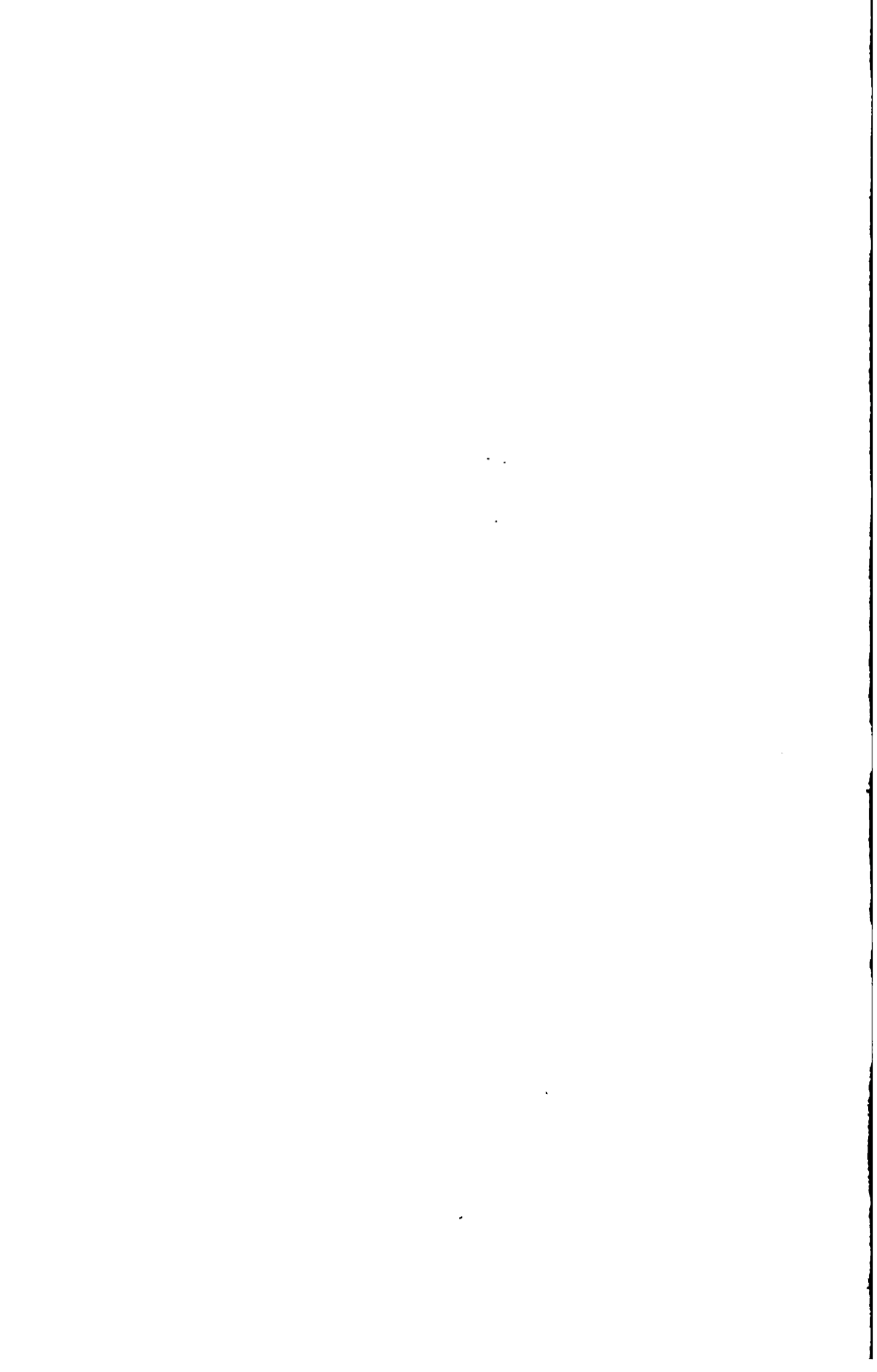
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HISTORICAL WRITINGS

OF

ST. [✓]ATHANASIUS

ACCORDING TO THE BENEDICTINE TEXT

With an Introduction

BY

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ERRATA.

- Page 80, in page heading, *for* 'letters' *read* 'letter'
- „ 80, in margin, *for* 'Constantius' *read* 'Constantine'
- „ 193, in page heading, *for* 'Eusebius' *read* 'Eusebian'
- „ 235, line 15, *insert semicolon after* 'ἀπεστέρησαν'
- „ 281, in page heading and margin, *for* 'Nikè' *read* 'Nicè'

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

HISTORICAL WRITINGS OF ST. ATHANASIUS.

INTRODUCTION.

For a general survey of the life of St. Athanasius, the reader may be referred to the Introduction to the Orations against the Arians, printed at the University Press in 1873.

The present Introduction must attempt some account of the several historical writings of Athanasius, now reprinted from the Benedictine text, and published by the Delegates of the Press at the request of the Theological Professors. They include the works translated in the 'Library of the Fathers' under the title of 'Historical Tracts,' together with the 'De Synodis.'

I.

The Encyclical, or circular addressed by Athanasius to all bishops with whom he was in communion, 'his fellow-ministers in every place,' was written in the April of A.D. 340, just after the forcible intrusion of the Arian Gregory into the see of Alexandria.

That intrusion was the work of the 'Eusebians,' of whom the reader of this volume will hear so much. They were named after Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia, who had recently, at the beginning of 339¹, procured his own translation to the

¹ See Ath. Apol. c. Ari. 6, and Valesius's dissertation on Paul of Constantinople. In the autumn of 338 Athanasius had seen Paul in possession of his bishopric; Hist. Ari. 7. The date 339 for the intrusion of Gregory, in the Index to Athanasius's Festal Letters, is a year too early; and 341 is a year too late, as the thirteenth Letter proves.

see of Constantinople, at the second expulsion of the orthodox bishop Paul. Whether or not, with Neale, we brand this celebrated namesake of the Church historian as 'one of the most hateful characters whom history records'¹, we must at least regard him as a typical instance of the bad effect produced by the Constantinian epoch of ecclesiastical prosperity on ecclesiastics whose hearts were 'conformed to this world'². Eusebius was a secular-minded Arianiser. He had, indeed, been the great patron of Arius in the earlier days of the controversy: he had for a time persuaded the Emperor Constantine that the question raised was a mere theological nicety: in the Nicene Council he had proposed a heterodox formula, which was rejected with indignation: he had struggled as long as was possible against the adoption of the Nicene Creed, and had only at last accepted it in order to escape the consequences of refusal: he had afterwards admitted to communion some Arians whom the Council had condemned, and had thus drawn down on himself deposition and banishment; and on regaining his unaccountable ascendancy over the monarch who had once professed to see through him³, had matured the policy on which his admiring adherents acted with so much persistency and with such calamitous success. That policy was, to undermine the authority of the Nicene decision, and to prepare the mind of the Church for its reversal, by asserting that Arius had been misunderstood and wrongly condemned⁴, by ignoring the Nicene term *Homoeousion* until it might safely be denounced⁵, and by pursuing with a 'sleepless and dogged antagonism'⁶ the chief upholders of the doctrine which it symbolised. In particular, the young bishop of Alexandria had the honour of being

¹ Hist. Patr. Alex. i. 122. Compare Tillemont, *Mémoires*, vi. 251.

² Compare Apol. c. Ari. 6, on his self-procured and uncanonical translation from the see of Berytus to a more brilliant position at Nicomedia. See Newman, *Arians*, p. 267, ed. 3.

³ Theodoret, H. E. i. 20: cp. Tillemont, vi. 267.

⁴ Eusebius procured the recall of Arius: cp. Tillemont, vi. 270.

⁵ Cp. Soz. iii. 1, that while Constantine lived, no one dared openly to reject the Nicene doctrine; but in 335, it seems, the Eusebians professed to accept it with certain interpretations; ii. 32. Tillemont says, they aimed at altering it 'peu à peu par divers conciles'; vi. 515.

⁶ Dictionary of Christian Biography, ii. 365, 360: cp. Soc. ii. 8.

hated by the 'Eusebians' with an energy of ill-will which, even in that age of out-spoken animosities, can hardly find its like. A series of calumnies had been got up against him, which had already produced his first exile. Beginning in 331, this organised attack on his personal character had been, as he full well understood, a campaign carried on against the great doctrine to which, as Gibbon says with an admiration fairly wrung from him by so grand a life, he had 'consecrated every moment and faculty of his being'¹. He never forgot, he never allowed others to forget²; what was really meant by this fertility of libels³ about an exaction of money for church vestments, and a casket of gold sent to a rebel, and a 'chalice broken,' an altar overthrown, and church books burned, and the murder of bishop Arsenius, and the imprisonment of Egyptian opponents, and the threat of stopping the Egyptian corn-fleet,—which last invention had been the immediate cause of his banishment into Gaul in 335. Those who thus assailed his honour were striking through him at the faith which he represented⁴. If they could once for all ruin Athanasius, they would have gone far to undermine the fortress of the 'Coessentiality'⁵.

The 'Eusebians,' then, were doing the work of the Arians properly so called. When at last they induced Constantine—credulous on a point which touched his sense of sovereignty—to banish Athanasius into Gaul on suspicion of having used

¹ Gibbon, iii. 61. Even he cannot resist the significance of 'the *immortal* name of *Athanasius*,' which, at a time when such coincidences were eagerly caught up (see, e.g. Hist. Arian. 45; de Synodis, 26), must have been to many sorely-tried Catholics an omen of future victory.

² E. g. Encycl. 2; Apol. c. Ari. 2, 85; Ep. Æg. 19, 22; Apol. ad Const. 28; De Syn. 22.

³ Socrates would fain have suppressed all mention of these plots, 'lest the Church of Christ should be condemned by non-Christians,' but that they had been already recorded, and were manifest to all men; i. 27.

⁴ Cp. Soz. iii. 10.

⁵ Although the phrase 'of one substance' is canonised, so to speak, among ourselves, the idea of the original would be better expressed by 'of one essence,' or 'coessential:' see Bishop Kaye on Council of Nicæa, p. 42. 'Substance,' in popular English, has become associated with those 'material' notions which it was the object of Athanasius to sever from the word *οὐσία*, and the object of Arians (properly so called) to keep tightly bound up with it. See Newman's Arians, p. 199, ed. 3.

language unfit for a subject's mouth, they endeavoured to lead the Emperor one step further. Would he not allow another bishop to be seated on the throne which Athanasius had disgraced? They had their man ready. We know not who he was, but, as Tillemont says with his usual grim humour, 'il étoit sans doute digne d'eux¹.' Constantine, however, was on this point indocile; he even repulsed them with a stern threat². But after his death in 337, his eldest son Constantine II, who had been befriending the exiled primate in Gaul, prevailed on his younger brother Constantius, who in the new partition of the empire took the East, to permit the return of Athanasius in alleged fulfilment of the intention of their father³. It must have been a bitter mortification for the Eusebians to hear of the rapture with which he was received on the 23rd of November, 338⁴. But they were not men to be discouraged by one such triumph of their adversary; and they soon came to understand, and learned how to manage, the feeble and suspicious young prince who reigned at Constantinople⁵. They wrote to him and to his two brothers Constantine and Constans, sending deputies on 'long journeys⁶,' and bringing forward accusations, partly of a secular and partly of an ecclesiastical character, which will be described further on. Athanasius had no difficulty in persuading the two Western emperors to repel his accusers with disgrace⁷; but the Eusebians, strong in the credulity of Constantius, whom they had taught to regard

¹ Tillemont, viii. 65.

² Hist. Ari. 50. He also exiled John Archaph, the Meletian leader, as another promoter of that discord which he so ardently desired to suppress; Sozomen, ii. 31.

³ Apol. c. Ari. 87. Athanasius there says that Constantine II 'wrote' the letter which he cites, 'remembering what his father had written.' Hefele credits the allegation; Hist. Councils, s. 32: De Broglie sets it utterly aside; *L' Eglise et l' Empire Romain*, part. 2. vol. i. 16.

⁴ Apol. c. Ari. 7; Index to Ath. Festal Letters, for 338.

⁵ Theodoret compares Constantius to the Euripus, ii. 31; and his mind to reeds driven this way and that by adverse winds, ii. 3 (and cp. ii. 18). For a coarser description see Hist. Ari. 70.

⁶ Apol. c. Ari. 3. Writing at the beginning of 339, he speaks of the trials which the Eusebians are now preparing for him; Fest. Ep. 11. 12.

⁷ Hist. Ari. 9.

Athanasius as a firebrand¹, now ventured on the further step of selecting one Pistus to be bishop of the Arians at Alexandria. This choice was sufficient to illustrate their policy; for Pistus was one of the original companions of Arius, excommunicated with him both at Alexandria and at Nicæa. His consecrator was Secundus, one of the two Arian bishops who had unflinchingly maintained Arianism in the face of the great Council, and had incurred the ban of Church and State². The Arians naturally recognised Pistus, and attended his services; but Athanasius wrote an 'encyclical' against him, which is not now extant, but which, he tells us, induced Catholic bishops to anathematise the intruder³. The Eusebians, on their side, had sent a priest named Macarius, and two deacons named Martyrius and Hesychius, to address Julius bishop of Rome in behalf of Pistus, and to denounce Athanasius as condemned for grave offences by the Council of Tyre in 335⁴. 'Here,' they said, 'is the authentic report of the commission of inquiry sent by that Council to the Mareotis to investigate the charge of sacrilege, of which Athanasius was in consequence found guilty⁵.' The result was such as they little anticipated. There arrived at Portus certain presbyters from Alexandria: it became known in Rome that they were coming with a letter for Julius; and Macarius, foreseeing the 'exposure' which was inevitable, actually 'decamped by night,' though ill at the time, rather than confront them. His companions stood their ground: but the effect of the circular, and of its bearers' oral testimony as to the antecedents of Pistus, was so crushing, that Martyrius and Hesychius dropped the subject, and requested Julius⁶, at any rate, to invite both parties to a Council, at which the charges against Athanasius might be investigated: 'and then,' they added, 'we will yet prove them to be true.' Julius adopted the suggestion, and wrote accordingly⁷, about the end of 339.

¹ See Theodoret, ii. 4.

² Apol. c. Ari. 24. For Secundus see also Ep. Æg. 7, 19; Hist. Ari. 65.

³ Encycl. 6. ⁴ Apol. c. Ari. 24. ⁵ Ib. 27, 83. See below.

⁶ Theodoret, then, was mistaken in saying that Julius, 'in conformity to the law of the Church,' summoned both parties to Rome; ii. 4.

⁷ Apol. 22, 24. Socrates dates this suggestion too late, ii. 11.

He left to Athanasius¹ the choice of place for the Council, and sent him at the same time the 'report' of the Mareotic commission, which proved to be a valuable gift, for it sufficed to show the *ex parte* character of the inquiry². Athanasius, it seems, replied, asking that the Council might be at Rome; and he proceeded to lay the 'report' before a Council of his suffragans at Alexandria, which put forth an 'encyclical,' to be presently described. But the Eusebians, not really wishing for a Council, resolved to defeat this plan by a bold stroke at Alexandria. If Pistus was too deeply compromised, another might be found to fill his place. Accordingly, in February of 340, Philagrius the prefect of Egypt astounded the Alexandrian Church by announcing officially that Gregory, a Cappadocian³, was coming 'from the Court' as bishop. They protested against this invasion of their rights, and of the rules relating to episcopal appointments. There was no complaint made by cleric or layman against the prelate who had been sent back to them with honour by Constantius; 'the whole city' knew well that the intrusion of a rival bishop was simply an Arian scheme⁴. Argument, however, was useless. Philagrius, who in 335 had backed up the Arian policy with all the resources of office, and who was a remarkable instance, at that time, of a great magistrate who had gone back from Christianity to Paganism, let loose the wild Pagan mob of Alexandria, 'with Jews⁵ and other lawless persons,' on one of the two chief churches of the city, that which bore the name of

¹ Hist. Ari. 9: see Tillemont, viii. 73.

² Apol. c. Ari. 83. The phrase *ex parte*, κατὰ μονομέρειαν, occurs in c. 23, 27, 73, 82. Socrates has ἐκ μονομερούς, i. 31. So Liberius in Theodoret, ii. 16.

³ We are repeatedly told that he was a stranger to the city (e. g. Apol. c. Ari. 30). Eusebius, afterwards bishop of Emesa, had been previously thought of; but he declined to encounter the hostility of Alexandrian Church people; Soc. ii. 9.

⁴ Encycl. 2. The word *comitatus*, put into Greek letters, is used for the Emperor's court in Apol. c. Ari. 51.

⁵ Encycl. 2.

⁶ On the antipathy of Jews to the Nicene doctrine in particular, cf. Hilary, Fragm. 2. 25.

Quirinus¹. Hideous orgies were the natural result, among which we may note the offering of Pagan sacrifices on 'the holy Table².' This monstrous alliance between Arians and Pagans³ for purposes of sacrilegious mischief reappears again and again,—not the least markedly at the intrusion of Lucius the Arian after the death of Athanasius in 373⁴. Gregory, who had been consecrated at Antioch, entered Alexandria, as the bishop recognised by the State, in the latter part of the Lent of 340, and signalised Good Friday by causing the prefect to scourge in one hour thirty-four virgins, married women, and men of rank, for testifying abhorrence when he entered one of the churches. On Easter Sunday, April 9, the Pagans were gratified by seeing Catholics cast into prison; and after this outrage, Athanasius, who had maintained his position in another church, resolved to anticipate the movements of his enemies by retiring to a place of safety⁵. Meantime Philagrius drew up a letter of complaint, purporting to be addressed by the citizens to Constantius, and charging the legitimate bishop with heinous offences⁶. Athanasius now wrote his Encyclical, in order to enlist the sympathy of his brother-bishops in other countries for 'the famous Church of the Alex-

¹ Socrates mistakes this for a counter attack by Athanasius's adherents on the church of Dionysius; ii. 12.

² Encycl. 3. According to information received by Pope Julius, the Holy Sacrament was 'seized and thrown on the ground by Heathens;' Apol. c. Ari. 30. See Newman, Arians, p. 337.

³ On the affinity between the Arian and the Pagan ideas of Deity, as accounting for this alliance, see Dean Merivale's Boyle Lectures for 1865, p. 44. Cp. Ep. Æg. 13; Hist. Ari. 80.

⁴ Comp. Hist. Ari. 55 with Theodoret, iv. 22.

⁵ It is not easy to reconcile the 'Encyclical' with the 'Hist. Arian.' (written much later), which says that Athanasius hastened to Rome at the first report of the outrages, c. 10; and impossible to reconcile it with the Index to the Festal Letters of Athanasius, otherwise called the 'Chronicon Prævium,' which says that Athanasius fled from the church of Theonas three days before Gregory's public entry: whereas according to the Encyclical, 5, his withdrawal was subsequent to Easter Sunday, and Gregory had been actively persecuting in Holy Week. Moreover, according to the Index, Gregory arrived some three weeks before Easter: but the year is erroneously given as 339, when Easter-day fell on April 15.

⁶ Encycl. 5.

andrians' in its unhappy condition. He employed the obvious argument, '*Vestra res agitur*.' Alexandria had been attacked first: if other Churches did not stand by it, they too in turn would suffer. If, therefore, Gregory were to write to his brethren as bishop of Alexandria, by the hand of his secretary Ammon, an Arian excommunicated by the late bishop Alexander, 'let them tear the letters to pieces, and put the bearers to shame.' The Eusebians would probably disseminate their own version of the recent events; let the Encyclical be beforehand with them in making the simple facts known. He then sailed for Rome, and 'stated his case personally to the Church¹.' A few weeks before, his patron, Constantine II, had been slain near Aquileia, in an attack on the realm of Constans; and a few weeks later, Gregory 'had the impudence,' as Tillemont expresses it, to send another notorious Arian, named Carpones, to Rome with a fraternal letter for Julius².

II.

The '*Apologia contra Arianos*,' which is the great repository of authentic materials for the Church history of a most momentous period, is little more in appearance than a series of thirty-six documents strung together with as much comment as is necessary to make them intelligible³. But it is precisely this documentary character of the work which makes it so invaluable. 'From it, as from a most pure spring,' say the Benedictine editors, 'is to be drawn the true Church history' of some twenty-one years⁴. 'Athanasius far excels all other historians

¹ *Apol. ad Const.* 5.

² *Apol. c. Ari.* 24; Tillemont, viii. 79.

³ 'Il y parle très peu,' says Tillemont, viii. 193: excepting the short preface and conclusion, 'il ne fait presque dans le reste que joindre ensemble les pièces originales qu'il rapporte.'

⁴ They say, indeed, 'ab anno 300 usque ad 350.' This is somewhat of an exaggeration: for the *Apologia* only alludes to the rise of Arianism or of the Nicene Council, and its notices of the origin of Meletianism appear to be too much based on hearsay. It gives valuable information about the schism of Colluthus. But it is rather at the beginning of Athanasius's own episcopate that the history to be drawn from this collection takes its rise.

of the time, both because he has been for the most part an eye-witness, and because he gives a most exact narrative, et ipsa monumenta, quibus nihil tutius, sæpe afferat. On the other hand, other writers, such as Rufinus, Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret, must be used with great caution¹, except when they too produce documentary evidence, which happens but rarely.' But, precious as the work really is, it is somewhat perplexing to a reader who does not at the outset appreciate its intention. It is by no means an artistic and continuous narrative. Not only are the earlier and the later events of the Athanasian history arranged, as the editors say, in a 'præposterus ordo,' but throughout the first part, which ends with the 58th chapter, and covers the years 339-347, allusions occur repeatedly, in the documents, to incidents of which a fuller account is reserved for the second part, relating to the years before 339: and if we go through the various documents and put them into chronological order, the result is that we should have to take up the chapters which contain them in something like the following sequence:—

- c. 71. The list of Meletian bishops and others made out in 325-6.
59. Constantine's letter to Athanasius in behalf of Arius, in 331.
61. Constantine's letter to the Alexandrians after the refutation of the slander about 'the purse of gold,' in 331.
64. Ischyas's letter of confession to Athanasius, in 332.
67. Letter of Pinnes to John Archaph, about Arsenius, in 332.
68. Constantine's letter to Athanasius, after the discovery of Arsenius, in 332.
66. Alexander's letter to Athanasius, after the same, in 332.
69. Arsenius's letter of submission to Athanasius, in 332.
70. Constantine's letter to John Archaph, after his submission, in 332.
77. Protest of Egyptian bishops to Council of Tyre, in 335.
78. Protest of the same to Count Dionysius.
80. Alexander's letter to Dionysius.
81. Dionysius's letter to Council of Tyre.
79. Final protest of Egyptian bishops to Dionysius.
73. Protest of Alexandrian clergy to the Commissioners from Tyre.
74. Protest of Mareotic clergy to Council of Tyre.
76. Protest of the same to the civil authorities (Sept. 7, 335).

¹ This is illustrated by Socrates's strange confusion of the events following on the appointment of Gregory.

- c. 86. Constantine's letter to Council of Tyre.
- 84. Part of synodical letter of Council of Jerusalem.
- 87. Constantine II.'s letter to Alexandrian Catholics, June 17, 338.
- 85. Letter of Flavius Hemerius on behalf of Ischyras, in 339.
- 3-19. Encyclical of Egyptian bishops, about the end of 339.
- 20-35. Letter of Julius to the Eusebians, November of 341.
- 36-40. Letter of Sardican Council to the Alexandrian Church, in 343-4.
- 41-43. A letter of the same Council (nearly identical with preceding) to the Egyptian bishops.
- 44-50. Encyclical of the same Council.
- 51. Three letters of Constantius to Athanasius, in 345-6.
- 52. Letter of Julius to the Alexandrian Church, in 346.
- 54. Letter of Constantius to the Catholic bishops and presbyters, in 346.
- 55. Letter of Constantius to the Alexandrian Church, same time.
- 56. Letter of Constantius to the civil authorities of Egypt, same time.
- 57. Letter of Council of Jerusalem to Egyptian bishops and Church of Alexandria, in 346.
- 58. Retractation of Ursacius and Valens, to Julius, in 347.
- 58. Letter of greeting from them to Athanasius.

But this apparent confusion is cleared up when we consider what Athanasius had in view. His object was immediately practical. The time, apparently, at which he wrote the 'Apologia' was the close of a tranquil period which had begun with the 'glorious festivity'¹ of his second return in the October of 346. The sky, so to speak, was still calm²: but here and there clouds were gathering, and a rising gale was making itself heard. Constans, who, with all his faults or vices, had always stood by Athanasius, had been slain by adherents of the rebel Magnentius in the January of 350. The 'heirs'³ of the Eusebian policy had begun to utter new complaints. They said in effect, 'The charges against Athanasius have never been satisfactorily disproved. It is impossible to acquiesce in the favourable judgment which he obtained at Sardica. There ought to be a re-hearing of the case, before a new Council. Until this takes place, and until it is followed by the

¹ See Julius's letter, Apol. c. Ari. 53.

² The *καὶ νῦν μένονθα* in c. 59 means only that the remembrance of his second exile is still fresh.

³ Hist. Ari. 28.

acquittal of the accused, the sentence pronounced against him at Tyre fifteen years ago ought to be held valid.' It was this which set Athanasius to work; it was this to which we owe the great Apology. He resolved to go thoroughly into the matter, and appeal to 'men of sincere minds' by placing before them the whole evidence. The thesis which he maintains throughout is simply, 'My case needs no re-hearing.' The method in which he undertakes to establish this proposition may be stated as follows. 'I will now put on record,' he seems to say, 'the repeated acquittals which I have received, not merely from the bishops of Egypt—not merely from the Roman Council,—but from the greater Council of Sardica, and from those many bishops—including some of distant Britain—who, not being present at it, subsequently accepted its decision; and, what is more, I will exhibit the formal recantation made by my most persistent accusers, Ursacius and Valens, subsequently to that Council. Having done this in the first part of my work, I will show in the second that, in face of the facts, then at last fully made public, neither the Councils on one hand, nor my two accusers on the other, could have acted otherwise than they severally did. The charges, one and all, about Ischyrras or Arsenius, or whatever else, were the mere inventions of a "conspiracy," got up in the interests of Arianism, and as an indirect attack on the Nicene Creed.' This twofold purpose of the book is clearly expressed in the conclusion of the 58th chapter, and again in the 88th, with which the 'Apologia,' as originally composed in 350¹, comes to a close. The remaining 89th and 90th chapters are a postscript, added when the apprehensions which had suggested the work had been too fully justified by the events of 356–358. In it he points to the testimony recently borne to his innocence by the many bishops who had suffered much and long rather than abandon his cause; even though two, Hosius and Liberius, had at last been goaded into a compliance which was but a fresh proof of the unscrupulous violence of Constantius and of the Arians who were utilising his tyranny.

This 'Apologia' was formerly called 'the Second Apology,'

¹ See Hefele, Councils, vol. ii. s. 81.

as if the 'Apologia de Fuga' had been the first. But it is now certain that, excepting the last two chapters, it was written not only before the second Arian persecution under Constantius, but before Valens and Ursacius had 'recanted their recantation' in 351.

It may be most convenient to say something about the several parts of the 'Apologia' in succession, although at some necessary sacrifice of chronological sequence.

(1)

The first document which Athanasius, so to speak, hands in is an elaborate 'Encyclical' from the bishops of Egypt, the Thebais, Libya, and Pentapolis, assembled in Council under his presidency at the close of 339 or the beginning of 340. From a letter of the Council of Sardica to the Alexandrian church, we learn that these bishops were eighty¹ in number. As the loyal suffragans and enthusiastic admirers of their 'Pope²,' their testimony might be regarded as given under a strong bias: but an 'Encyclical' was a document which challenged examination, and its writers, when they spoke of what was known in Egypt, would not utter what could be disproved. Let us see what they say as to the five charges then *recently* brought against Athanasius. Had he, indeed, as the Eusebians now affirmed, been met on his return with tokens of popular hostility? Had the people 'groaned,' or assembled tumultuously, or otherwise shown any unwillingness to receive him? On the contrary, not only 'did the clergy think the day of his home-coming the most joyful in all their lives,' but 'the people ran eagerly to get the first sight of his face³.' Had he, since his return, caused some Alexandrians to be put to death, and others to be exiled? Nothing of the sort. The charge was an absurd imputation to him of sentences

¹ Apol. c. Ari. 37. So, in 352, eighty Egyptian bishops wrote to Liberius of Rome in support of Athanasius; Hil. Fragm. 5. 2.

² This title, *Papas*, 'dear father' (Pearson, Vind. Ign. i. 305), was then used with special emphasis for the bishop of Alexandria. See Apol. c. Ari. 71, and Festal Index.

³ Apol. c. Ari. 7. Cp. Theod. ii. 2.

passed by the prefect on some civil offenders while *he* was on his way home through Syria¹. A third accusation of a secular character resembled that which the inventive malignity of the Eusebian leaders had extemporised, in 335, at the court of Constantine². 'Athanasius,' it was said, 'had sold and embezzled some corn-supplies granted by the late Emperor for the support of certain widows of Libya and of Egypt.' The answer to this was, that the widows acknowledged the due reception of their dole; and the charge was simply a device for getting the corn into Arian hands³. Then as to the two complaints by which the Eusebians had been appealing to the ecclesiastical mind. (1) The first was an attempt to brand his own episcopate as a continuous usurpation. 'When bishop Alexander died, some few persons mentioned Athanasius, and six or seven bishops clandestinely elected him.' The Encyclical replies that the whole Catholic laity were in his favour, demanded his appointment, from the electing bishops, for many days and nights, and persistently remained in the church, and kept the bishops there also, eulogising Athanasius at the same time by such phrases as 'good, pious, Christian, ascetic,' and that a majority of the assembled bishops did publicly elect him amid the acclamations of the people. 'This,' say the writers, 'we who elected him do testify⁴.' That there was a widespread Arian story to the effect that the election was irregular, and, in fact, scandalous, is clear from what we read in Sozomen⁵, and in the Arian Philostorgius⁶, who had heard, and retails, a sensational story of this kind. And Epiphanius speaks of him as having been elected by 'a synod of orthodox bishops⁷.' Are

¹ Apol. c. Ari. 5; Soc. ii. 8, and 15 (as if the charge were twice made).

² Apol. c. Ari. 9, 87.

³ Apol. c. Ari. 18. Soc. ii. 17, misdates this.

⁴ Apol. c. Ari. 6. On the part taken by the laity in episcopal elections see also Ath. ad Dracontium, 1. The Nicene Synodal letter speaks of them as 'choosing'; Soc. i. 9: the letter of Peter II. of Alexandria, as 'requesting'; Theod. iv. 22. Theodoret speaks of a 'vote' by bishops, priests, and laity, in i. 7; and mentions a deed of election (*ψήφισμα*) signed by 'all,' in favour of Meletius at Antioch, ii. 31. See also Soc. i. 24.

⁵ Soz. ii. 17, 25.

⁶ Philostorg. ii. 16.

⁷ Hæres. 68. 6; compare 69. 11.

we to construe these passages as if, in fact, he had been chosen by a Catholic minority of the bishops, in deference to the imperative enthusiasm of the Catholic laity, but in disregard of the rights of their more numerous Meletian brethren, so that Athanasius was morally obliged to accept an election in which 'rules were violated' that 'orthodoxy' might be safe¹? On this view, there was a Meletian majority at the death of Alexander, with coordinate rights as to episcopal election. But the Meletian bishops were not a majority; for they were only twenty-eight without Meletius himself², who was debarred from all episcopal action. And they were admitted into communion, not long before Alexander's death, on condition³ not only of receiving a new imposition of hands, but of accepting a position strictly subordinate to that of the Catholic possessors of the sees; nor could they be elected to a vacant see without the assent of the Alexandrian primate. They had *not*, then, as a body, any rights in the case: and if they had had any, their schismatical conduct, as reported by Epiphanius⁴, in attempting to set up Theonas as bishop of Alexandria, would have forfeited all their claim in regard to the next election. The Egyptian bishops, at the end of this Encyclical, say that they 'had always been schismatics⁵:' and this could not have been written in 339 by prelates who were 'at home in what they were treating of'; if a Meletian majority in full right had been tricked and wronged by Athanasius's election in 326. Whatever hesitation or difference of opinion existed among the electors at that time was probably caused by the youthfulness of the great deacon: and the laity would be more likely than some of the bishops to insist that such an objection was overruled by his commanding qualifications, not to say by the late 'Pope's' express wish. (2) The other 'canonical' objection raised by the Eusebians was, that Athanasius, having been regularly deposed by the Council of Tyre, had wrongly resumed his see without another Council's warrant. The answer was ready: 'What

¹ Fialon, *St. Athanase*, pp. 107-110.

² Soc. i. 9.

³ *Apol. c. Ari.* 19: cp. 11. Compare Tillemont, vi. 234, 735.

⁴ Fialon, *St. Athanase*, p. 148.

⁵ *Apol. c. Ari.* 71.

⁶ *Hær.* 68. 6; 69. 11.

sort of a Council was that of Tyre? Its proceedings were vitiated by the notoriously Arianising tone of its leaders, by their notorious animosity against Athanasius, and by the scandalous injustice in which, despite of protests, they persevered¹. With regard to the old stories about 'the broken chalice' of Ischyrras, and 'the hand of the murdered Arsenius,' the Encyclical repeats what had been proved before, that Ischyrras was not a priest,—not even a Meletian priest²; that he had not a church; that the day of the supposed sacrilege was a common week-day, and therefore (by the usage of the Egyptian church) was not a day for Eucharistic celebration; that the charge had sometimes mentioned Athanasius, sometimes Macarius³; that Ischyrras had, in an extant letter to Athanasius (not written in hope of preferment), entreated pardon for a slander which he professed to have made under compulsion; that when afterwards he renewed his charge, and came back to the Mareotis with the 'Commissioners' of the Tyrian Council, the 'inquiry' was a mere mockery of justice, and also, in its method, a profanation of sacred things; and that as for Arsenius, he had never been murdered at all, for he was alive, and was desirous of holding communion with Athanasius and the Church⁴.

We have seen that the Eusebian envoys at Rome had been constrained to save appearances by a request for a new Council. Athanasius would in any case have gone to Rome to attend it⁵; and three months after these recent outrages had driven him thither, Marcellus bishop of Ancyra besought the aid of the Roman church. He had been deposed by the Eusebians as maintaining a doctrine akin to Sabellianism;—having appeared, at least, to say, in a work on 'the Subjection of Christ,' that the

¹ Apol. c. Ari. 8.

² Comp. Apol. c. Ari. 28. They added the important statement that Colluthus (who in fact had been his ordainer, Apol. c. Ari. 76) 'died a presbyter, and that every ordination of his was invalid;' c. 12.

³ Comp. Apol. c. Ari. 17 and 68.

⁴ They allude also to the story that Athanasius had thrown down an episcopal chair belonging to bishop Callinicus. Comp. c. 17 with Soz. ii. 25.

⁵ Hence Theodoret makes him go to Rome simply when summoned, and before the intrusion of Gregory; ii. 4.

Word of God was an impersonal power which first went forth to frame the world, afterwards dwelt in Jesus, who thereby became God's Son, and would finally return from Him to that Divine Unity of which its 'energy' had been an 'expansion'¹. In the summer Julius sent to the Eusebians two presbyters, named Elpidius and Philoxenus, with a letter appointing the Council to meet at Rome in December. The Eusebians, however, detained the messengers until January², and then dismissed them with a letter, which Julius's reply enables us partially to reconstruct³. The bishop of Rome, they wrote, doubtless occupied an apostolic see⁴; but 'all bishops were of equal authority, and were not to be esteemed according to the greatness of their cities;' and Julius, by ignoring the 'decision' of the Council of Tyre⁵, and proposing to re-open the case of Athanasius, was 'transgressing the canons,' 'doing dishonour to all Councils'; and 'rekindling the flame of discord' at a time of universal 'peace.' Moreover, the Council was summoned for too early a date: had Julius forgotten the disturbed state of the East, caused by the war with Persia, which would make a journey to Rome impracticable? Once more, why had he

¹ Marcellus apparently came to Rome in July, 340, for he had been there fifteen months when the Roman Council met; Epiph. Hær. 72. 2. His case had been mentioned in Julius's second letter. His theological position has been a problem. The extracts from his long treatise given by his adversary Eusebius of Cæsarea, in two polemical treatises, support the unfavourable view taken by Dorner, Döllinger, and Cardinal Newman. Yet the Sardican Council had before it his entire book, and thereupon acquitted him of heresy; and Tillemont, after referring to Bull's reliance on Eusebius's representations, observes that *he* is not bold enough to condemn a man on the ground of extracts made by an enemy, or to oppose the Sardican judgment; vii. 514. See Hefele, s. 51. for a recent study.

² Apol. c. Ari. 25; Hist. Ari. 11.

³ Sozomen summarises it, and calls it 'artistic' and worded in lawyer-like style; iii. 8.

⁴ Apol. c. Ari. 21; Soz. iii. 8. Comp. Hist. Ari. 35.

⁵ That Council had taken pains to assert itself by circulating among the bishops 'everywhere' an elaborate letter on the grounds of its sentence against Athanasius; Soz. ii. 25.

⁶ They argued that a Roman Council's decision against Novatian had been respected in the East, and an Eastern Council's decision against Paul of Samosata had been respected in the West. Comp. Apol. c. Ari. 25, with Hilar. Fragm. 3. 26.

written in his own name only, and addressed his letter to the Eusebians only, and not to all who were then assembled at Antioch? He seemed to exaggerate his individual position, to under-estimate their weight in the Church, and to care much less for their communion than for that of two men, Athanasius and Marcellus¹, both of whom had been duly 'removed' from their sees, and one of whom had 'uttered impieties against Christ.'

Julius was displeased with this letter, but kept it for many months to himself, hoping that the Eusebians might after all come to Rome². At last, when Athanasius had been there for eighteen months³, and Egyptian clergy had come to Rome to testify for him, and other bishops and priests, the victims of Eusebian oppression, had told their tale to the Roman church⁴, the bishop resolved to wait no longer, and held a Council of his own, consisting of fifty bishops, at the church served by the presbyter Vito, about October in 341⁵. The report of the Mareotic commission was considered; Athanasius and some of his presbyters commented upon it, and the Council pronounced that he was innocent and worthy of communion⁶. Its pity and indignation were moved by hearing from Egyptian clergy of a more recent outbreak of Arian cruelty against venerable bishops who would not communicate with the Alexandrian usurper⁷. Marcellus, on his part, produced a paper which Epiphanius has preserved; it was in the form of a letter to Julius, and emphatically identified the 'Son of God' with the 'very and proper Word of God,' described as truly existing from,

¹ Julius quotes their words in 'oratio recta,' c. 34: 'You have preferred the communion of . . . to ours.'

² Apol. c. Ari. 21.

³ Apol. c. Ari. 29.

⁴ Apol. c. Ari. 33. Not, as Socrates thought, ii. 15, including Paul of Constantinople.

⁵ Apol. c. Ari. 20. It was a few months later than the Dedication-Council of Antioch, on which see *De Synodis*, 22.

⁶ The church of Rome had not suspended communion with Athanasius: on the contrary, he had freely joined in its services. What it did now was to recognise him in the most formal and solemn way as a Catholic bishop, not to restore him to a privilege which it had for a time withheld. Comp. Apol. c. Ari. 20, 32; *Soz.* iii. 11.

⁷ Apol. c. Ari. 33; *Hist. Ari.* 12; *Fest. Ep.* 13. 1.

and coexisting with, the Father,—and as having become incarnate in Jesus Christ¹. The statement might perhaps have been fuller, but it satisfied the Roman Council, which was probably predisposed to sympathise with a victim of Arianisers: he was recognised as orthodox, and Julius, by request, wrote to the Eastern bishops a letter², which Sabinus the ‘Macedonian’ omitted from his ‘Synodicon’³, but which Athanasius has preserved in this part of the ‘Apologia,’ and which is certainly on the whole a noble composition. He remonstrates with them for their arrogance and contentiousness, and proceeds to meet their complaints in detail. To review in one Council the decisions of another was not unreasonable: the Nicene Council itself had affirmed the principle⁴. Moreover, in the present case, it was the Eusebian envoys who had made the proposal. And did it become the bishops at Antioch to stickle for the finality of a Council, after they had received to communion persons anathematised at Nicæa? He showed that he had full information from both sides as to the alliance between Eusebians and Arians; and then ingeniously employed their own language about the equality of bishoprics as an indirect rebuke to one (Eusebius) who had got himself translated from a small city to a greater. The excuse about shortness of notice he set aside as frivolous; and adds that if the times were bad, they had made them worse by troubling other churches. As for the complaint about writing only to the Eusebians,—‘I wrote,’ he said, ‘to those who had written to me.’ Passing to their charges against Athanasius, he referred to the testimony ‘from Egypt and other provinces’ in his favour, and remarked that their own letters

¹ Epiphanius, *Hær.* 72. 2. He avoids saying whether it is or is not quite satisfactory, but adds that Marcellus must have said something which called for explanation.

² ‘Danius,’ who is named first in the address of the letter, is supposed by Montfaucon to be Diognius (*Apol. c. Ari.* 13), more usually called Theognis, the Arian bishop of Nicæa. The next named, Flacillus, Arian bishop of Antioch, is otherwise called Placillus, Placetus, Placentius.

³ *Soc. ii.* 17.

⁴ His language is rather lax, but he can only mean that the Nicene Council had re-heard the Arian case after it had been previously decided at Alexandria. He does not limit the application of the principle.

were inconsistent. The story about Arsenius had been shattered; the story about Ischyrras rested on rotten evidence; the Mareotic report was self-condemnatory, — for instance, it proved that the accused were not present, that presbyters were hindered from giving evidence, while an inquiry as to an alleged Eucharist was carried on in presence of catechumens, Jews, and heathens; that one witness, being a catechumen, and as such incapable of being present at a celebration¹, deposed that he was 'within, with Ischyrras,' when Macarius entered; while two others affirmed that the supposed celebrant was, at the time specified, 'in a cell,' or 'lying down sick'². The other story told by Ischyrras, about the burning of sacred books, had been similarly falsified. Nothing, in short, had been proved against Athanasius: he had been at Rome for 'a year and a half,' awaiting his accusers; it was impossible not to treat him as innocent; and the appointment of Gregory as his successor had been indecorous as an anticipation of the judgment of the newly proposed Council; and worse than indecorous in its contempt for canonical propriety. 'And then,' says Julius in effect, 'you talk of *me* as having transgressed canons!' 'You say that "peace" is prevailing in Egypt; what sort of peace, my informants have enabled me to know.' He spoke of Marcellus as having vindicated his own orthodoxy. He again invited the Easterns to come to a Council if they could prove their case, but exhorted them not to be the instruments of the 'bad feeling' of 'a few.' They had gravely mismanaged their business; the charges against the various bishops ought to have been brought with full notice before a truly representative Council; and moreover, where the bishop of Alexandria was concerned, application should, by custom, have been first made to the Roman church³. He concluded by exhorting the Easterns to

¹ Cp. Hilary, *Fragm.* 2. 18.

² It appears from *Apol. c. Ari.* 37, that Ischyrras himself was obliged to acknowledge this.

³ Alluding, apparently, to the complaint lodged with Dionysius of Rome against the teaching of Dionysius of Alexandria. See *Athan. Hist. Tracts*, p. 56, note. *Socrates*, ii. 17, and *Sozomen*, iii. 10, exaggerate the claim of Julius, as if it were ruled that no ecclesiastical decisions should be valid without the consent of the Roman bishop. See *Hussey on Rise of Papal*

relieve the oppressed churches from suffering, and the episcopate from general obloquy, and to bear in mind the future Day of account.

(3.)

It was not until the summer of 343, more than three years after Athanasius's arrival at Rome¹, and about a year and a-half after the death of his great adversary Eusebius², that the prospect of a representative Council became definite. Constans then, at the request of 'certain bishops,' urged the proposal on Constantius, and sending for Athanasius to Milan, informed him that he had done so. Constantius assented, and Constans, after his return to Gaul, desired Athanasius to come thither from Milan, and to accompany the venerable Hosius of Cordova, the 'father' of bishops, who was then more than eighty years old³, on his long journey to the appointed meeting-place, the Dacian town of Serdica or Sardica, just within the Eastern realm, but close to the Western frontier⁴. The objects to be attained by this general assembly of Eastern and Western prelates were substantially two: (1) the settlement of personal questions, relating to Athanasius and other prelates who had been driven out by the Eusebians; (2) the removal of all doctrinal uncertainty and error.

Power, p. 7. Julius goes on to assert that his exposition of Church law is a Petrine tradition:—that character being, in that age, and much more afterwards, freely claimed for maxims or usages of the Roman Church: see, e. g. Fest. Index for 349, that the Romans appealed to a tradition from Peter as to the Paschal limits. Socrates wrongly imagined that (1) the Dedication Synod of Antioch in 341 sent Gregory to Alexandria; (2) the Arians, dissatisfied with him, ejected him, and set up George; (3) Athanasius went to Rome, and thence, as restored by Julius, to Alexandria; (4) this caused a violent tumult; (5) Athanasius, slandered about corn-supplies, again fled, and revisited Rome; (6) Julius wrote to the Easterns; (7) Constans insisted on Athanasius's restoration, but popular agitation prevented it; (8) Council of Sardica was held.

¹ Apol. ad Const. 4. For the date 343, see Introduction to the Orations against the Arians (Oxford, 1873), p. xlvii.

² See Apol. c. Ari. 36. Eusebius probably died at the end of 341 or the beginning of 342.

³ See Hist. Ari. 45, that Hosius was 100 years old in 357.

⁴ Cp. Hefele, s. 59.

The two subjects were practically in close connection. The Eastern bishops, as a body, were in various degrees hostile both to Athanasius and to the Nicene Creed¹. The Western episcopate was the stronghold of orthodoxy; and the hero of orthodoxy had fascinated it by his nobleness. But several Easterns were orthodox, and a few Westerns were heterodox: so that whereas Valens and Ursacius had been typical Arians, bishops from Palestine and Arabia², as well as from Egypt, appeared at Sardica on the opposite side. The orthodox bishops, as we may call them for convenience' sake, were the first to arrive at Sardica, late in the autumn of 343. They came from twenty-six districts³, and were about ninety-four in number, including Athanasius, Marcellus, and Asclepas of Gaza, who had many years before been deposed by Arianisers⁴. The other party, seventy-six in number⁵, led by such men as Stephen of Antioch, Theodore, Narcissus, and Acacius, and accompanied by two Counts of their Emperor's household, held preliminary meetings on the way to Sardica, in order to settle their plan of action. They agreed, not without some 'threats' addressed by the strong-willed to their weaker brethren, that unless certain terms could

¹ The Eusebians at this time used the 'fourth Creed of Antioch:' cf. *Ath. de Syn.* 25; *Hil. Fragm.* 3. 29.

² See the Synodal letter to the Alexandrians, *Apol. c. Ari.* 36.

³ *Apol. c. Ari.* 36. If in *Hist. Ari.* 17 we find that the 'holy Council,' apart from the Eusebians, had been assembled from more than 35 provinces, this is a lax expression explained by *Apol. c. Ari.* 1, where we read that the Sardican sentence in favour of Athanasius was accepted by more than 300 bishops out of 36 provinces, including Britain, the majority of whom had not actually come to Sardica. In *Apol. c. Ari.* 50 he enumerates 284 bishops who, either at the Council or afterwards, accepted its decree. Doubtless, many who had received the summons could not attend.

⁴ The Eusebians said, 'fifteen years ago;' *Hil. Fragm.* iii. 11: probably it was only thirteen,—in A.D. 330. Paul of Constantinople was not present, *Theod. iv.* 20: and Socrates (ii. 20) is mistaken. But Theodoret is not less wrong in saying that he was detained at home by his flock; ii. 5. He must have been then in exile. See Tillemont, vii. 700.

⁵ *Soc. ii.* 20, on the authority of Sabinus. Among them was Valens; also Ischyrras himself, who figured as bishop of Marcotis (*Hilary, Fragm.* 3. 29, where he is called Quirius). They call themselves 80 (a round number in *Hil. Fragm.* iii. 16). George of Laodicea did not come; *Apol. c. Ari.* 49.

be secured, they would but notify their arrival *pro forma*, and take no part with the Westerns in Council¹. These terms were, that Athanasius, and the others who had been condemned in the East, should be treated as in consequence, and from the outset, under ban. Herein lay the irreconcilable difference between them and the majority. They held that the new Council must assume as irreversible the decisions of previous synods; whereas the majority, with obvious justice, regarded the Council as called for the very purpose of investigating the facts *de novo*, and that in order to make such investigation a reality, the previous decisions must be deemed non-existent. It is difficult, indeed, to see how the Easterns could have persuaded themselves that a General Council could have been summoned, at the cost of so much trouble to individuals, for the mere purpose of reiterating the conclusions of some local Eastern synods, instead of reviewing all the cases with the sovereign authority of a court of final appeal. Yet, in effect, they asserted this paradox as if it had been a truism². When they arrived at Sardica, the leaders took care that all should lodge together in the 'palace;' and by their own account, were shocked to hear that the men whom they insisted on treating as irrevocably condemned were sitting in the church with Hosius, who, as at Nicæa, was to preside, and with Protogenes the bishop of Sardica, and were even joining them in the celebration of the Eucharist³; and they also learned that others were present who had suffered much at their hands⁴. They were likewise annoyed at finding that the Council would deliberate freely, and that no 'Count' would be allowed to be present⁵. And they had a special vexation in the desertion of two of their own body, who, in requital for pressure exercised on them during the journey, contrived to elude their colleagues' vigilance, escaped from the palace, and gave information to the other side⁶. A series of negotiations went on between the two

¹ Apol. c. Ari. 48.

² See their letter in Hil. Fragm. 3. 1, 17, 24, 26, 27.

³ Hil. Fragm. 3. 14.

⁴ Apol. c. Ari. 45.

⁵ Apol. c. Ari. 36; Hist. Ari. 15 (a rhetorical passage).

⁶ Apol. c. Ari. 48; Hist. Ari. 15.

parties for several days¹: the Easterns, as we may call them, sent word to Hosius and his brethren² that they must forthwith expel the 'condemned sinners' (Athanasius and the others) from their company. This demand was refused; and the Council, assembled in the church, exhorted them, by letters and messages (more than one of which was from Athanasius himself³), to come and state their case against the persons in question. 'They are ready to meet you, and the Council will hear both sides⁴.' When some Eusebian deputies visited Hosius at the church, he made them a strangely liberal offer: 'If you do not like to meet the whole Council, I will hear privately whatever you have to state. What we wish for is a full inquiry. If it should prove Athanasius guilty, we will all reject him: and even if it should prove him innocent, I will persuade him to go with me into Spain,' instead of claiming a restoration to his see. Athanasius, as Hosius himself tells us, 'made no objection; he probably felt that he could afford to promise acquiescence; but the Eusebians, distrusting their own cause, declined the proposal⁵.' They made one of their own, to the effect that five of themselves, the survivors of the Mareotic Commission of 335, should be joined with delegates of the other party in a new commission of inquiry to visit the Mareotis, and jointly sift the story of Ischyrras; and according as the result should be favourable or unfavourable to Athanasius, one set of commissioners should be deposed without remedy⁶. Since the Westerns had the Mareotic report before them, they were not likely to adopt a suggestion which was a mere device for gaining time. It was clear, at last, that co-operation was impossible; the Eusebians, unable to get their *sine qua non* accepted, sent a priest of Sardica to acquaint the orthodox party that a letter from Constantius announcing a victory over the Persians constrained them at once to leave Sardica. The envoy was sent

¹ Hil. Fragm. 3. 17.

² Apol. c. Ari. 15.

³ Apol. c. Ari. 36, 38.

⁴ The Emperors' instructions to the Council were referred to. This the Easterns construed as an attempt at intimidation; Fragm. 3. 22.

⁵ Hosius to Constantius, in Hist. Ari. 44.

⁶ Hil. Fragm. 3. 18.

back with a written warning, 'If you do not appear to prove the charges which you have made, and to meet those which have been made against you, the Council will give judgment against you by default¹.' This menace did but hasten their departure: they went off by night to Philippopolis², and there, assuming the character of the 'Council of Sardica³,' put forth a letter which, amid all its wild vituperation⁴ and reckless assertion⁵, states clearly enough the claim to which they had adhered, and indicates that one of their strongest motives was an Eastern jealousy of the West⁶. To this letter is appended (with an enlargement of its anathemas) a Semi-Arian creed, which is reckoned as the 'fourth Antiochene,' and had been brought into the West by a deputation of four Easterns in 342⁷. The real Council—for those who resolved that the assembly should do what it had been called to do were assuredly its true representatives—proceeded to investigate the case of Athanasius, and by help of the 'report⁸,' and of oral evidence, came to

¹ Hist. Ari. 16.

² Hil. Fragm. 2. 16. There had been, it seems, an 'indignation movement' among the Sardican citizens against their 'schismatical' obstinacy; Hil. Fragm. 3. 19.

³ This title even deceived St. Augustine, who calls the 'Sardican' Council a 'Council of Arians'; Epist. 44. 6; c. Crescon. iii. 34.

⁴ E. g. Athanasius figures in the Latin version of their letter as 'pestis sacrilega,' as guilty not only of 'facinora' or 'crimina,' but of 'scelera' and 'flagitia,' as one of the 'perfidi, peccatores, scelerati.' Julius is 'chief and leader of the bad men.'

⁵ E. g. Athanasius 'with his own hands broke in pieces a hallowed cup.' The Tyrian Council 'did *not* hastily credit his accusers.' The Mareotic Commissioners 'reported what they had ascertained on ocular evidence,' etc. It is sad to find Basil of Ancyra signing this letter. For his 'praiseworthy life,' see Theod. ii. 25; Newman, Arians, p. 308. (Yet see Tillemont, vi. 492.) Athanasius in 359 spoke of him as a 'brother'; De Syn. 41.

⁶ Hil. Fragm. 3. 12, 17. They tax the Italian bishops with rash credulity; ib. 10.

⁷ Comp. Ath. de Syn. 25 with Hil. de Syn. 34; Fragm. 3. 29.

⁸ They say that Ischyrras had owned that on the day of Macarius's visit he was lying down ill, Apol. c. Ari. 46; whereas in c. 28 we are told on the authority of the same report that witnesses said this *of* him. Two ex-Meletian priests, then loyal attendants on Athanasius, assured the Council that Ischyrras had never been even one of the Meletian clergy.

a clear judgment in his favour. They satisfied themselves also, by looking at the context of the censured passages in Marcellus's book, that he had not dogmatically affirmed the errors ascribed to him¹. They also found Asclepas innocent on the strength of the authentic report of his trial². They finally dealt with complaints of oppression and injustice urged against the Eusebian leaders by bishops, such as Lucius of Hadrianople³, who held up the irons that he had worn during an imprisonment, while others exhibited sword-wounds which they had received⁴. Other outrages were narrated; forged letters were read⁵; and in view of all the facts, including their notorious Arianism, the Council pronounced eight Eusebian leaders to be deposed. The intruders into the three sees of Alexandria, Ancyra, and Gaza, were also placed under ban. A synodical circular was put forth, which Athanasius has preserved⁶, together with two others, nearly identical in their contents, to the Alexandrian Church and to the bishops of Egypt and Libya⁷, intended to console them under their present distress, and to exhort them to endure to the end in the right faith. The Council's letter to Julius is not inserted in the Apology, nor does Athanasius say anything of the Sardican canons. He informs us in the letter of an Alexandrian synod of 362, that the Council of Sardica was urged by some to enlarge the Nicene Creed, but that it distinctly refused to do so, and

¹ Apol. c. Ari. 47. They said he had only been stating questions, not pronouncing; Sozomen, ii. 33. So says Athanasius of Origen, de Decr. Nic. 27. Cp. St. Basil, Ep. 210. 5, on Gregory Thaumaturgus.

² Apol. c. Ari. 47.

³ Tillemont, viii. 96. He was again, after the Council, arrested, chained, and sent into exile, where he died; Hist. Ari. 18.

⁴ The Council appears to have been informed that Theodulus of Trajanopolis had died during his flight from Eusebian persecution; Apol. c. Ari. 45. The word ἀπέθανεν, supplied here by Montfaucon, is countenanced by Hilary's 'decessit' (Fragm. 2. 3), and by the phrase ὁ μακαρίτης,—but the report of Theodulus's death appears incorrect from Hist. Ari. 19.

⁵ Apol. c. Ari. 45. Comp. Apol. ad Const. 11.

⁶ Apol. c. Ari. 44-49. So Theod. ii. 8. Sozomen summarises it, iii. 12.

⁷ Apol. c. Ari. 37-43. The Council assures the Alexandrians that four of their priests, who had suffered from Eusebian intrigue, are in its grace and fellowship; c. 40.

that a creed which got into circulation as Sardican had no just right to that name¹.

(4)

When Athanasius was writing this Apology, he had still good hopes of Constantius. Accordingly, with a touch of that diplomacy which will again come under our notice, he says that 'when the most religious Emperor Constantius had been informed of the events at Sardica, he sent for him, after writing personally to his brother Constans² on the subject: and that he also wrote three letters to Athanasius himself. But, as these letters indicate, it was not till long after the Council that Constantius made up his mind to restore Athanasius. When, at the Easter of 344, Stephen bishop of Antioch was proved guilty of a diabolical plot against Euphrates bishop of Cologne, a delegate from the Council to Constantius³, the latter was genuinely shocked, assented to the deposition of Stephen, ordered the release of the five Alexandrian ecclesiastics who had been exiled into Armenia soon after the Sardican Council⁴, and wrote to Alexandria to stop all severities against the Athanasians, including a recent order that Athanasius should be beheaded if found near the city⁵. 'About ten months afterwards,' that is, about the February or March of 345, 'Gregory died⁶,' and his death gave Constantius an opportunity which,

¹ *Tomus ad Antiochenos*, 5. The doctrinal exposition miscalled Sardican is in Theod. ii. 8, and a Latin version in Mansi, vi. 1215, with a letter from Hosius and Protogenes to Julius, *ib.* vi. 1209, which Hefele (*Councils*, s. 63) understands as implying that they had drafted this formulary with the letter, and that both found their way into the Latin 'Acts.' Sozomen refers to the formulary and letters, *iii.* 12.

² *Apol. c. Ari.* 51.

³ *Hist. Ari.* 20; *Theod. ii.* 9. A general named Salianus came with the two delegates, bearing a menacing letter from Constans to Constantius; *Theod. ii.* 9: *cp. Soc. ii.* 22, and *Hist. Ari.* 48.

⁴ *Hist. Ari.* 18. At the same time, ten laymen of Hadrianople had been beheaded for refusing to communicate with the Eusebians; *ib.*

⁵ *Hist. Ari.* 19, 21.

⁶ *Hist. Ari.* 21. Probably from illness (see *Festal Index*, 341, 342). Theodoret says he was murdered by his people, *ii.* 4, 12; but this seems to be a confusion with the fate of George in 361. He assigns to him six years at Alexandria; apparently one too many.

to do him justice, he was not slow to use. He addressed to Athanasius the first of the three letters preserved in this part of the *Apology*¹. As in his personal bearing a blundering affectation of stateliness did but set off his want of all true kingliness², so now in writing he thought to save his own dignity by conventional phrases which could deceive no one, about the sympathy which he had long felt for a bishop exiled from 'hearth and home,' and his expectation that Athanasius would have previously appealed to *him* for relief; and while promising him a kind reception and a happy restoration, he added that he had 'requested Constans' to join with him in this act of grace. A shorter letter followed, written from Edessa, and desiring Athanasius to come at once to the 'court' by means of the public conveyances³. But Athanasius was still mistrustful of the tender mercies of Constantius. At last, after 'a long time,'—probably in the spring of 346,—Athanasius, while staying at Aquileia⁴, received a third letter from Constantius, brought by a deacon, and either preceded or accompanied by encouraging letters from six 'counts' in whom he could trust, and one of whom, apparently, came into the neighbourhood⁵; and his apprehensions, which may seem to have been somewhat excessive under the circumstances as far as they are known to us, were now, after solemn prayer⁶, laid aside. He went to Rome to take leave of its church and bishop, where sympathetic joy was expressed in a beautiful letter⁷ from Julius to the clergy and laity of Alexandria,—part of which, full of praise of Athanasius, is preserved for us not by himself, but by Socrates⁸. No passage in these documents is more vivid and touching than that in

¹ *Apol. c. Ari.* 51: *cp. Soc. ii.* 23.

² *Ammian.* xxi. 16. 7.

³ On this 'cursus publicus' see *Apol. c. Ari.* 70, and note in *Ath. Hist. Tracts, Lib. Fath.* p. 100; *Apol. ad Const.* 19; *Hist. Ari.* 20; Socrates, i. 9 (a letter of Constantine to Eusebius); *Theod. i.* 7, ii. 32.

⁴ *Apol. c. Ari.* 51. He says in *Apol. ad Const.* 4, that he went from Sardica to Naissus, where he kept the Easter of 344 (*Festal Index*), and thence to Aquileia, where he kept that of 345. Fortunatian, bishop of that city, *ib.* 3, was then his friend, but fell away in 355: see Tillemont, vi. 362 referring to Jerome, *de Vir.* iii. 97.

⁵ *Apol. ad Const.* 3.

⁶ *Hist. Ari.* 22.

⁷ *Apol. c. Ari.* 52; *Soc. ii.* 23.

⁸ *Soc. ii.* 23.

which Julius anticipates the 'glorious festivity' which will mark the day of his friend's return—an anticipation fully verified by the result. From Rome Athanasius went again to Gaul, to take leave of Constans¹, and travelling eastward, presented himself to Constantius at Antioch. In their interview, the bishop, as he says himself, did not vilify his Eusebian persecutors², but complained of the harsh treatment which he had received from the Emperor himself. 'I have been falsely accused,' he added: 'I am ready to meet my accusers; let them be sent for at once.' Constantius, probably much embarrassed, assured him that those charges were buried in oblivion, and called God to witness that he would never again give credit to them³. This solemn promise must be remembered, for it is the key to much in the 'Apologia ad Constantium' and the 'Historia Arianorum.' He dismissed Athanasius graciously, and wrote to the Catholic bishops and priests of Egypt, and to the Catholics of Alexandria, announcing the restoration of Athanasius, and speaking of him in the highest terms⁴. He also wrote to the prefect of Egypt and to the governors of three Egyptian provinces, restoring to the Athanasians the valuable privilege of exemption from civil offices which was enjoyed by the other clergy, so as to place them on an equal footing with others⁵; and in a second letter, preserved in the Arian History, commanded the prefect to forward to him all imperial letters which reflected on the character of Athanasius⁶. The next document which we find in the Apology is the letter of an orthodox Council of Jerusalem to the Egyptian bishops and to the clergy and laity of Alexandria⁷, informing them of the satisfaction of the bishops of Palestine in having been able to greet Athanasius as he passed through the Holy Land towards Egypt. A description of the

¹ Apol. ad Const. 4.

² Apol. ad Const. 5: cp. Apol. c. Ari. 54.

³ Hist. Ari. 22. For his ready-witted answer to Constantius's request that he would allow the Alexandrian Arians the use of a church, see Soc. ii. 23.

⁴ Apol. c. Ari. 54, 55.

⁵ Apol. c. Ari. 56. On this *ἀνέλευσιν* cf. Apol. c. Ari. 33; Hist. Ari. 78; Euseb. x. 7; Soc. ii. 41; Soz. v. 5.

⁶ Hist. Ari. 23.

⁷ Apol. c. Ari. 57.

splendid and triumphant welcome which he received at Alexandria on the 21st of October, 346¹, will be found in the Arian History². Two more papers conclude the first part of the Apology; Ursacius and Valens, the two bitterest foes of Athanasius, whose historical fate has been to represent Arian partisanship in union with the grossest moral obliquity, had already, in 345, deemed it expedient to anathematise Arianism at a Council at Milan³, but they were not thereupon received into Church fellowship, and now, in 347, they wrote from Aquileia a joint letter to Athanasius, abstaining from any explicit confession of wrong, or any request for his personal forgiveness⁴, but assuring him that they were at peace with him and with the Church, that they greeted him affectionately as their brother, and would be gratified by receiving from him a written reply. They afterwards signed letters of communion presented to them by three Athanasians without any commission from Athanasius⁵. This, however, was not enough⁶. As Westerns, they had received a severe reprimand from the chief of Western bishops, and had offered no excuse for their conduct. They now went to Rome, and besought pardon from Julius. He promised it on condition of a public and unequivocal recantation. This being arranged, the two calumniators came before him in full presbytery, and tendered a paper, written out by Valens⁷ and signed by Ursacius; in which they owned that whatever charges

¹ The 24th of Paophi; Festal Index, A.D. 346.

² Hist. Ari. 25.

³ Apol. c. Ari. 58. Hilary says that in this affair they 'could not purge themselves without falsehood;' De Syn. 79. Socrates says, 'They always inclined towards those who were in power;' ii. 37. The Western bishops at Ariminum, when they heard Valens anathematise Arianism and assert his belief in the Divinity of the Son, forgot that similar professions in 345 and 347 had been proved insincere.

⁴ This of itself would prove that they were not penitent, but only humiliated and alarmed. They afterwards attributed their act to fear of Constans; Hist. Ari. 29.

⁵ Hist. Ari. 26.

⁶ That the letter to Athanasius preceded the one to Julius is distinctly stated by Hosius and Athanasius, Hist. Ari. 44, 26, although Hilary reverses the order, Fragm. 2. 20.

⁷ Hil. l. c.: 'holographa manu Valens perscriptit.'

against Athanasius had come to Julius's ears were sheer falsehoods of their own devising¹, and devoid of all reality: wherefore they embraced the communion of Athanasius—but with a rather ominous *caveat*, that if Athanasius himself, or any Easterns, should from ill-will indict them for their offence, they were not to submit to trial without the Pope's knowledge. They concluded by reiterating their repudiation of Arianism. After this, and apparently in another Council held at Milan, they were reconciled to the Church². Athanasius naturally lays much stress on this recantation. They did but, he says in effect, 'succumb to plain facts which they could not resist³.' He claims the full argumentative benefit of their action, although he must have had his suspicions of their motive. The thing was done, at any rate—and 'better late than never.'

(5.)

We have now reached the latest period to which the Apology, properly speaking, refers. The second part of the work takes us back to much earlier days, in order to prove, by a survey of the first Eusebian slander-plots, how inevitable was the acquittal pronounced at Sardica in 343-4, and the humiliation accepted by the two arch-slanderers in 347. This part begins very abruptly with an account of the Meletian schism, which is given because the Meletians had so readily lent themselves to the anti-Athanasian conspiracy⁴.

The account which he gives of Meletius has to be put together from the 'Apology' and from a passage in the 'Letter to the Bishops of Egypt.' This letter, as we shall see, must have been written in 356; and in it he says that the Meletian schism

¹ Hilary gives the Latin, '*falsa a nobis esse insinuata.*' It is curious that Athanasius, in his version, omits this important 'by us.'

² Hil. l. c. In Fragm. 8. 2 (letter of Council of Ariminum) they are said to have been absolved in a Council at Milan, in the presence of Roman legates. See Hefele, s. 71.

³ Hist. Tracts of S. Ath. (Lib. Fath.), p. 122, note.

⁴ As if 'actors in a play, in which the subject was *The Arians' Contest*;' Apol. c. Ari. 17. Comp. c. 65 (*δράμα*); Hist. Ari. 52. Owing to this alliance, the Arians were often called 'Meletians' in Egypt; Soz. ii. 21.

began fifty-five years before¹, i. e. in 301. At the opening of Part II. of the Apology he tells us that it began after Peter bishop of Alexandria had deposed bishop Meletius in an episcopal synod for various crimes, and, among others, for that of sacrificing to idols: for Meletius, instead of appealing to another Council, formed a sect of his own, and began to harass Peter, as he afterwards harassed his successors Achillas and Alexander, with false accusations laid before the Emperor². But here we meet with two difficulties as to the date of the schism and as to the character of its author. Putting aside the favourable representation of Meletius which Epiphanius derived from some partisan informants³, we find the Athanasian account confronted by some documents published by Maffei in 1738 from the Chapter library at Verona⁴, according to which the original offence of Meletius was (not apostasy, but) deliberate disregard for ecclesiastical discipline. While four bishops, one of whom was named Phileas, were imprisoned during a persecution, Meletius, being himself at large, held ordinations in their dioceses without their sanction and without necessity. He ignored their written remonstrance, and after their martyrdom, repairing to Alexandria in Peter's absence, excommunicated the presbyters who were acting as the primate's vicars-general, being supported in this factious conduct by Arius, who wished to be ordained priest, and had a grudge against Peter. Thereupon, we are told, Peter, still in his place of retreat, suspended Meletius from communion. These documents are admitted to be genuine. The date extracted from the 'Letter to Egyptian Bishops' refers to a time when Athanasius was about four years old, so that he may have been inaccurately informed on this point of detail⁵. And his mention of the charge of sacrificing shows that the schism began after some abatement of persecution;

¹ Ep. ad Ep. *Æg.* 22.

² *Apol. c. Ari.* 59: *cp. c. 11.* Socrates, i. 6, copies Athanasius.

³ Epiphanius. *Hær.* 68. These 'commentitia scripta,' as Le Quien calls them, *Or. Christ.* ii. 598, describe Meletius as a brave confessor, who became a rigorist on the subject of the lapsed.

⁴ See them in Routh, *Rel. Sac.* iv. 91 ff.

⁵ It is just possible that, as he often revised his works, he altered the original number to 55, about A.D. 361.

therefore, at any rate, not before 305¹. In regard to the more serious difference, the Maffean account is to some extent supported by a letter of the Nicene Council itself², which imputes to Meletius nothing worse than 'disorderly impetuosity,' and also by a passage in Sozomen³. Athanasius, as a young ecclesiastic, must have seen his beloved archbishop Alexander assailed by these factious sectarians, and would be predisposed to listen to uncharitable surmises as to their chief. '*He* was no confessor; he went about at will, while his brethren were in bonds for Christ: he *must* have bartered his faith for liberty⁴.' We seem obliged to admit that, in this instance, Athanasius had in youth believed evil too readily, and never afterwards verified his early impressions. A modern reader who would be severe on this mistake must first attempt to realise what would be the effect, even on a lofty and generous spirit, of ceaseless exposure to that

'wild breath
Of calumny, of exile, and of wrong⁵,'

which had in the first instance been stirred up by the instrumentality of a faction conspicuous, as he tells us elsewhere, for

¹ For the hypothesis of a 'local persecution' in 301 (Neale, *Hist. Alex.* i. 91) may be set aside, and the year 305 was marked by a lull in the great persecution: and Peter's Penitential Canons are dated by Burton, *Eccl. Hist.* ii. 438, and Neale, i. 97, before the Easter of 306. Immediately afterwards, Maximin's order rekindled the persecution. (Cp. Euseb. *Mart. Pal.* 4; Mason, *Persec. of Diocletian*, p. 248.) Peter went into concealment; and Phileas of Thmuis wrote the letter preserved by Eusebius (viii. 10), and was soon afterwards martyred. Neale thinks that the Phileas who suffered with three other bishops was a different person, and dates their martyrdom 'towards the close of the persecution.' Eusebius appears to have identified this Phileas with the Phileas of Thmuis, viii. 9, 13: and this is the natural view. Peter himself was martyred in November of 311.

² Soc. i. 9. See, however, Neale, i. 91.

³ So Soz., i. 24, says that after Peter had fled on account of the persecution, Meletius 'impetuously usurped his right to ordain.'

⁴ See Hefele, *Councils*, vol. i. s. 40. Burton seems to think that Meletius, after his schismatical proceedings, was imprisoned, until he consented to sacrifice; ii. 444.

⁵ Isaac Williams, *Cathedral*, p. 286, on St. Athanasius.

irreligiousness and worldliness¹, as well as for complicity with heresy of the most destructive kind.

He proceeds to intimate—as he afterwards plainly expresses²—his doubt as to the wisdom of that indulgent policy which the Nicene Council had adopted towards the Meletians. They were readmitted into communion on certain terms far from severe³. ‘Five months afterwards Alexander died⁴:’ and then they ‘began again to trouble the churches.’ Meletius himself, in the near prospect of death, appointed one John, whose paternal name was Archaph, to head the party and renew the schism: and John proceeded to consecrate new bishops⁵. Instantly Eusebius of Nicomedia saw that Meletianism could be utilised for his plan of indirect attack on the Nicene doctrine. Accordingly, after vainly urging Athanasius, by written requests and threatening messages, to receive the Arians into communion, and stimulating the Emperor to send him an imperious mandate concluding with a threat of expulsion⁶,—to which Athanasius calmly replied that the ‘antichristian heresy could have no fellowship with the Church⁷,’—Eusebius set the Meletians to work in their old line of calumniating the primate of Egypt. The first charge they concocted was that Athanasius had exacted money⁸ from the Egyptians to provide linen vestments⁹ for his church. He names here as the accusers three of the Meletian prelates who had been, so to speak, absolved by Alexander¹⁰: he tells us that two of his priests, happening to be at the court, proved that the sum in question

¹ Hist. Ari. 78, 79.

² Apol. c. Ari. 59, 71.

³ Soc. i. 8. See Newman, Arians, p. 289.

⁴ That is, early in 326: probably Feb. 26, the day of his commemoration.

⁵ Soz. ii. 21, 22.

⁶ Sozomen says he denounced Athanasius to Constantine as an intolerant disturber of peace,—thus taking the emperor on his weak side.

⁷ Apol. c. Ari. 60.

⁸ *Karóna* must here mean a regular exaction: so Suicer.

⁹ *Στιχάρια*. The earliest mention of church vestments, unless a passage in the Constitutions Liturgy (Hammond, Liturgies East. and West. p. 11)—be older. Tillemont, viii. 18, seems to think that the sticharia resembled ‘nos aubes.’ Sozomen gives *χιτῶνια*, tunics.

¹⁰ Apol. c. Ari. 60, 71. To these he adds, in Fest. Ep. 4, Geloios Hieracmon, who, being ashamed of his name, got himself called Eulogius.

was a free gift : and he had inserted Constantine's subsequent letter to him, desiring his attendance,—but it has dropped out of his text. About the end of 331 he came to Psammathia, a suburb of Nicomedia, where Constantine then resided, and was met by a second charge of having sent a casket or chest full of gold¹ to an insurgent named Philumenus. This being refuted, the famous story of the broken chalice, already several times referred to, was produced for the first time². It is briefly explained by Athanasius in a single chapter of the Apology, with the omission of several details. The basis of fact was this : Ischyrras, who 'called himself a cleric,' but whose ordination had been disallowed as having been performed by Colluthus, a mere presbyter³, was in the habit of holding unlicensed services in a private house, at a hamlet of the Mareotis called 'The Peace of Secontarurum', where no church had ever been built. The archbishop, while on a visitation tour, heard of these proceedings, and sent a priest named Macarius to summon Ischyrras before him. Little did Macarius foresee what troubles were to come of this errand. He could not see Ischyrras, who was lying sick in his cell; and he therefore admonished him through his father, who, on his son's recovery, refused to countenance his ministrations. Ischyrras, in consequence, went over to the Meletians, who had never seen him before⁵. The superstructure of fiction thereupon erected (after consultation with Eusebius) was that Macarius had interrupted the priest Ischyrras in the very act of consecrating the Eucharist⁶, had thrown down the holy table, seized and broken the chalice, and thereby spilt its contents⁷,—and, it was sometimes added, had

¹ Sozomen alters Athanasius's *γλωσσόκομον* into *λάβρακα*, ii. 22.

² Apol. c. Ari. 60.

³ It was expressly asserted in 335 that he had been 'ordained' by the presbyter Colluthus, and on that ground he was formally pronounced by a council of Alexandria, in presence of Hosius (early in 325), to be a mere layman; Apol. c. Ari. 74, 76. But in 339-340 even this Colluthian ordination was matter of supposition; Apol. c. Ari. 12.

⁴ Apol. c. Ari. 76, 85.

⁵ Apol. c. Ari. 63.

⁶ 'Offering the oblations,' i.e., apparently, in the act of consecration; Apol. c. Ari. 28, 31, 37.

⁷ Apol. c. Ari. 31.

thrown the church books into the fire¹. Of course, the agent's sacrilege was held to implicate the principal; and thus the story was sometimes told as if Athanasius had done all this with his own hands². The narrative at this point becomes so confused, that it is difficult to arrange the events; but it would seem that after Constantine had examined the statement as against Macarius, rejected it as calumnious³, and sent Athanasius home with a letter to the Alexandrians, written in that strain of rhetorical moralising which he affected, and conveying a rebuke to those among them who cherished a jealous dislike of their still youthful bishop⁴, the relatives of Ischyrras, by severe reproaches⁵, drove him to humble himself before Athanasius and crave admission into his communion. Athanasius asked how he had dared to circulate such falsehoods. He answered with tears, 'It was against my will; I was constrained, even with blows, by three Meletian bishops.' He presented to Athanasius, in the presence of six priests and seven deacons, an absolute retraction, written wholly with his own hand, in ill-constructed Greek, and containing this pitiful excuse. It is one of the most important papers in the Apology⁶. From other passages we learn that he not only did not write it with a prospect of preferment⁷, but that his request for absolution was refused⁸; and it was probably this rigour which drove him back for life into the anti-Athanasian party. The story was renewed, and again laid before Constantine⁹; together with a deadlier invention of factious malice. Arsenius, Meletian bishop of Hypsele, had suddenly disappeared¹⁰. It began to be rumoured, even in official society, that he had met with foul play; ere long,

¹ Apol. c. Ari. 28, 46.

² Apol. c. Ari. 63, 68.

³ Apol. c. Ari. 65.

⁴ Apol. c. Ari. 61. It shows that Meletianism had some strength in Alexandria.

⁵ Tillemont, viii. 23, places this retraction *after* Constantine's rejection of the charge. So Neale, Patr. Alex. i. 160.

⁶ Apol. c. Ari. 64: cp. c. 28.

⁷ Apol. c. Ari. 16.

⁸ Apol. c. Ari. 74.

⁹ Apol. c. Ari. 65.

¹⁰ At first, it would seem from Apol. c. Ari. 8, he was conveyed by his friends beyond sea. Sozomen's account somewhat differs, ii. 23.

a wooden box¹ was exhibited, which was found to contain a right hand severed from a corpse. 'This is all that is left us of our brother²! As for the rest—Athanasius knows. It is he who caused Arsenius to be murdered, and cut in pieces for purposes of divination;—for the practice of that dark craft was assumed by the more ignorant of his enemies to be the secret of his dexterity and success³. And here, in spite of the involved way in which Athanasius tells the tale with which he was himself so familiar, the interest becomes dramatic. We see the Emperor flash out in wrath at the story of the mysterious murder⁴: he writes to his half-brother⁵ the Censor Dalmatius, at Antioch, to order an instant trial. Athanasius receives a notice from Dalmatius, does not at first treat it seriously, then thinks it well to set on foot a search for his alleged victim. Accordingly, we follow a trusty deacon into the Thebaid, and see him extort from four Meletians an admission that Arsenius is in hiding among the monks of Ptemencyrcis. The scene changes to that monastery⁶, on the eastern bank of the Nile. Word comes thither of the luckless encounter with the dreaded 'pope's' agent: we see Pinnes, the superior, hurrying Arsenius on board a boat, in charge of a monk named Helias. The vessel speeds down the river to Lower Egypt: Helias lands Arsenius, and swiftly returns home. Then arrives the deacon, and in default of Arsenius carries off Pinnes and Helias to Alexandria. There, in the formidable presence of a 'duke' or general in command, the abbot and monk confess what they can no longer deny; and

¹ Apol. c. Ari. 63; Theod. i. 30: cp. Soz. ii. 25. Socrates dates this slander before the story of the chalice; i. 27: but cp. Apol. 60.

² Apol. c. Ari. 38.

³ Soc. i. 27. See Ammianus, xv. 7. 7, that he was supposed to practise augury. Compare Soc. iii. 2, on victims of Pagan divination at Alexandria.

⁴ Apol. c. Ari. 65.

⁵ Not the younger Dalmatius, his nephew, then a mere lad: see Valesius on Soc. i. 27, and Neale, Patr. Alex. i. 161.

⁶ *Μονῆς*,—elsewhere in Athan. used for station, or halting-place on a road, e.g. Apol. c. Ari. 29: and so Valesius takes it here. But Sozomen understood it as = *μοναστηρίου* (as if from *μόνος*), and so the Benedictines (referring to the context, *μοναχὸς τῆς αὐτῆς μονῆς*), Tillemont, Neale. Suicer gives *monasterium* as the ecclesiastical sense of *μονή*.

the former, in one of the most curious of all intercepted letters¹, informs John Archaph that further concealment is impracticable, and that he had better drop this charge against Athanasius. But Arsenius, though proved not to have been butchered, was not actually discovered until he had fled to Tyre, where, having been found secreted in a house², he was brought up before the bishop, and admitted his own identity. This apparently took place in the autumn of 332. Athanasius sent information to Constantine, who wrote to him a letter denouncing the Meletians³, and forbade the Eusebian accusers to appear at Antioch. The good bishop Alexander of Thessalonica, on hearing of the disgrace of Archaph from one of Athanasius's deacons, wrote a letter of congratulation which the Apology preserves⁴: and this episode of 'the Dead-alive' was for the present concluded⁵ by John Archaph's return to Catholic unity, and by another act of submission which later events proved to be more sincere. Arsenius himself, with his priests and deacons, wrote to Athanasius, solemnly promising to renounce all schism⁶. He kept his word, long after Archaph's professions, though welcomed by Constantine⁷, had been proved to be a mere expedient for his own safety.

We now come to the last set of documents in the Apology. Athanasius has proved the falsity of the charges urged by

¹ Apol. c. Ari. 67.

² It is from Socrates that we get the scene in the tavern and its result, although he dates it too late; i. 29.

³ Apol. c. Ari. 68. Athanasius was to read it often in public. Sozomen summarises it, ii. 23.

⁴ Apol. c. Ari. 66.

⁵ A quiet interval ensued, during which, says Sozomen, the Egyptian Church gained many converts from Paganism and the sects; ii. 23.

⁶ Apol. c. Ari. 68. He promises to follow the example of certain bishops, who, probably, had been ordained by Archaph, and had conformed. He was still only a petitioner for absolution in 339; Apol. c. Ari. 8. He seems not to have been actually established as a Catholic bishop until 346; see Fest. Ep. 19; although Pope Julius in 341 speaks of him as on friendly terms with Athanasius, Apol. c. Ari. 27. Socrates must be wrong in saying that he signed the condemnation of Athanasius at Tyre; i. 32. Cp. Tillemont, viii. 663.

⁷ Apol. c. Ari. 70. Constantine afterwards sent John into exile as a promoter of dissension; see p. xii.

the Eusebians in 332; he proceeds to show how they made their own case worse by a cynical contempt of justice in 335. Passing over the Council which met at Cæsarea in 334, and which he had avoided from a natural mistrust of the Arianising bias of Eusebius the historian, bishop of the Palestinian metropolis¹, he comes to the memorable Council of Tyre, to which under special and menacing orders from Constantine, who was angered by his previous non-attendance², he repaired on the 11th of July, 335. Some forty-eight of his suffragans accompanied him; and Macarius was brought to Tyre as a prisoner³ to answer for himself in the case of the broken chalice. How Constantine was brought to sanction the revival of a fully exposed slander, it is not easy to understand; but in the hands of Eusebius of Nicomedia he was like one swayed by an irrational fascination. He sent one of his counts, named Dionysius, to enforce attendance on the part of all the prelates summoned, and to preserve due order in the assembly: and, to do him justice, he expressly exhorted the Council to act impartially, and in accordance with ecclesiastical rules. Athanasius found that his first business was to 'take exceptions in due legal form⁴,' on behalf of himself and his attendant bishops, to several of the prelates present, as disqualified by personal animosity for the office of judging. This protest was overruled. Stress was laid on a letter from some Alexandrians, professing to be 'unable on his account to join in the services⁵.' Several charges were urged which Athanasius does not mention, but which were probably founded on the intervention of the civil power against contumacious Meletians⁶; and the Egyptian

¹ See Theod. i. 28: cf. Apol. c. Ari. 77; Fest. Index, 334; Tillemont, viii. 33. Sozomen tells us that 'for some 30 months' he 'put off' attending the Council; i.e. from the beginning of 333, when the Council of Cæsarea was first announced, till the summer of 335, when he went to Tyre; ii. 25.

² See an allusion in Constantine's letter, Theod. i. 29.

³ Apol. c. Ari. 71.

⁴ So Socrates words it, i. 31: cf. Apol. c. Ari. 72, 77. See Hooker, v. 42. 2. It was then that Potammon taunted Eusebius of Cæsarea in the words recorded by Epiphanius, Hær. 68. 7, and alluded to in Apol. c. Ari. 8.

⁵ Soz. ii. 25.

⁶ See Hefele, s. 49. Sozomen had read the 'acts' of this Council.

bishops were browbeaten when they offered to prove that the Meletians were habitual calumniators of the Church¹. Then, as Theodoret expresses it, 'the accusers even produced the famous box, and uncovered the embalmed hand²,' contending, it seems, that the person discovered in that very city three years earlier was not in fact Arsenius of Hypsèle. What followed is well known: the most graphic description of the scene will be found in Socrates³. We hear Athanasius asking whether those present know the real Arsenius; when they answer, 'Yes!' he introduces a man wrapt from head to foot in a cloak, whose face is undoubtedly that of the Meletian bishop. Athanasius lifts up the cloak on one side, shows one hand, and then, 'after keeping them in suspense for a moment' (for a sense of humour was one of his characteristics⁴), he deliberately uncovers the other hand: 'Here, you see, is Arsenius with his two hands: point out the place where a third has been cut off!' Although his enemies raised a cry of 'Sorcerer!' he had at last crushed this particular libel: the Eusebians began to explain how they had made the mistake of supposing that Arsenius was dead⁵, but, having done this, they returned with fresh eagerness to the question of the broken chalice. Athanasius, never at a loss, handed in a list of Meletian bishops in Egypt, and of Meletian priests and deacons in or near Alexandria, which the arch-schismatic had been required by Alexander to draw up, when he and his adherents were received into communion. In this list, the oldest document contained in the Apology⁶, the name of Ischyrras does not occur: and, as Athanasius tells us, there had never been any Meletian congregation in the Mareotis⁷. Perhaps the accusers replied that Ischyrras had been ordained since the reunion; but on being confronted with Macarius, the self-

¹ Apol. c. Ari. 77.

² Theod. i. 30. He mentions another slander, triumphantly confuted.

³ Soc. i. 29.

⁴ E. g. see Epiph. Hær. 72. 4.

⁵ Soz. ii. 25.

⁶ Apol. c. Ari. 71. Here the title 'archbishop' is found for the first time: some interpret it as referring to Meletius, but in a list handed in under pressure by a professedly repentant schismatic it must surely refer to Alexander.

⁷ Apol. c. Ari. 63; cf. 46. Parembolus was an exception; c. 71.

styled priest could prove nothing¹, and was even compelled to own that he had but seven persons in his 'congregation'. It then occurred to the baffled Eusebians that better evidence might be procured in Egypt; and they proposed that a commission of inquiry should be appointed to visit the Mareotis. Athanasius objected that it would be a waste of time,—that all the necessary evidence was before the Council². The objection was useless. He next urged that at any rate the task should not be confided to persons known to be hostile to himself. Count Dionysius admitted that this was but fair, and told the Council that the selection must be so made as not to provoke suspicion³. The exhortation was practically defied by the Eusebians; they had made up their plan, and had even sent off, one night, two of their own friends⁴ to Egypt to collect Meletians, together with 'Colluthians' and Arians, into the Mareotis. Four days after this, they held a private meeting, chose as commissioners six of their number, Theognis, Maris, Macedonius, Theodore, Ursacius, and Valens, the very persons most open to objection, and afterwards urged the other bishops to give written consent to their nomination. Against this, Athanasius protested in an interview with the Count, and the Egyptian prelates in a letter to the Council, and also in a shorter letter to Dionysius himself, in which they formally requested him to reserve the case for the Emperor's own judgment. They visited the aged Alexander of Thessalonica, and told him vehemently that 'the wild beasts were about to spring.' He was moved, and urged the Count to interpose for justice⁵: and Dionysius, who had already intimated his anxieties to Flacillus of Antioch, warned the Eusebians to consider the Council's honour. 'But they had gone too far to retreat⁶:' and the Egyptians could but draw up a formal act of appeal to the Emperor, embodied in a letter to Dionysius⁷, and in another (not preserved) to the Council.

¹ Apol. c. Ari. 72, 27.

² Apol. c. Ari. 77.

³ Apol. c. Ari. 72.

⁴ Apol. c. Ari. 81.

⁵ Apol. c. Ari. 77, 78. John Archaph had managed this; ib. 80. These men were sent off as couriers (*veredarios*).

⁶ See his letter, ib. 80.

⁷ Tillemont, viii. 51.

⁸ Apol. c. Ari. 79.

Meantime, the Commissioners, attended by Ischyra as 'their companion in board and lodging¹,' were carrying on their inquiry in the absence of the two persons accused, and with Philagrius the prefect of Egypt to intimidate the witnesses². The elementary notions of fairness must have been extinct in the minds of men who could take part in such a proceeding, and of men who could gravely accept its results. The question touched upon the most sacred rites of Christianity; but the Commissioners not only admitted Heathen soldiers into their court³, while they excluded the Catholic clergy of Alexandria and the Mareotis, but 'examined Jews, Heathens, and catechumens⁴.' The result was highly damaging: for whereas such persons could not have been present at the Eucharistic oblation, they proved that Ischyra was at the time physically disabled from celebrating, even if he had been ecclesiastically competent to do so, or if Macarius's visit had taken place on a Sunday⁵. Again, whereas Athanasius had been accused of keeping certain witnesses in concealment, these very persons came forward, and in spite of threats from Philagrius, and more than threats from his armed guard, 'proved the Eusebians to be slanderers⁶.' Only the kinsmen of Ischyra, under temporary fear of the prefect, and some Arians, gave evidence in favour of the accusation⁷. Sixteen priests and five deacons of Alexandria, and fifteen priests and fifteen deacons of the Mareotis, offered testimony against it, which was refused: and they thereupon drew up protests addressed to the Commissioners, to the Council, and to the prefect and two other high officials, the last being signed on the 10th of Thoth, i. e. Sept. 7⁸. It was quite in keeping with this visitation of justice that the Pagan mob and petty traders of Alexandria should be permitted to insult and maltreat the Church virgins on a fast-day⁹.

¹ Apol. c. Ari. 14.

² Apol. c. Ari. 74, 83.

³ Apol. c. Ari. 83, 31, 37.

⁴ Apol. c. Ari. 83, 37.

⁵ Apol. c. Ari. 83, 28, 46. It was not the custom of the Alexandrian Church to celebrate the Eucharist on an ordinary week-day. Timotheus, archbishop of Alexandria in 380-385, says that 'the spiritual sacrifice was offered' on Sundays and Saturdays; Mansi, iii. 1251. Cp. Soz. iv. 16.

⁶ Apol. c. Ari. 81, 14.

⁷ Apol. c. Ari. 74.

⁸ Apol. c. Ari. 73-76.

⁹ Apol. c. Ari. 15.

The formal record of the inquiry was carefully kept for publication¹: we have already seen how, in 339, it came into the hands of Athanasius, and thus supplied him with so much matter for the Apology. The Commissioners returned to Tyre, and announced that Athanasius had been found guilty of sacrilege. He had already quitted Tyre, in utter despair of a fair trial: the Council deposed him in his absence, and then proceeded to celebrate at Jerusalem the dedication of the new 'Resurrection Church.' He gives us a portion of the synodal letter of the 'Council of Jerusalem,' informing the Egyptians and others that Arius and his friends, having been misrepresented by jealousy, had vindicated their orthodoxy and had been received into the Church². But a summons from Constantine interrupted their complacency. Athanasius, accompanied by four of his suffragans, had suddenly appeared in the Emperor's presence, had persistently demanded a hearing, and had claimed leave to confront his enemies before the Emperor³. Six Eusebians thereupon went up to the court, and, judiciously dropping all mention of Ischyrras or Arsenius⁴, affirmed that Athanasius had threatened to stop the sailing of the Egyptian corn-ships to Constantinople. Athanasius asked whether it was credible that he, a man without property and holding no civil office⁵, could have said anything of the kind. Eusebius of Nicomedia at once replied, 'You are rich, and you are all-powerful in Alexandria:' and although the charge was absurd, and unsupported by evidence, it appealed to the sensitiveness⁶ of the Emperor with regard to his new capital. He dealt with it by banishing Athanasius into Gaul: the Egyptians gladly believed that he showed some kindly feeling by inflicting exile rather than death⁷; and in the postscript to the Apology⁸, and

¹ Apol. c. Ari. 83.

² Apol. c. Ari. 84.

³ Apol. c. Ari. 86. The question was not spiritual, but civil: Athanasius, having been accused of crimes, had a right to appeal to the emperor's 'high justice' for a fair hearing. Compare the Egyptian protest, c. 79.

⁴ Apol. c. Ari. 87.

⁵ This must be the sense of *ἰδιώτης* in Apol. c. Ari. 9.

⁶ 'Si délicat;' see De Broglie, *L'Eglise et l'Empire*, ii. 351; Tillemont, viii. 62.

⁷ Apol. c. Ari. 9.

⁸ Apol. c. Ari. 88.

the History of the Arians¹, Athanasius himself takes literally the assertion of Constantine II to that effect in a letter² written on June 17, 338³, after the exiled bishop had stayed for some two years and a half⁴ under his protection at Treves, the capital of the Gallic prefecture, and was about to be restored under the joint authority of himself and his brothers Constantius and Constans⁵. With this letter ends the second part of the Apology, in other words, the array of proofs in support of the Sardican judgment and of the recantation of two of the Marcotic Commissioners.

The postscript to the Apology is subsequent to the adoption of a really Arian creed⁶, under the cruellest pressure, by Hosius in 357, and of the subsequent abandonment of Athanasius's own cause, and acceptance of a document of Semi-Arian character⁷, by Liberius, in the spring of 358, that is, two years after Athanasius had retreated into 'the desert,' and about seven years after Ursacius and Valens had fallen back upon the Arian position⁸. Athanasius wrote these two concluding chapters when all around seemed very dark. Yet with his usual argumentative dexterity, he employs the second Arian persecution

¹ Hist. Ari. 50.

² Apol. c. Ari. 87.

³ Little more than a year after his father's death.

⁴ Athanasius set forth on his journey to Treves on November 6, 336; for the day, see Festal Index. To him, the great Roman city on the Moselle seemed like 'the ends of the earth;' yet he found there a 'holy church' under the good bishop Maximin; see Fest. Ep. 10.

⁵ See above, p. xii.

⁶ The so-called 'second Sirmian,' commonly called the 'blasphemia:' see it in De Syn. 28.

⁷ See Soz. iv. 15; cp. Newman, Arians, p. 331. It was a digest or compilation from several formularies. If Sozomen is right, the letter 'Pro deifico,' ascribed to Liberius in Hilary's Fragm. 6. 5, must be rejected: it is also questionable on other grounds. Another letter, 'Studens paci,' ascribed to him in Fragm. 4. 1, appears incompatible with Athanasius's own language about Liberius, here and in Hist. Ari. 36, and with Liberius's in Fragm. 5. Both are probably forgeries. But that Liberius did disown Athanasius, and did give up the Nicene Creed, is too certain. The 'signing' in Hist. Ari. 41 refers, not to any doctrinal formula, but to a document condemning or renouncing Athanasius: cp. c. 31, 35. Hosius did *not* renounce Athanasius; c. 45.

⁸ Hist. Ari. 29. It is rather inconsistent in Athanasius, after insisting so much on their recantation, to ignore it utterly in De Syn. 1.

under Constantius as an evidence in his own favour. 'My innocence,' he seems to say, 'is yet further illustrated by the long endurance of those two eminent prelates before their steadfastness broke down: and what did not others endure who have continued steadfast?'

III.

The Epistle called an 'Encyclical,' or Circular, 'to the Bishops of Egypt and Libya against the Arians' must have been written in the March of 356, after that night attack on the church of St. Theonas in Alexandria which caused the 'flight' or retreat of Athanasius, and indeed between the subsequent transfer of the Alexandrian churches to the Arians and the arrival of the intrusive bishop, George of Cappadocia, towards the close of Lent¹. Athanasius wrote from one of the many places of concealment which were open to him during the six years of what is called his third exile². The special purpose of the Circular is to warn his faithful suffragans against a new Arian device which, in that trying crisis, might impose on the unwary by a show of simplicity and of reverence—the circulation, for their acceptance, of a new formulary³, evidently of a type brought forward by Acacius of Cæsarea 'about 350⁴,' and characterised by its adhesion to 'purely Scriptural terms⁵,' as in the use of the

¹ Compare Epist. ad Ep. *Æg.* 7, 19 with Apol. de Fuga, 6.

² See below, on the 'Ad Monachos.'

³ Ep. *Æg.* 5. Tillemont, vi. 521, reckons this lost creed as the 12th Arian confession.

⁴ Newman, *Arians*, pp. 314, 346. For Acacius's varied abilities, see Soz. iv. 23; Philostorg. iv. 12. Cp. Tillemont, vi. 305.

⁵ On this prohibition of all non-biblical terms see Newman, *Arians*, p. 312, and Athan. *Treatises*, i. 1. Theodoret says that the idea was suggested to Constantius by an Arian priest, ii. 3: but Arius had acted on it in 330, Soz. ii. 27, and 336, Ath. Ep. de morte Arian, 2: and Eusebius of Cæsarea had more than hinted it in his not very ingenuous letter to his flock after the Nicene Council, Theod. i. 12. Jeremy Taylor's assumption in the *Liberty of Prophesying* (*Works*, v. 402) that when Eusebius referred to it as the warrant for the Nicene anathema he was speaking the sense of the Church, is quite groundless. It was expressed in the 'second Sirmian' Creed (the 'blasphemia' or 'perfidia'), the Dated Creed, the Acacian

phrase *Homoion*¹, 'like to the Father' (or, at most, 'in all things like to the Father'), which in the existing state of the controversy might suggest to some minds the Nicene conception of the Sonship, and to others the notion of a moral harmony between the holiest of creatures and the will of the Creator². The party that held with Acacius stood between the large and respectable body of Semi-Arians³ who substituted their own *Homoiousion* for the *Homoousion* of Nicæa, and the hard logician Aetius⁴, who was reproducing the original Arianism with increased offensiveness, because with a bolder consistency, under the symbol of the *Anomoion*. Some who confined themselves to Biblical expressions were at heart not averse to this ultra-Arian standpoint; and minds which took 'likeness' in a merely ethical sense might be led on to assert 'unlikeness' in regard to nature⁵. Now the friends of Athanasius must often have heard him insist on the doctrinal 'sufficiency' of Scripture⁶, in terms which might encourage some of them to think that he would not greatly blame them for accepting a creed made up of 'Scriptural' matter, when refusal might mean

Creed presented at Seleucia, and the too famous creed of Nicè and Ariminum—see below on the 'De Synodis,' and cp. Hil. ad Const. ii. 6, 'sub Scripturarum vocabulo *non scripta mentimur*,' and c. Const. 16, that when Constantius said, 'Nolo verba quæ non scripta sunt dici,' he was forbidding new antidotes to be used for new poisons.

¹ The *Homoion* was obsolete among the Arians of the fifth century; Theod. ii. 21.

² That this vague language, which obscured the full force of the Scriptural Christology, might be taken in an ultra-Arian sense, see Hil. c. Const. 14. He asked an Acacian in 359 why his party condemned the *Anomoion* (cp. Ath. de Syn. 29), and received for answer that Christ was like, not to 'God,' but to 'the Father,' being 'voluntatis potius Filius quam divinitatis.' (Cp. Soc. ii. 40.) The gloss is worth remembering as a specimen of Arian trickery: and a few Acacians did actually profess Anomœcanism in 361; Soc. ii. 49. Cp. Greg. Naz. Orat. 21, 22.

³ See Newman, Arians, p. 304 ff. Correct Soc. ii. 45 by Soz. iii. 18.

⁴ For him see Soc. ii. 35; Soz. iii. 15, iv. 12; Theod. ii. 24; Philostorg. iii. 15. Cp. Ath. de Syn. 6. 38. See Newman, Arians, p. 347; Tillemont, vi. 403; Gibbon, iii. 59.

⁵ De Syn. 38.

⁶ See his earliest book, c. Gentes 1: also the present letter, Ep. Æg. 5: also, later, de Syn. 6; ad Serap. i. 17; Vit. Anton. 16; Fest. Ep. 39. The margins of these pages will show how habitually he *thought* in Scripture, although he often quotes Scripture 'laxly.'

severance from their flocks¹. But although abstractedly a test so worded would have seemed to Athanasius the most desirable,—as we gather from his two accounts of the honest attempt made at first by the Nicene fathers to find ‘Scriptural’ terms with which the Eusebians could not palter in a double sense², it was mere trifling to represent such a test as adequate when ‘the words of Scripture were the very subject in controversy³.’ Under such circumstances, to describe Christ as the ‘Son of God,’ or even to call Him ‘God,’ without explaining the sense in which those Scriptural titles were ascribed to Him, was to settle nothing, to prolong confusion, and in effect to gain time⁴ for that more ‘extreme left’ of the anti-Catholic party, which knew what it meant, and did not shrink from the most outspoken negations.

Accordingly, Athanasius puts his brethren on their guard. ‘Stand by the Nicene Creed,’ is his clear-voiced exhortation. ‘Once lose hold of that rock, and you plunge into a sea of uncertainties⁵. Remember that you have been warned against false prophets⁶; that error is often dressed up like truth; that discrimination is a part of Christian duty⁷; that it is weak to catch at words without ascertaining the sense in which they are uttered⁸, or to be imposed upon by an irrelevant diffuseness as

¹ Jerome calls the objection to ‘non-scriptural terms’ *verisimilis*; ad Lucif. 18.

² De Decr. Nic. 20; ad Afros, 5. Dishonest use of terms was characteristic of many Arians; cp. Hilary c. Auxent. 6.

³ Newman, Arians, p. 147: see the whole section. Cp. Ath. de Decr. Nic. 32 in reply to the argument that it was right to avoid non-scriptural language: ‘Yes, so would I say too:’ but he adds that the Eusebian readiness to explain away Scriptural terms made it necessary to guard their true sense by terms not in Scripture. Cp. Bright, Hist. Ch. p. 69.

⁴ Although the Acacians were ready enough (e. g. after their victory at Ariminum) to make Aetius a scapegoat. Cp. Philost. iv. 12.

⁵ Ep. Æg. 6: cp. de Syn. 21.

⁶ Ep. Æg. 3.

⁷ Ep. Æg. 4. Observe his fertility of illustration (so remarkable in his two earliest books), as Ep. Æg. 1, 8: cp. Orat. c. Ari. iii. 59.

⁸ Ep. Æg. 4. See note in Ath. Treat. i. 17, Newman’s Arians, p. 226, and Stanley’s Eastern Church, p. 300, on his habit of insisting on ideas rather than on words. Cp. de Syn. 41, 45.

to points not actually at issue¹. Remember that nothing is to the purpose but an unequivocal repudiation of Arianism as in fact it exists.' And this leads naturally to the most valuable portion of the Circular,—an exposition of the Arian theory². He takes it to pieces in his hands: he shows what it is made of, how its parts fit together. There are, we see, three main Arian propositions: that the Son is *not eternal*, and that therefore He is *not uncreate*, from which it follows that He is regarded as exterior to the Divine Being³, and thus is *not* what the Nicene Council, under the strong necessity of the case, had proclaimed Him to be, *of one essence* with the Father. The passage should be read in connection with others in the writings of Athanasius⁴, with that Encyclical of Alexander which Athanasius as his deacon and secretary had doubtless drafted⁵, with Alexander's own letter to his Byzantine namesake⁶, with the letter of the Nicene Council to the church of Egypt⁷, and with the succinct account of the heresy as first formulated which Socrates prefixes to the Encyclical⁸. These accounts combine to strip away the disguises (invented by Arianising craft) which have hidden from many minds the vast proportions of the question at stake, and to show that it was in the truest sense vital⁹.

Several points of interest, relating to the controversy, emerge in this part of the Circular. For instance, we see Athanasius taking advantage, here as elsewhere, of the position in which Arianism placed itself by verbally recognising the Son as 'Divine,' while it denied Him to be uncreate. 'If these men

¹ Ep. Æg. 10. Compare Augustine, de Grat. Chr. s. 35, on this feature in Pelagius's confession of faith.

² Ep. Æg. 12 ff.

³ Newman, Arians, p. 260; Liddon, Bamp. Lect. p. 310.

⁴ De Syn. 15; de Decr. Nic. 6; Orat. c. Ari. i. 5, 6; ad Afros, 5; Vit. Anton. 69.

⁵ Soc. i. 6. See Card. Newman's Tracts Theol. and Eccles. p. 296.

⁶ Theod. i. 4.

⁷ Soc. i. 9.

⁸ Soc. i. 5. For modern accounts of Arianism, see Waterland, i. 402; Newman, Arians, p. 211 ff.; Bp. Kaye on Council of Nicæa, p. 24; Robertson, Hist. Ch. i. 286; Liddon, Bamp. Lect. pp. 16, 32.

⁹ Liddon, Bamp. Lect. p. 434 ff.; Bright, Hist. Ch. p. 149.

say that our Lord is a creature, and worship Him *as* a creature, wherein do they differ from the Heathen¹? We find him also dwelling, here as elsewhere, on the Judaical character of the heresy, doubtless in allusion to the Jews' disbelief in the Divinity of the Messiah². We note a difference between the original Arians and the later Anomœans, in that the former considered the Son to be incapable of a perfect knowledge of the Father, while the latter, under the influence of a more thorough-going rationalism, declared such knowledge to be possible for all mankind³. We observe that, to the Arians, the Son was not only not essentially God, but was not even really the Logos, being only called after the Divine Reason by way of condescension to human ideas⁴. And we may perhaps wonder that Athanasius, when pressed by Arians⁵ with the Septuagint version of Proverbs viii. 22, 'The Lord created me,' did not fall back on the rendering 'possessed,' but forced the passage into a reference to the Incarnation⁷.

But the Circular has much to say on the personal side of the

¹ Ep. Æg. 13; and so 4. Compare Ath. Hist. Ari. 80; de Syn. 50; Orat. c. Ari. i. 8, iii. 15, 16; ad Serap. i. 29; Ep. Adelph. 3. Arian worship of Christ was *formally* idolatrous, because it supposed Him to be a creature; Mozley on Theory of Development, p. 74 ff.; Liddon, Bamp. Lect. p. 403. The 'Divinity' attributed to the Arian 'Son' was indeed only titular and unreal;—it belonged to the outside, rather than the core of Arian doctrine (Newman, Arians, p. 236); but it illustrated the affinity of Arianism to Paganism,—its want of appreciation of the pure and high idea of God, as presented by Scripture. See above, p. xv.

² Ep. Æg. 8, 13; Hist. Ari. 19, 61; Orat. c. Ari. iii. 27; In illud, *Omnia*, 15. For another suggestion as to the connection of Arianism with Judaism, see Newman, Arians, p. 18.

³ Compare Ep. Æg. 12, de Syn. 15, Soc. i. 6, with Eunomius in Soc. iv. 7.

⁴ *Kar' ênivouav*, Ep. Æg. 14: cp. Orat. c. Ari. ii. 37, with note in Athan. Treat. ii. 333.

⁵ He says they carried it, as it were, in procession; Orat. c. Ari. ii. 82.

⁶ It would not commend itself to him, as having been used by the Arianising Eusebius of Cæsarea, Eccl. Theol. iii. 2: yet he might have been expected to follow Dionysius of Rome, whom he cites as rendering 'appointed,' de Decr. Nic. 26.

⁷ Ep. Æg. 17. So de Decr. Nic. 14; Orat. c. Ari. ii. 44 ff.; Expos. Fidei, i. Cp. Greg. Nyss. c. Eunom. Orat. ii. p. 462. The Semi-Arians at Antioch took *ἐκτίσσε* as guarded by *γεννά* in ver. 25: so Meletius of Antioch: Epiph. Hær. 73. 11, 31.

question. The Eusebians, it is urged, do not like to be called Arians, but *are* Arians to all intents and purposes¹. The men whom they support are men committed to the heresy: and to prove this point, nineteen such persons are passed in review (the expected usurper of the throne of St. Mark faring not unnaturally the worst²), and are contrasted with twenty-seven representatives of orthodoxy³. The party is taxed with an unscrupulous disingenuousness, such as marked the last acts of Arius himself, whose sudden and appalling death is briefly described⁴. The date of the rise of Meletianism, already mentioned as probably inaccurate, is given in connection with the alliance between Arian impiety and Meletian secularity⁵. The same passage has seemed to date the Nicene Council thirty-six years before the writing of the Circular, i.e. in 320: but we must read the sentence so as to separate its mention of the Council from its note of time as to the first condemnation of Arianism, and refer the latter to the excommunication of Arius and his companions by Alexander and his suffragans in provincial synod⁶. It appears that some Egyptian bishops had already made a brave stand against the Arianising tyranny⁷, and the whole body are reminded that apostasy might be committed without sacrificing to idols, and a martyr's honour won by playing the man for the true faith⁸.

The tone of respect and hope in which the Circular alludes to the Emperor Constantius⁹ will be best considered under the head of the next Apology. It may be added that the Circular, like the 'Apologia de Fuga,' concludes with a doxology to the

¹ Ep. Æg. 5, 7. He speaks with rhetorical laxity of their having composed a 'Thalia.'

² He goes so far as to give currency to a report that this George was actually a Pagan. For him see also Apol. de Fuga, 6; Hist. Ari. 51, 75; de Syn. 12, 37.

³ Ep. Æg. 8.

⁴ Ep. Æg. 18: cp. the Ep. de Morte Arii, below.

⁵ On simoniacal promotions, compare Ep. Æg. 9 with Apol. ad Const. 28, Hist. Ari. 73.

⁶ Ep. Æg. 22. A comma must then follow *απεριτοί*, and *ἀπεδείχθησαν* be understood of the Alexandrian synod of 320-1. Cp. Ep. Æg. 12: so Apol. c. Ari. 23.

⁷ Compare Ep. Æg. 5, 20.

⁸ Ep. Æg. 21.

⁹ Ep. Æg. 5, 23.

Father *through* the Son *in* the Holy Spirit¹: whereas in other places this form is either enlarged by an addition of 'with the Word²,' or 'with whom³,' or exchanged for that which simply associates the Son and the Spirit with the Father⁴: Athanasius felt himself free to use both forms, although at Antioch they became symbols respectively of the Arianisers and the orthodox⁵.

IV.

The 'Apologia ad Constantium' was composed in the same year 356, partly before and partly after Easter⁶. It was written on a supposition, and must be read in that light. There was a bare chance that Constantius, who had again become an instrument of Arian hostility, might yet again relent, and admit him into his presence, to plead his own cause in person. Athanasius accordingly drew up what in that case he might deliver⁷; and the 'Defence' prepared for that contingency is remarkable for its oratorical elaboration⁸. It begins with a reply to four comparatively recent charges⁹, which he had ascertained to have been brought against him before the Emperor.

I. The first was that he had 'prejudiced Constans against Constantius¹⁰.' Constans had indeed been ever friendly to Athanasius, and the latter might well have acquired an influence over him. But as to the fact, he replies, 'I never once spoke to him in private, but always in company with the bishop of the city,' Milan, Aquileia, or Treves. The reply to this charge gives us some interesting details as to his movements after his first exile to Treves, and after his sojourn at Rome.

¹ Hist. Ari. 80.

² So 'through the Son' simply, De Syn. 54.

³ De Incarn. Verb. 57.

⁴ De Decr. Nic. 32.

⁵ Theod. ii. 24. Cp. Basil, de Spir. S. s. 3. ⁶ Cp. Apol. ad Const. 27.

⁷ For this supposition see c. 1, 2, 6, 19, 29, 34, 35.

⁸ E. g. c. 3, 16, 27, 35, where he refers to the impression made on the auditor or auditors. Twice he turns from the earthly monarch to appeal to Heaven in terms which, it must be confessed, would have given no offence to Arianisers; c. 17.

⁹ The charge of ordaining outside his own diocese (Soc. ii. 24) is not mentioned here.

¹⁰ Apol. ad Const. 2; Soz. iv. 11.

2. The second charge was somewhat inconsistent with the preceding. 'Athanasius corresponded with the Western "tyrant" Magnentius.' The reply is easy and triumphant: 'What motive could *I* have for writing to the very man who had caused the death of Constans, and who slaughtered his aunt and cousin and other excellent persons who had been kind to me in Italy¹?' He asks Constantius to inquire of two Gallic bishops and of others who had come with them as envoys from Magnentius (in 350), and had halted on their way at Alexandria², whether he then expressed any friendliness towards the usurper; or to ascertain from the high state officials who were at Alexandria when the news of Constans's death arrived, whether he had not forthwith called on his people in church to pray for Constantius as sole Emperor³? If a letter purporting to be from him to Magnentius was extant, let the accuser prove it to be genuine⁴: let his secretaries and the servants of Magnentius be confronted with each other: let the Emperor, in this instance, discountenance that rage for libelling which has wrought such wide-spread mischief,—a dexterous side-stroke at the Eusebians.

3. The next charge affected the last Easter service which he had been able to celebrate among his people⁵. 'Athanasius presumed to use the "imperial church," then in course of building at Alexandria, before it was finished, and without waiting for the imperial commands.' This famous church was being

¹ Magnentius took advantage of the vices and weaknesses of Constans by assuming the purple in January of 350, at Autun, the seat of the Western court. Constans fled, but was pursued, and slain. Nepotian, his nephew, set himself up at Rome, but was put to death with his mother Eutropia. Magnentius's overtures to Constantius were spurned, war followed, and Magnentius was defeated at Mursa on Sept. 28, 351, a victory which is an epoch in Church history, for it established the ascendancy of Valens, by a successful artifice, over the mind of Constantius. (Sulpic. Sev. ii. 38; Gibbon, ii. 66.) Magnentius, after a final defeat, slew himself in August of 353.

² Tillemont, viii. 137.

³ See his 'bidding prayer' and the responsive prayer to Christ, in Apol. ad Const. 10.

⁴ Apol. ad Const. 11. On forging of letters see also Apol. c. Ari. 45.

⁵ So Tillemont, viii. 148.

erected on the Emperor's own ground, and at his own cost¹; and was on a larger scale than any of the older Alexandrian churches. Athanasius's answer to this charge of disrespect to Constantius illustrates the religious state of Alexandria at the time, It is, in substance, 'I grant that to *dedicate* the church without your orders would have been unlawful. But I did not dedicate it. The fact was that the churches had become too small for our Lenten congregations, and the people had set their hearts on meeting in one place, as one united body, for the Easter festival². They urged that the new church, though still incomplete, was the only building available for that purpose³: and in order to keep them from going out to keep Easter in the open country, I did what I had seen done before, especially on one occasion when Constans was present,—I celebrated that Easter in the yet undedicated church, without waiting for a license to do so.' On this showing, the people had put pressure on their archbishop⁴: but he was doubtless nothing loth to hear the Paschal Alleluias resounding through a majestic edifice which was called 'the Emperor's own.'

4. Lastly, he was charged with more than constructive disrespect, as that he had 'disobeyed the Emperor's summons to come to Italy.' He answered in effect⁵, 'I received no such mandate. I did receive from a Palace-officer (nearly three years before the composition of this Apology) an imperial letter purporting to grant a request of mine for leave to visit Italy in order to gather funds for our Church. But I had made no such request: any letter which seemed to contain it must be a forgery. Therefore, the *permission* which presupposed it was one which I was bound in honour *not* to use.' The

¹ 'The great church in the Cæsareum;' Hist. Ari. 74. Cp. Festal Index, for 368.

² He refers to the Paschal joy both here and in Encycl. 5, 'that day of liberty,' and Fest. Ep. 6. 10.

³ Its walls and doors were in their places; and of this circumstance Athanasius makes a strange use, Ap. ad Const. 17.

⁴ He says that he did exhort them to give up their wish for a combined meeting, but they would not; c. 14.

⁵ Apol. ad Const. 19: cf. Soz. iv. 9.

readiness and force of this answer thinly veil the quiet irony¹ which plays with this mean and puerile court-trick for getting him away from his own people. Of that visit of an imperial secretary more than two years later² which, according to the 'Chronicon Acephalum,' was a protracted attempt to compass this end, and according to Sozomen encountered the most resolute resistance, he only says that Diogenes gave him no letter, and brought him no orders: and then, passing on to the critical period of the arrival of the duke Syrianus, he says that he too had brought no letter, but implies that he ordered him, in the Emperor's name, to go to Italy. Then it was that he produced a letter³ in which Constantius, immediately after the death of Constans, had exhorted Athanasius to disregard alarming reports, and had expressed a fixed intention to uphold him in his position. On the strength of this document he plainly told Syrianus that he would recognise none but written orders: and his clergy and laity, with at least the majority of the citizens, prevailed on Syrianus⁴ to write to the Emperor.

Then comes a brief account of Syrianus's nocturnal irruption, which is more fully narrated in the 'Apologia de Fuga,' and in an extant Protest of Alexandrian Churchmen. It is mentioned in this Apology simply as a proof that there was no written mandate available; for such an order would have made it needless. Athanasius adds that he *then* 'bestirred himself' to repair to the court without such orders; but that three reports coming one after another had ultimately forced him to give up his design. They were, (1) that several Western bishops had been banished, and others were being treated with rigour, in order to detach

¹ Like nearly all great men, he had a refined but healthy sense of the humorous side of things: see instances in Stanley's *Eastern Church*, p. 286.

² Montanus, the Palatine or Silentiary, had come on May 23, 353 (the Chron. Aceph. says that he brought a letter forbidding certain delegates of Athanasius to visit the court when they had started four days before). Diogenes came in the August of 355: cf. Chron. Aceph. and Soz. iv. 9.

³ According to Hist. Ari. 51, Constantius wrote three such letters to Athanasius. Only this one is preserved; Ap. ad Con. 23. In c. 25 he alludes to those of 456.

⁴ This interview was about January 18, 356.

them from Athanasius¹; (2) that nearly ninety suffragans of his had incurred 'persecution,' of whom sixteen had been banished, and others had fled,—their places being filled by moneyed men and 'curial' officials²; while the Alexandrian Church people, being in prayer near the cemetery on a Sunday in Eastertide, had been savagely attacked by Syrianus and his troops³. (3) That the Alexandrians had been congratulated in one letter from Constantius on having shaken off the influence of a 'low-bred impostor⁴,' and that in another the Abyssinian princes of Axum had been ordered to send their bishop Frumentius⁵ to Alexandria, to be examined by the Arian bishop George. This reiteration of evil tidings, proceeds Athanasius, constrained him 'to turn back again into the desert': not, he says, in dread of Constantius, but lest the authorities, who had already exceeded the Emperor's commands as to the ejection of the bishops by sending them into 'terrible places of exile,' should seize him on his way and put him to death. Of death, indeed, he had 'no fear:' but it was a duty not to make its infliction easy. He inserts a fervid remonstrance against a recent scourging of Alexandrian Church-virgins⁷: and concludes with an expostulation which supposes the imperial listener to be already more than half appeased.

The 'Apology to Constantius' has been justly praised for its

¹ Apol. ad Const. 27. Here he brings together several cases (e. g. Paulinus of Treves had been banished, in 353, after the Council of Arles, Hil. Fragm. i. 6), and associates them all with that which he had then heard of the banishment of Liberius. Yet it is strange that he had not sooner heard of that event, which took place in the late summer of 355.

² Such promotions would be violations of Nicene Can. 2.

³ Ap. ad Const. 27. Not strictly during Eastertide: see Ap. de Fuga, 6.

⁴ In this manifesto, which may have been accompanied by some imperial bounty (Hil. c. Const. 11), and which exhibits utter recklessness as to the credibility of its statements, Athanasius is described as of very low birth, which is inconsistent with what we know about his family tomb, Soc. iv. 13, not to say with his liberal education.

⁵ For his story see Soc. i. 19; Soz. ii. 24. This letter of Constantius has marks of Arianism; Ap. ad Con. 31: compare De Syn. 15.

⁶ Ap. ad Con. 32.

⁷ Hilary alludes to this, ad Const. i. 6. Compare on Church-virgins, Cyprian. de Hab. Virg. 3 ff.; Bingham, b. vii. c. 4 (vol. ii. p. 325 ff.).

artistic finish¹ and its rhetorical skill. Montfaucon calls it 'validissima, elegantissima, jucundissima.' But, at any rate to an English mind, it is not the 'most agreeable' of the works of its great author. A strange unreality seems at first sight to pervade it, and to prompt an unwelcome question: 'What mean these loud professions of confidence in the piety, patience, equity, and goodness of a sovereign distinguished even among "purple-born" autocrats for the smallness of his mind and the hardness of his heart?' Gibbon is doubtless unfair in saying² that 'in public apologies addressed to the Emperor himself, Athanasius sometimes affected the praise of moderation; whilst *at the same time* in secret and vehement invectives he exposed Constantius as weak and wicked,' tyrannical and antichristian. For the 'History of the Arians' was written nearly two years after the 'Apology' before us: and important events had marked the interval³. But, taking the Apology as it stands, and connecting with it some similar language in favour of Constantius which Athanasius had just before used in the Circular to his suffragans⁴, we ask whether, in the spring or early summer of 356, he would really feel as he then wrote; and if not, what is to be said of his having thus written?

The first remark, by way of reply, is that, as has been already indicated, the Apology is composed on a hypothesis. Athanasius, who excelled his contemporaries in what has been called a Pauline versatility⁵, projects himself imaginatively into a possible future, and writes, not as he feels at the time, but as he would feel if a certain change were to take place. If only Constantius were to become again what he was in 345 and 346, then he would address him as 'blessed' and 'most religious,' and as having at last appeared in a character too long obscured by Arian counsels⁶. Again, we must remember that the solemn promises made in 346, and repeated in 350⁷, would dispose Athanasius as long as possible to hope, even against hope, that Constantius had not, with his eyes open and with full know-

¹ Newman, Hist. Tracts of S. Athan. p. 154.

² Gibbon, iii. 87.

³ See below, on Hist. Ari.

⁴ Ep. Æg. 5, 23.

⁵ Stanley on Eastern Church, p. 284.

⁶ Apol. ad Const. 34.

⁷ Apol. ad Const. 23, 25, 27; Hist. Ari. 22.

ledge of the case, committed himself to the policy which was represented by the deeds of Syrianus both before and after that sad Easter. We know how, in much later times, but still under a system of 'personal government,' men have persuaded themselves that the bad acts of kings were morally the acts of their bad advisers; and it may have been easier than we should imagine to apply this theory to a prince who could not call his soul his own among base chamberlains and courtly ecclesiastics¹. It may be rejoined that this implies some personal respect or regard for the monarch in question, such as many a Parliamentarian might feel for Charles I; and that no one who knew men as the great patriarch knew them could have any such feelings for Constantius. Yet Constantius had formerly for a time meant well by Athanasius—better than for many months the bishop could then bring himself to believe. A noble soul would be sure to remember this: and the more that its charity was thus strained, the more intense would be the recoil when the hope was thoroughly dissipated, and the 'vehement invectives' of the 'Arian History' would be a not unnatural result². If, after all, it is thought that such considerations do not explain everything,—that there is in this Apology an obsequiousness inconsistent with sincerity and self-respect,—that if Athanasius did not know all that Ammianus has told us of this prince's exceptional ferocity as aroused by exceptional timidity³, and could not know that the imperial

¹ See above, p. xii. For his weakness in this respect, his ignorance, arrogance, and tyranny in Church matters, see Rendall, *The Emperor Julian*, pp. 33, 55. Compare his words in *Hist. Ari.* 33, and *Theod.* ii. 16. Eusebius his chamberlain actually thought that Athanasius had been condemned at Nicæa; *ib.* On the eunuchs' ascendancy, see *Hist. Ari.* 37, 38.

² Hilary, in 355-6, eulogises Constantius for his benevolent disposition, innate kindness, fatherly compassionateness (*ad Const.* i. 1, 2); at the opening of 360 he still calls him 'most pious,' most kind, most religious (*ad Const.* ii. 1, 4); and then, later in the same year, after Constantius had refused to hear him on the question of Christian doctrine, and was enforcing the Ariminian creed, he bursts forth into passionate denunciation, calling Constantius antichristian, impious, wicked, a ravening wolf in sheep's clothing, &c., with reference, in great measure, to acts considerably prior to A.D. 360 (*Contra Constantium*, 5, 7, 8, 11, etc.).

³ Ammianus, xxi. 16. 9, on his putting to death by prolonged torture those whom fear made him suspect. When a rival was fairly at his feet, he

representative of Christianity had unconsciously been to Julian a fatal 'rock of offence'¹; he yet knew of too much that was evil or ignoble in his character,—that he must have heard, years before this date, of that slaughter of nine princes in 337, the guilt of which in the 'Arian History' he lays unreservedly on Constantius²,—that it was unworthy of him to talk of such a man's 'gracious countenance³,' of his 'well-known forbearance and humanity⁴,' of his familiarity with the Scriptures⁵, or to assume that his savage threats had been devoid of serious intention⁶, we must remember how difficult it is for us to appreciate the language which in those days was conventionally addressed to an Emperor. We who cannot well enter into the feelings of the old French clergy for their 'Rex Christianissimus,' who smile at the 'Dedication' prefixed to King James's Bible, who even, if the truth must be spoken, feel that some expressions in our own Prayer-Book do not fit the case of modern royalty,—we can but faintly realise a social condition in which the name of the Augustus was a spell over men's speech, so that words written for his hearing had lost much of their natural value. If Athanasius used some words in such a sense, he did more by his practical bearing than any other man of his time to limit the range of Cæsarean tyranny⁷, and to enforce the great lesson which mankind first learned from the Church of the Martyrs, when she made it known to the Cæsar, by the most emphatic form of evidence, that she would neither swear by his genius nor burn incense to his gods.

could be generous, *Sec. ii. 28*: and we hear of his using a threat which he never intended to fulfil, and admiring the spirit which could disregard it; *Theod. ii. 32*.

¹ See Rendall, pp. 42, 229.

² *Hist. Ari.* 69. Socrates ascribed the deed to 'the soldiers,' *iii. 1*: and this was the account given to Julian when detained in early youth at Macellum in Cappadocia; *Jul. ad S. P. Q. Athen.* (*Op.* p. 271). Naturally, he did not believe it. See Gibbon, *ii. 366*; Rendall, p. 35.

³ *Apol. ad Const.* 19.

⁴ *Apol. ad Const.* 32. Liberius writes to Constantius, '*animum tuum qui lenitati semper vacat*;' *Hil. Fragma.* 5.

⁵ *Apol. ad Const.* 18.

⁶ *Apol. ad Const.* 34.

⁷ See De Broglie, *iii. 348 ff.* Cp. *Hist. Ari.* 76.

V.

The 'Apologia de Fuga' must be dated between the 'lapse' of Hosius, which occurred in the middle of 357¹, and that of Liberius, which occurred in the spring of 358²; for it mentions the former, not the latter. It was also prior to the death of Leontius of Antioch, which occurred about the end of 357³. Athanasius, therefore, wrote it towards the close of that year, and nearly two years after his escape from the attack of Syrianus. He was moved to write by hearing that in Arian circles he was charged with 'cowardice:' and we can well understand how that escape, and his subsequent concealment, would be welcomed as decisive evidence that the so-called hero of Egypt was no better than a run-away. Foremost among such sneerers was the wary old diplomatist whose episcopate at Antioch was now fast drawing to its conclusion; and who, after finding that it had been a mistake to promote so 'extreme' an Arian as Aetius⁴, had settled down for years into the policy of not committing himself⁵, and of keeping things quiet for his time⁶. With him Athanasius connects Narcissus of Neronias⁷ and George of Laodicea⁸, for both of whom he entertained a strong

¹ See Newman, *Arians*, p. 335. See above, p. li.

² See above, p. li.

³ Tillemont, vi. 422.

⁴ De Syn. 38; Theodoret, ii. 24.

⁵ Ib., the story of his slurring over the critical words in the doxology, so that no one could tell whether he said '*and*' or '*through* the Son.'

⁶ For his own *not* as to his 'snowy' hair, see *Soz.* iii. 20. He had supported Arius as early as 321; *Epiph. Hær.* 69. 5.

⁷ Narcissus, whom at the end of this Apology he calls 'the most wicked' of the Arians, was an old prelate who had sat in the Councils of Ancyra and Neocæsarea in 314. He joined the Arian party in its earliest days, and Theodoret, i. 7, ranks him with those Arianisers who presented to the Nicene Council a creed which was indignantly torn in pieces: it seems to have been composed by Eusebius of Nicomedia, *ib.* 8.

⁸ Some Arian dicta of this George (who had been deposed from the presbyterate by Alexander) are cited in *De Syn.* 17. He was just now acting with the Semi-Arians (see *Soz.* iv. 13), perhaps because Eudoxius had been made bishop of Antioch without his consent. According to Theodoret, he relapsed into real Arianism in 361; *ii.* 31. He was an author; *Soc.* ii. 9. See Newman, *Arians*, p. 311.

aversion. They affected surprise, it seems, that he had not come boldly forward and put himself into their hands. He points out that such hands as theirs had been everywhere active in violence and tyranny; that bishop after bishop, for adherence to the Nicene faith, had experienced the cruelty of their tender mercies¹. Eustathius and others, in the earlier days of Arian persecution, had been exiled; Paul of Constantinople (in 350 or 351) had been actually strangled; later still (after the Council of Milan in 355), a raid had been made on the most eminent Western prelates: and then, as if parenthetically, he refers to the most recent case of barbarous coercion which had ended in the 'temporary' fall of Hosius. Then he adverts to the attack on his own church, and to the subsequent persecution of the Catholics of Alexandria and Egypt²,—of which more presently; and so comes to his main point, the justification of his own 'flight' as warranted by Christ's precept in Matt. x. 23, by His example on six distinct occasions, and by the examples of Biblical saints and Christian confessors. There was, he remarks, this difference between the Divine Redeemer and all those saints to whom, as having taken on Himself 'the body and the infirmity of man'; He set a precedent in His own conduct, that He foreknew from the first when His actual time for suffering would come, and they had no such foreknowledge as to theirs. They, therefore, could but act according to circumstances: until it became clear that their time was come, to court death would have been a 'tempting of the Lord.' Thus they escaped, while they could, from persecutors, accepting the life of fugitives, itself, as his own experience could testify, a severe trial of endurance³; and when by express revelation or

¹ Theodoret quotes from this context in ii. 15.

² *Apol. de Fuga*, 6 ff. The passage is quoted by Socrates, ii. 28, but dated too early, as if George's intrusion had taken place about 351.

³ *Apol. de Fuga*, 12. *Cp. Orat. c. Ari. iii. 32.*

⁴ What he says, c. 17, of those who sank under the toils and pains of 'flight' might be illustrated by Dionysius's words in *Euseb. vi. 42*. In the same passage he seems to utter what he himself had had cause to feel when hunted from one retreat to another. 'The fugitive, while daily expecting an attack from his enemies, deems death a lighter evil than his present condition.'

otherwise they were called upon to suffer, they accepted death with an equally ready mind, which showed that their 'flight' had by no means been prompted by timidity. Combining these remarks with a passage in the 'Apology to Constantius', we see that Athanasius's principle was, (1) not to forsake his church until persecution had actually approached him; (2) after that time, to embrace any opportunity of escape; (3) to hold himself prepared for martyrdom whenever concealment should become impracticable. 'This rule,' he says, 'the blessed martyrs observed':¹ he was probably thinking of Polycarp² and Cyprian³, and of his own predecessors Dionysius⁴ and Peter⁵. His discussion of this case of conscience⁶ was the most complete that had as yet appeared: it was reserved for St. Augustine, amid the terrible crisis of the Vandal invasion of Africa, to lay down yet more fully and precisely the principles which should guide a bishop's conduct, and in so doing expressly to justify the course which Athanasius had pursued⁷. We should note the emphasis with which Athanasius here, as elsewhere, condemns persecution as unchristian⁸; his recognition of certain cases in which Christians, contrary to the general rule, had been moved to present themselves for martyrdom⁹; and his allusion to the tradition which made Rome the scene of

¹ Apol. ad Const. 26.

² Apol. de Fuga; 22.

³ Euseb. iv. 15.

⁴ Epist. 20, etc.

⁵ Euseb. vi. 40.

⁶ See above, p. xxxix.

⁷ Socrates quotes largely from it in Hist. iii. 8. See it summarised in Newman's Church of the Fathers, p. 231 ff.

⁸ Epist. 228. He there states a condition which, he says, was satisfied in Athanasius's case, that clergy are left behind 'who are not under the same necessity for fleeing, and who can supply the ministrations to the Church.' See Church of the Fathers, p. 238 ff.

⁹ Compare Apol. de Fuga, 8, 23, with Hist. Ari. 33, 67. He gives no warrant for the gloss in Lib. Fath. Transl. p. 279, which would make him regard persecution as lawful, 'in due subordination to argument.' One or two vehement phrases in Orat. c. Ari. (e. g. ii. 4, 28) do not outweigh these grave statements, which resemble those of Hilary in a noble passage, ad Const. i. 6, 'Deus obsequio non eget necessario, non requirit coactam confessionem,' etc.; and in his c. Auxentium, 4, on the persecution carried on by a secularised and Arianised 'church.'

¹⁰ Some such cases are given in Euseb. vi. 41; vii. 12; Mart. Pal. 4. 9.

the martyrdom of St. Peter¹. He proceeds to describe his own wonderful escape; and the account is substantially, if not in all details², at one with that which is found in the second protest drawn up four days afterwards by Alexandrian Churchmen. What happened, it appears, was this: on the evening of Thursday, the 13th of Mechir and the 7th of February³, Athanasius and a number of his people, including several of the Church-virgins, were holding a vigil-service⁴ at one of the churches—from other authorities we learn that it was not the Cæsarean, but that of Theonas⁵—in preparation for a solemn service⁶ on the next day, Friday, Mechir 14. About midnight, the ‘duke’ Syrianus beset the church with a large force: Athanasius, hearing the noise of their approach, sat down on his throne⁷, and ordered his attendant deacon to read the 136th Psalm (in our reckoning), and the people to respond⁸ with the

¹ Somewhat rhetorically, he connects Peter also with the announcement to Paul in Acts xxiii. 11; c. 18.

² Compare Apol. de Fuga, 24 (cited in Theod. ii. 13), with the ‘Contestatio Secunda’ at the end of the Arian History. The scene is wrongly connected with Gregory’s intrusion in Soc. ii. 11 and Soz. iii. 6, but referred to again, with a right date, in Soz. iv. 9. It is alluded to in Ath. Vit. Anton. 82, and in Hist. Ari. 48.

³ The text of the Protest says, ‘As it dawned towards the 5th Id., Feb., which is the 14th of Mechir.’ There must be an error as to the Roman reckoning; for the 14th of Mechir would be, not 5 Id. or Feb. 9, but 6 Id. or Feb. 8, since Mechir 1 = Jan. 26. And the 14th was a Friday according to the Protest; but as Easter Sunday in that year 356 was April 7 (Fest. Index), the 8th of February fell on a Friday. Similarly at the end of the Protest, for Frid. Idus or Feb. 12 should be read 3 Idus or Feb. 11.

⁴ *Ἐσπέρησις*. On vigils see Bingham, xiii. 9. 4 (vol. iv. p. 360).

⁵ Fest. Index, 356: cp. Soz. iv. 9. The church was built by Alexander, Apol. ad Const. 15, and named after Theonas, who was bishop when Athanasius was born.

⁶ *Συνάξεως*, says Athanasius, both in Apol. de Fuga, 24, and Apol. ad Const. 25. He uses *συνάγωα* for to hold, *συνάγομαι* for to join in, a church service, which would culminate in the Holy Communion. Not every day was *συνάξιμος*, Soz. iv. 16; but Wednesdays and Fridays were so, cp. Hist. Ari. 55. See above, p. xxiii.

⁷ The throne would be at the end of the apsidal chancel; Bingham, viii. 6. 10 (vol. ii. p. 438).

⁸ *Ἰστανθεῖν*, equivalent to *ὑμνεῖν*. See Bingham, xiv. 1. 12 (vol. iv. p. 436). Apparently it is to the reading of the psalm that the Protest refers,

burden of each verse, 'For His mercy endureth for ever,' and then to go home,—evidently not knowing that the soldiers were guarding the precinct. The doors were burst open : Syrianus gave the word of command, some of his soldiers shot their arrows, and all, 'with swords flashing in the light of the lamps,' rushed forward to the chancel. Hilarius, a government secretary, and Gorgonius, the commander of the police, accompanied Syrianus ; and Ariens were mixed with the soldiers in order to point out the archbishop. In the fury of the onset, some virgins and some men were killed; others were trampled down: the clergy and some laymen begged Athanasius to go out at once; he answered, 'Not till all have gone,' and rising from his throne, he uttered a short 'bidding of prayer,' and requested those who could hear him to go out first. Most of them had already done so, when some monks and clerics forcibly 'drew him away : ' the laymen who, in the confusion, caught a momentary glimpse of his slight form, were under the impression that he had fainted¹; and the soldiers, baulked of their prey, searched all round the sanctuary, seized and beat several deacons, plundered the church stores, and removed the bodies of the slain : but many weapons were left in the church, and the Catholics repeatedly prevented them from being carried away. Athanasius went into some place of hiding : his people drew up a first protest, not now extant; some of them went personally to remonstrate with Syrianus, but he ordered them to be beaten with clubs. They accordingly drew up a second protest, and sent deputies to Constantius, who, by way of reply, sent a count named Heraclius with a letter in which he announced that those who adhered to Athanasius would be deemed his enemies². Combining the accounts in this Apology and in

'while reading was taking place, they broke open the doors;' and Socrates exaggerates this by saying that during the psalmody the 'soldiers kept quiet;' ii. 11. So Soz. iii. 6.

¹ So the Protest. Gibbon says, 'Though he was oppressed by the waves of an agitated multitude, . . . thrown to the ground, and left without sense or motion, he still recovered his undaunted courage,' &c.; iii. 84. See also Stanley, *East. Church*, p. 284.

² *Hist. Ari.* 48.

the Arian History, we find that the churches were by proclamation made over to the Arians: and that on a Wednesday in the ensuing Lent¹, Heraclius, with the prefect and receiver general, encouraged a Pagan mob to profane the Cæsarean church, just as the church of Quirinus had been profaned in 340. George, the new intrusive bishop, a man of rough and brutal temper², arrived somewhat later in Lent³; and Easter was again a time of suffering for Churchmen⁴. Some priests and deacons were exiled; one subdeacon was so barbarously beaten that he died of his hurts⁵; some virgins were imprisoned, others actually flung from house-roofs;—many men were obliged to change their abodes; gardens, and even tombs, were searched by the pursuers of Athanasius; and even almsgiving to church widows was treated as a crime⁶. A main agent in this terrorism was the duke Sebastian, a Manichean, and as such, says Athanasius, inhuman towards the poor⁷. If it be true that even he was not quite cruel enough for the Arians⁸, he must have satisfied them when on the evening of Sunday, the 2nd of June, just a week after Pentecost⁹, he followed a number of Church people who had gone out to worship in the cemetery, and finding only a

¹ Hist. Ari. 55.

² Instead of quoting ecclesiastical denunciations of this usurper, it may suffice to refer to Ammianus, xxii. 11. 4, and Gibbon, iii. 171. Theologically he is associated with advanced Arians, such as Eudoxius and Euzoius; Epiphan. Hær. 73. 23. He ordained Aetius deacon, ib. 38; but had to hear of his being formally deposed by the Council of Constantinople in 360: see Theod. ii. 28. The populace murdered him on Dec. 24, 361.

³ Apol. de Fuga, 6; cited in Theod. ii. 14.

⁴ See above, p. xv.

⁵ Entychius; Hist. Ari. 60. The brutal murder of Secundus, at Barea, took place in the Lent (probably) of 357; Hist. Ari. 65.

⁶ Apol. de Fuga, 6; Hist. Ari. 58, 59, 61. Comp. Gibbon, iii. 83.

⁷ Hist. Ari. 61. The Manicheans would not give food, or even water, to a beggar who was not of their sect: but this was for reasons connected with their strange theology, not from inhumanity, for they would give money instead of food; S. Aug. de Mor. Manich. s. 36, 53. Athanasius was probably unaware of the distinction. (I am indebted to Canon Robertson for this suggestion.)

⁸ Hist. Ari. 60. Cp. the term 'homicidal' applied to Arianism, De Syn. 54.

⁹ Easter Sunday being April 7, Whitsun-day was May 26.

few who had remained behind the rest, caused his soldiers to scourge forty men with palm twigs, freshly cut 'and having the thorns upon them;' and after failing to extort a renunciation of Catholicism from some virgins, he 'wounded their faces, so that for some time they could not be known¹.' Some of the sufferers died of their wounds, and their bodies were concealed in the vain attempt to prevent discovery². Athanasius gives us the names of twenty-six bishops³ who were driven into exile, and says that more than thirty had been compelled to fly, that others had been plundered, and others frightened into temporising⁴, and that the vacated sees had been filled by young men who knew little of Christianity, but had money to obtain preferment⁵.

To return to the *Apology*. After narrating his own escape, he urges that to nullify it by surrendering himself to his enemies would have been an act of thoughtless folly. This 'flight' of his, which had been taxed with 'cowardice'—and by harping on that word thirteen times he shows how keenly the shaft had galled him—was, when fairly judged, nothing more than the due use of a providential deliverance, in accordance with the maxims and precedents of Scripture. He concludes the *Apology* with severe and perhaps excessive censures on the three Arian prelates who had criticised his conduct; and in this connection he lays aside, absolutely and finally, the hopeful language which he had used, as long as he possibly could, in regard to his imperial persecutor, and calls him 'Constantius the heretic.'

¹ *Apol. de Fuga*, 6, 7; (*Soc. ii.* 28); *Apol. ad Const.* 27; *Hist. Ari.* 72. See Newman, *Arians*, p. 341.

² *Hist. Ari.* 72. The fragment ascribed to Athanasius in *Theod. ii.* 14 hardly agrees with this.

³ Sixteen in *Apol. de Fuga*, 7, and ten beside these in *Hist. Ari.* 72. He gives the number sixteen in *Ap. ad Const.* 27. *Cp. Ap. c. Ari.* 50, 79.

⁴ Theodore of Oxyrinchos, it is said, actually accepted re-consecration from George; whereupon his people forsook his communion. Our authority, however, is the questionable narrative of the Luciferians, Marcellinus and Faustinus; *Sirmond. Op. i.* 151.

⁵ *Hist. Ari.* 78.

VI.

The short letter 'to Serapion, on the death of Arius,' was written, to all appearance, not long after the work addressed 'to the Monks,' to which it refers. This would fix its date in the course of the year 358, or perhaps in 359¹. Serapion, bishop of Thmuis, was a man of piety and learning, who left behind him some theological works². He was also a man of practical ability and ready speech, and had been sent with four other prelates on a deputation from Athanasius to Constantius in the early part of 353³. He had enjoyed the friendship of St. Antony, who when dying, about three weeks before the 'flight,' bequeathed one of his two sheepskin cloaks to Athanasius, and the other to Serapion⁴. Apparently he had escaped the persecution which fell so heavily on orthodox Egyptian bishops in 356. To him, during this same third exile, Athanasius addressed, with a most affectionate exordium, his four extant letters on the doctrine of the Holy Spirit. Serapion now asked Athanasius for an account of his own life and times, a refutation of Arianism, and an answer to a question which, strange to say, had been debated in his presence,—whether Arius had died in Catholic communion. On this latter point, Athanasius had already said enough in his Circular to the Egyptian bishops; and it is hard to see why his eminent suffragan had not settled the question by citing that document. However, in the present letter the story is told with greater fulness, on the authority of the presbyter Macarius⁵, who was at Constantinople at the time of the heresiarch's tragical death, which Athanasius and other Catholics could not fail to take as

¹ Tillemont would date it as late as 361; viii. 198: but Serapion could hardly have needed at that time to be informed about the work 'Ad Monachos.'

² Jerome, de Vir. Illustr. 99; Soz. iv. 9. Cp. Tillemont, viii. 144.

³ Soz. iv. 9. The Festal Index for 353 names two bishops, and two priests, 'with others.'

⁴ Ath. Vit. Anton. 91.

⁵ Theodoret quotes this passage, i. 14.

a 'sign'¹. On the two other points, he refers Serapion to the treatise 'To the Monks,' including a lost doctrinal portion and the whole of what we call the Arian History: but he shows, withal, a remarkable anxiety, professedly based on the 'inadequacy' of his own theological statements, to keep these letters out of general circulation. Serapion is requested not to give a copy of them to any one,—not even to copy them for himself.

VII.

We now come to the work 'Ad Monachos,' consisting, as it has come down to us, of a prefatory Epistle and of the fragmentary 'History of the Arians.' It also included, as the letter shows, a 'brief' dissertation on the Arian heresy, now lost². The monks of Egypt had been, and still were, thoroughly true to the Catholic faith, and affectionately loyal to their great archbishop. Among their cells, said Gregory of Nazianzus many years later³, he showed how to 'unite a tranquil activity and an active tranquillity,' and reminded them that 'the monastic life consists not merely in bodily retirement, but in gravity of character.' 'His will became their law: what displeased him was to them a thing forbidden: his judgments were to them like the Mosaic tablets, and the reverence which they paid to him was greater than is due from men to the saints. For when the pursuers arrived, tracking him like a wild beast, they did not vouchsafe them a single word, but were silently ready to die in his defence.' 'Nothing was so easy,' says the brilliant French historian of the period⁴, 'as to pass unperceived from one monastery to another; and it was thus that Athanasius for many months was able to elude the vigilance of an indefatigable

¹ On this event, which although 'natural,' was peculiarly awe-striking, compare the *De Morte Arianorum* with Ep. *Æg.* 18, 19; and both with Soc. i. 38; and see *Christ. Remembr.*, Jan. 1854, p. 146.

² The notion that this dissertation was in fact the 'Orations against the Arians' may be dismissed as extravagant.

³ *Greg. Naz. Orat.* xxi. 19: cp. Tillemont, viii. 182.

⁴ De Broglie, *L'Eglise et l'Empire Romain*, iii. 331.

police. At the slightest alarm from Alexandria, a skiff¹ launched on the river, or a nightly caravan traversing the sands, with its traces rapidly effaced by the desert-wind, transported him noiselessly to a new retreat. Wherever he arrived, the superiors of the house received him as a father . . . he related his adventures, answered their questions on those minute points of the schism which were very imperfectly understood in the desert, sent or received messengers to provide, even at a distance, by his counsels, for the needs of his oppressed church. He then resumed the monastic routine of life: and this hero of great contests . . . by his assiduity in prayers, offices, prolonged meditations, caused the oldest athletes of penitence to marvel at his acquaintance with the interior of the contemplative life².

For such readers Athanasius composed the work before us. The prefatory letter dwells chiefly on its doctrinal portion, and is remarkable for its emphatic assertion that 'man cannot comprehend God as He is, although it is possible to say what He is not: ' that human conceptions of Divine truth are but imperfect, and that human language at best falls short of those conceptions³. That man could know God morally and spiritually, and that his apprehension of God's Being was real though imperfect, Athanasius would have been the first to acknowledge⁴,

¹ Such boats were 'entirely covered,' as he says himself of an adventure of his in the reign of Julian; Narrat. ad Ammonium, etc. Kingsley speaks of the Nile as 'the great watery highway from monastery to monastery;' Hypatia, p. 27.

² Compare this description with the much better known though less sympathetic passage in Gibbon, iii. 85. See Act. SS., Mai. iii. 330, for a story told by a monk of the next generation,—how the duke Artemius arrived at the monastery of Pabau with an imperial order to apprehend Athanasius, of whom, however, as it happened, the monk in charge could say with truth, 'We esteem him as our father, but I have never yet seen him.' To harbour him was deemed a State offence, Soz. iv. 10: and yet for some time during this exile he remained concealed in Alexandria itself: see Festal Index for 358 and 360.

³ See De Synodis, 35: also De Decr. Nic. 22, 'Although it is impossible to comprehend *what* the essence of God is, yet, as simply understanding *that* God exists . . . we call Him God,' etc. Comp. Orat. c. Arian. ii. 32, 36, with Hilary, de Trin. iv. 2.

⁴ E. g. Orat. c. Ari. iii. 63, 'It is enough to hear about God in order to know that *He is He who is*.' See note in Athan. Treatises, ii. 333.

while here and elsewhere he reminds theological students that no creed or formula or series of dogmatic propositions can lift us, in this world, above the condition of 'knowing in part'.¹ We may be sure, also, that he speaks what he feels when he confesses that the more he desired to write on the Divinity of the Word, and the more he tried to force himself to grasp it, the further did the knowledge of it (that is, the intellectual comprehension) recede from him.² The great master of orthodox theology has to fall back, as St. Augustine did so often, on the '*depth*' of the riches of the knowledge of God.³ He asks the simple monks to read his doctrinal statement as 'suggestive:' he offers it with the consciousness that it is full of omissions. He forbids those who by turns receive it to copy it, or allow it to be copied: they must prove themselves 'good money-changers' (alluding to the celebrated traditional dictum of our Lord⁴) by reading it carefully, and must then return it to him: and here his self-depreciation becomes even startling, for he describes himself as 'a babbler and unlearned'.⁵ We can hardly help thinking that these precautions had also another motive in the character of the historical portion of the composite work.

This 'History of the Arians,' when complete, must have extended from the origin of the controversy to the time at which Athanasius was writing, that is, apparently, at the beginning of 358. It might seem necessary to date it later in that year, because Athanasius speaks of the lapse of Liberius: but he must have heard, before that year was far advanced, of the death of Leontius, whom in this work he mentions as still

Compare Irenæus, iii. 24. 2; iv. 6. 4; Hilary, De Syn. 79; Augustine, de Trin. viii. 9. 13.

¹ On the different senses of 'knowing' in respect to God, see St. Basil, Epp. 234 and 235: comp. Aug. de Trin. vii. c. 4.

² Tillemont, viii. 190, paraphrases this well: 'Plus il s'efforçoit de contempler la divinité du Verbe, plus il connoissoit qu'elle est inconcevable: plus il pénétoit dans ce mystère, plus il voyoit combien il est impénétrable.' Comp. Hilary, de Trin. ii. 5, and De Syn. 5.

³ Hilary quotes the same text in de Trin. xi. 45.

⁴ For this saying see Euseb. vii. 7; Soc. iii. 16, &c.

⁵ Cp. Orat. c. Ari. ii. 72; de Syn. 54.

living. Probably the reference to the lapse of Liberius was an addition to the original draft. The first part of the History, down to the Council of Tyre, is lost¹: it was doubtless omitted by copyists who thought that its substance might be found in the Apology against the Arians. The narrative, as we have it, begins with the reception of Arians into communion by the Council which adjourned from Tyre to Jerusalem in the autumn of 335.

Several questions² arise on a consideration of this 'History.' We see at once that it differs in style from what may be called 'the great Apology;' for while in the latter Athanasius always speaks of himself in the first person, in the former he is frequently spoken of in the third. Sometimes, too, he is mentioned as 'the bishop³:' and in one passage, as the text stands, the writer distinguishes himself from Athanasius; 'both he and we and the people demanded⁴,' etc.; as if in some parts of the work the archbishop had employed a secretary as the narrator⁵. We also observe that, as a work designed for secret circulation⁶, it is marked by a rhetorical freedom which would be avoided in a published book. Repeatedly is language put into the mouths of Arians which the most prosaic reader could not suppose them actually to have used. It is not, and does not pretend to be, a textual reproduction of what they said or wrote, but a representation *ad invidiam* of what is assumed to have been in their minds⁷. This gives to the

¹ See it referred to in c. 23, 26.

² The History speaks well of Marcellus; yet the first Sirmian Council (in 347 or 348) had told the Western bishops that even Athanasius had then disowned him; and Hilary (Fragm. 2. 21), on this authority, says that he did so after the acquittal of Marcellus at Sardica, and on grounds independent of the latter's book. Hilary's Benedictine editors suggest that it was 'a slander, which Hilary too easily believed.'

³ E. g. c. 13, 22, 26, 32, 51, 72.

⁴ c. 52.

⁵ This might account for little inconsistencies, e. g. in c. 39 compared with c. 47. There seems to be a slip of memory in c. 48.

⁶ Fialon, St. Athanase, p. 196 ff.

⁷ See c. 1, 3, 9, 12, 15, 30, 42, 45, 60. Arians are several times made to use the phrase 'our heresy.' Specimens of such language occur in Ep. ad Ep. Eg. 18; Orat. c. Ari. iii. 17; and the theory of it, so to speak, is stated in De Synod. 7.

'History' the character of a polemical pamphlet; and yet, in the words of a recent French writer who in his able monograph on Athanasius has pressed this point¹, 'le ton seul est oratoire, le fond est la vérité même,' and if in details 'indignation makes' him a satirist, or tempts him to adopt the blackest view of his persecutors' conduct, 'dans les assertions importantes on le trouvera toujours irrépréhensible.' The most striking feature, perhaps, of the 'History' is the contrast between its tone and that of the Apology to Constantius in regard to that despicable tyrant. Instead of the 'pious' Emperor² who was so well versed in Scripture, whose presence would gladden a dedication festival, whose well-known humanity forbade the supposition that he could have perpetrated a deliberate injustice, we find a 'Costyllius' (or 'Connikin'), whose misdeeds could only be palliated by the imbecility which rendered him the 'slave' of his own servants,—inhuman towards his nearest of kin,—false and crafty, a Pharaoh, a Saul, an Ahab, a Belshazzar, more cruel than Pilate or Maximian, ignorant of the Gospels, a patron of heresy, a precursor of Antichrist, an 'enemy of Christ, as if himself Antichrist,' and—the words must be written—'self-abandoned to the future doom of fire'.³ It is impossible not to wish that Athanasius had in this case felt the responsibility of public utterance, and, indeed, that he had remembered the responsibility attaching to the most private utterance which expresses man's judgment on his fellow-man. But, as has been already said, in proportion to the effort which he had made to hope the best for the prince who had so solemnly guaranteed him protection, would be the reaction of irrepressible disgust and wrath when he found that this effort had been vain. The freedom which he allowed himself may account for a slight inaccuracy as to the events of 340⁴, and for an unqualified negation of imperial agency in regard to

¹ Fialon, p. 205.

² In De Syn. 12, 25, he substitutes 'most irreligious' for 'most religious.'

³ See c. 74, 69, 70, 51, 30, 34, 68, 67, 45, 40, 32, 9, 53, 74, 46, 80, 67, 70. Athanasius seems at this time to have expected the speedy approach of an actual Antichrist; c. 78.

⁴ Hist. Ari. 10, compared with Encycl. 5.

synods¹. Let us turn to the fairer features of the History,—such as the beautiful description of the archbishop's return from his second exile, and of its moral and religious effect on Alexandrian church society²: the repeated protests against the principle of persecution as alien to the mind of the Church of Christ³: the tender allusion to the sympathy for the poor as instinctive in human nature⁴: the vivid picture—doubtless somewhat coloured by imagination—of the stand made by Western bishops, and notably for a time by Liberius⁵, against the tyrannous dictation of Constantius in matters ecclesiastical⁶: the generous estimate of Hosius and Liberius in the hour of their infirmity⁷: the three golden passages which describe the union maintained by a common faith and a sincere affection between friends who are parted from each other⁸, the all-sufficient presence of God with His servants in their extremest solitude⁹, and the future joy when heaven would be to sufferers for the truth as a calm haven to sailors after a storm¹⁰. It is in such contexts that we see the true Athanasius, and touch the source of his magnificent insuperable constancy. One document of the highest value is embodied in this 'History,'—the noble remonstrance addressed by Hosius to Constantius, a protest of the 'father of bishops' against the usurpations of Byzantinism¹¹.

VIII.

The letter which Athanasius addressed to certain friends 'on the Councils held at Ariminum and Seleucia' has a somewhat

¹ Hist. Ari. 52. He could not, of course, mean that Constantine had not given civil sanction to the decrees of Nicæa; but that a Council's decrees derived their ecclesiastical validity from the Church alone.

² Hist. Ari. 25.

³ Hist. Ari. 29, 33, 67.

⁴ Hist. Ari. 63.

⁵ Compare Theodoret's account of Liberius's answers to Constantius in his consistory; ii. 16.

⁶ Hist. Ari. 34 ff., 76. See a sample of his 'Cæsaro-papism' in Soz. iv. 16.

⁷ Hist. Ari. 45, 41. It is sad to contrast with this the uncharitable and unjust language in which even Hilary speaks of Hosius, e. g. De Syn. 63.

⁸ Hist. Ari. 40.

⁹ Hist. Ari. 47.

¹⁰ Hist. Ari. 79.

¹¹ Hist. Ari. 44.

misleading title. A reader who goes to it for full information as to those important synods will not find what he seeks, although he will find much else of yet higher interest and value. The treatise was written towards the close of 359, for it speaks of the Consuls of that year as the 'present' Consuls¹, and records the 'end'² of the Seleucian Council, which broke up on the 1st of October³, but not the surrender of the Semi-Arian position by its deputies, on the last night of the year, under pressure from the Acacians and Constantius, and on the understanding that Anomœanism was repudiated⁴. The first and brilliant stage of the Ariminian Council, which perhaps did not meet for business until July⁵, is described, with hearty commendations⁶: and two documents relating to the second period, when clouds were gathering around, reached Athanasius in time to be inserted by way of postscript⁷. But it was not until after his letter had been despatched that he learned how the deputies of the Council had been partly harassed, partly frightened, and partly cheated into accepting on the 10th of October⁸, at Nicè in Thrace, a new Acacian creed, and a similar pressure had been applied with like success to the bishops at Ariminum after the winter had set in⁹: and although Athanasius had an opportunity of revising his work, and did in fact insert new matter relating to subsequent events¹⁰, it seems that he could not bring himself to mention that 'shameful conclusion'¹¹ which was ere long to cause him so much toil

¹ De Syn. 3.

² De Syn. 12.

³ Cp. Soc. ii. 39.

⁴ Soz. iv. 23.

⁵ Cp. Hilary, Fragm. 7; Tillemont, vi. 448.

⁶ c. 13. So in c. 33: 'The bishops, who have *now* assembled at Ariminum, approve of' the Nicene formulary. Cp. Athan. ad Afros, 4.

⁷ De Syn. 55; Theod. ii. 20. See Tillemont, vi. 451; Newman, Arians, p. 359.

⁸ Hil. Fragm. 8.

⁹ Sulp. Sev. ii. 44. But Tillemont regards 'septimum mensem' as an exaggeration, vi. 784.

¹⁰ De Syn. 30, 31.

¹¹ 'Fœdo exitu,' Sulp. Sev. ii. 44. Cp. Hilary, c. Const. 7; Jerome, adv. Lucif. 18. See Hooker, v. 42. 5; Newman, Arians, p. 359. Ten years later, Athanasius found it necessary to argue against those who cited this 'conclusion' as authoritative against the Nicene decision; Ad Afros Episc.

and anxiety,—except in a few words which scarcely hint at the magnitude of the crisis¹.

The letter consists of three parts; the first dwelling on the two Councils, the second exhibiting the 'variations' of Arianism, and the third replying to the objections raised by the Acacians and the Semi-Arians against the terms of the Nicene Creed. A curious question meets us at the outset. Athanasius tells the friends to whom he writes that he is going to inform them as to what he 'has seen and accurately ascertained,' that they may not be dependent on mere hearsay. Did he then actually, in spite of all danger to himself, attend these Councils? Gibbon² thought that the words could bear no other sense; Tillemont³ inferred that he had, at least, been present at Seleucia: but perhaps there is less difficulty in supposing, with Montfaucon⁴, that Athanasius only refers to his having 'seen' some authentic documents.

He mentions in the first place the determination of Constantius to assemble an Œcumenical Council at Nicæa⁵; and, next, the change of plan whereby the Council, as he expresses it, was 'divided into two,' one to be held at Seleucia, in Isauria or 'Rugged Cilicia⁶,' and the other at Ariminum in Northern Italy. He attributed the whole scheme of a new Council about doctrine to such advisers as Valens, Ursacius, Acacius, and Eudoxius, who were naturally anxious to undo the work of the great Council of 325⁷. It is, however, more probable that the idea was suggested by the Semi-Arians, and accepted by Constantius, in the fervour of his zeal against Aetius and the Anomœans⁸. He would have *his* Nicene Council, which

1 ff. Two hundred and thirty years later, the third Council of Toledo found it necessary to condemn the Council of Ariminum; Mansi, ix. 986.

¹ De Syn. 30.

² Gibbon, iii. 86.

³ Tillemont, viii. 705.

⁴ Vit. S. Athan. So Newman, Athan. Treat. i. 73.

⁵ Compare Soz. iv. 16. Constantius had at first thought of Nicæa; Basil then suggested Nicomedia, and when an earthquake destroyed that city, advised the Emperor to fix on Nicæa again.

⁶ Seleucia itself also was called Rugged.

⁷ De Syn. i. 7. Philostorgius takes a like view, iv. 10.

⁸ Soz. iii. 19; iv. 16. Comp. Newman, Arians, p. 554.

should invest the Homoiousion with that œcumenical authority which the old Nicene Council had unfortunately conferred on the Homœousion; and should, in so doing, decisively ban that 'Anomoion' which had brought scandal on the whole Arianising body. And thus we can understand how 'Acacian' and quasi-Anomœan leaders, seeing that the thing was to be, devised a plan for minimising the danger, by collecting the Western and Eastern bishops into two distinct though contemporaneous synods, which might be more easily dealt with¹. Athanasius, after intimating his surprise at this new resolution, and remarking on the effect which, in any case, would be produced on outsiders by a reopening of the great dogmatic question, proceeds to criticise a formulary to which the Arian intriguers hoped to commit the bishops, in order to save Anomœanism from a more authoritative repetition of the censure pronounced on it a year before at the Semi-Arian Council of Ancyra, and ratified by Constantius². This document was the result of a compromise, in which the advantage rested with the Acacians. A small number of prelates were with Constantius at Sirmium when it was decided to hold the Eastern Council at Seleucia³. Among them were such leading Semi-Arians as Basil of Ancyra and Mark of Arethusa;—the latter is conspicuous for having 'indulged a violence of spirit which assimilated him to the old Arians⁴,' and having suffered, three years after this date, grotesque barbarities at the hands of Pagans whom he had aggrieved⁵. George, the Alexandrian usurper, Hypatian of Heraclea, Germinius of Sirmium, Ursacius, and Valens⁶ were also present. A discussion as to the terms of a new symbol was protracted far into

¹ It was the 'divide et impera' policy; see Hilary, *Fragments*, II. 1; *Soz.* iv. 16; *Tillemont*, vi. 441.

² *Soz.* iv. 13, 14; *Newman*, l. c. This Council was held shortly before Easter in 358; *Epiph. Hær.* 73. 2.

³ *Sozomen* seems to date the partition-scheme from this gathering; but it must have been earlier, for the extant imperial letter to the Western Council as such is dated on May 27, and had been preceded by another; *Hil. Fragm.* 7.

⁴ *Newman*, *Arians*, p. 309.

⁵ *Soz.* v. 10.

⁶ Compare *Epiphanius*, *Hær.* 73. 22, and *Germinius* in *Hilary's Fragments*, 15. 3.

the night of Whitsun-eve, May 22, 359. At last, by way of compliment to the Semi-Arians, Mark was chosen¹ to draft a formula: but the wording adopted shows that he felt himself debarred from expressing his own belief. The creed² was virtually Acacian in character: if it declared the Son to be 'like to the Father in all things, according to the Scriptures,' it expressly prohibited, as non-scriptural, the use of the term essence (*ousia*) in regard to the Father and the Son. Valens, with characteristic audacity, in adding to his signature an assertion of the 'likeness,' omitted the crucial phrase 'in all things:' but Constantius, who was still suspicious of Anomœan tendencies³, compelled him to insert it⁴. On the other hand, Basil fortified himself by drawing out in full his own interpretation of 'in all things,' as relating not only to 'will,' but to 'subsistence, existence, and being,'—necessarily avoiding the word 'essence,' and concluding with a denunciation of the theory of a partial likeness as alien to Church doctrine and to Scripture⁵. Such is the story of the last Sirmian⁶ or 'Dated Creed,' as it is usually called from the unlucky blunder which prefixed to it, against all usage, the names of the Consuls for that year, Eusebius and Hypatius⁷, as well as the day of the month.

¹ So says Germinius. Epiphanius makes Mark sign first. Socrates goes wrong as to Mark; ii. 30.

² See it in De Syn. 8, and Soc. ii. 37; Theod. ii. 21.

³ Jerome says that 'its words had a pious sound, and no one suspected that poison was hidden in its honey;' Adv. Lucif. 17. Compare Soz. iv. 14.

⁴ Epiphanius, l. c. Compare the omission of 'in all things' in the creed of Nicè and Ariminum; De Syn. 30. Seven years later, Valens quarrelled with Germinius for asserting a likeness 'in all things;' Hil. Fragm. 14. Mere 'likeness,' says Sulpicius, was meant to exclude 'equality;' Hist. ii. 43.

⁵ Epiphanius. Such language illustrates De Syn. 41. Hilary in his De Syn. 73 says that 'like in all things' amounts to 'equal.'

⁶ The 'third' Sirmian creed was a Semi-Arian compilation, which Liberius appears to have accepted in 358. The list of Sirmian creeds should be, (1) A very short confession, in 347-8. (2) The long creed with 27 anathemas, usually called first Sirmian, in 351. (3) The 'blasphemia,' called second Sirmian, in 357. (4) The Semi-Arian digest (Athan. Treat. i. 162), in 358. (5) The Dated Creed, in 359. It has been usual, in the reckoning, to ignore the first-named. For the so-called 'first and second,' see below.

⁷ Cp. Jerome, l. c.

Athanasius taunts its compilers with having thus virtually admitted that their belief had no earlier origin¹; but herein he is somewhat unjust, for although to say that 'the Catholic faith was published' during a certain consulate might be an offence against good taste, as well as against ecclesiastical propriety², the promulgation of a formula embodying a doctrine might be long subsequent to the reception of the doctrine itself, as he in fact contended with reference to the Nicene Creed³. He had a better right to reproach the courtly creed-makers with setting in the front of their document the new and absurdly profane title of 'Eternal Emperor⁴,' invented by Constantius after the death of the Cæsar Gallus,—while yet they denied the eternity of the Son of God⁵. Nor is it at all wonderful that Catholic sarcasms, such as he points at this formulary, ere long stung Constantius into ordering its suppression, which was actually, to a great extent, carried out by the secretary Martinian⁶.

Of the early proceedings at Ariminum Athanasius gives a succinct account, although he omits several details⁷. The Council included rather more than four hundred bishops: it was this numerical greatness which made its subsequent collapse so disastrous to the credit of Church Synods. The Emperor's letters, the second of which was dated on the 27th of May, appear to have anticipated the actual assembling of the bishops: for there is reason to think that they did not proceed to business until after midsummer⁸. The doctrinal question was being discussed, and, Athanasius says, on Scriptural grounds, when Ursacius and Valens, with Germinius⁹ of Sirmium and

¹ De Syn. 3, 4.

² Hilary alludes to this, 'Secundum annos describitur . . . annuas atque menstruas . . . fides decernimus;' ad Const. ii. 4, 5.

³ De Syn. 5.

⁴ Cp. Ammianus, xv. 1. Similarly Arcadius, in a law of 398, calls Honorius 'brother of *my eternity*;' Cod. Theod. xii. 1. 160. See Hodgkin, Italy and her Invaders, i. 203.

⁵ De Syn. 3, cited in Soc. ii. 37. Cp. Soz. iv. 17.

⁶ De Syn. 29.

⁷ De Syn. 8.

⁸ See Hil. Fragm. 7. 4; Tillemont, vi. 448.

⁹ Germinius lived to own the Son to be altogether like to the Father in Godhead, and thereby to alienate Valens and Ursacius; Hil. Fragm. 13 ff.

Caius from Illyricum,—and, as Athanasius was informed, Demophilus of Berœa and Auxentius of Milan¹,—produced the Dated Creed, and moved its adoption. They represented an Arian minority of eighty prelates²: the majority was orthodox, and was by no means disposed at this time to temporise with heresy. Instead of consenting to adopt what the Emperor had sanctioned without inquiring into the sense which might be put on its vague terms³, they insisted that Arianism and all other heresies should be in the first instance anathematised⁴; and when the Arians refused this test, and, finding the Dated Creed unacceptable, made some attempt to propose another, the orthodox retorted, ‘We know what we believe: have you still your faith to learn?’ Many debates⁵ did not alter the situation: at last the majority resolved that the Nicene Creed should remain in force, and especially that the word ‘substance’ (their equivalent for *ousia*) should not be proscribed; and ultimately deposed the Arian leaders by a formal sentence dated on the 21st of July⁶. Athanasius gives it in Greek, and withal a very free Greek version⁷ of the letter—preserved by Hilary in its original Latin—which communicated to Constantius the resolutions of the Council (judiciously referring to the interest which his father had taken in the Nicene deliberations), and begged him to listen favourably to its ten delegates, and to permit its members to disperse and return home⁸. So far well; and

¹ De Syn. 9: comp. Ad Afros, 3 (where, by a confusion of Ariminum with Seleucia, Eudoxius is mentioned). Demophilus and Auxentius are ignored in the original documents given by Hilary, Fragm. 7, 8; and Auxentius, five years later, appealed to the Ariminian record in his own defence; Hil. c. Aux. 15.

² So Sulp. Sev. ii. 41. Yet Athanasius, who twice in De Syn. reckons the whole number as above 400 (c. 8, 33), reckons the majority as ‘nearly 200’ in Ad Afros, 3.

³ De Syn. 8.

⁴ Cp. Hil. Fragm. 7.

⁵ Sulp. Sev., l. c.

⁶ Hil. Fragm. 7.

⁷ Also in Soc. ii. 37. The Greek expands and sometimes misrepresents the original. In one place, ‘credulitatem’ has been mistaken for ‘crudelitatem,’ and rendered *ἀμώρητα*, with strange effect on the sense.

⁸ The homes of three were in Britain; and these three, from poverty, accepted the imperial allowance. Sulpicius gives them credit for not burdening their brethren.

Athanasius comments with premature satisfaction on 'this speedy end of the proceedings at Ariminum.' He was too speedily undeceived.

Of the Eastern Council he tells us less. It did not meet until the 27th of September¹—several weeks after the Ariminian delegates, properly so called, had been treated by Constantius with marked coldness, while the envoys of the minority experienced his special favour². At Seleucia there assembled, says Athanasius, about a hundred and sixty bishops³, of whom the large majority were high Semi-Arians⁴, the minority being Acacians, with a small number of thorough Arians⁵, to whom Hilary adds some Egyptians steadily orthodox. These last must have gazed with intense disgust on the too well-known face of George the usurper, whom the Alexandrians, infuriated by his tyranny, had driven away in October of 358⁶. The minority, it appears, proposed to take up first the subject of doctrine,—in order, says Athanasius, to evade charges brought against themselves⁷. To strengthen their position, they coalesced for the moment with the Anomœans: and an outburst of the grossest Arianism was the consequence⁸. The Semi-Arians, determined not to receive a creed at their hands, proposed to adopt the second or chief creed of that Antiochene Council of 341, which was for them what the Nicene Council was for Catholics⁹: whereupon, as Athanasius expresses it, 'there took place a division of the assembly,' which Socrates explains by telling us that at the close of this first day the Acacians withdrew from the Council¹⁰. On the second day the Antiochene Creed was signed: on the third day the

¹ Soc. ii. 39.

² Soc. ii. 37.

³ Theodoret says, 150; ii. 26.

⁴ De Syn. 12. It appears that they practically accepted the Nicene creed *minus* the Homœousion.

⁵ Nineteen, says Hilary, who was present, and who ignores the 'Acacians;' c. Const. 12.

⁶ Festal Index, 358.

⁷ Cp. Soc. ii. 39.

⁸ E. g. that the Son was 'born' in the sense of being 'created,' and thus was not really Son, not like to God; Hil. c. Const. 12.

⁹ Thus Socrates remarks on their calling the bishops of that Council 'fathers,' that those of the Nicene had a better right to the title; ii. 40.

¹⁰ Soc. ii. 39: cp. Hil. c. Const. 12.

Acacians returned, and brought forward, by aid of the imperial commissioner Leonas, a formulary of their own, in which the Homoion was affirmed without the safeguard of 'in all things,' the Homoousion and Homoiousion were set aside as non-scriptural, but the Anomoion was anathematised. After long altercation, the Acacians again separated from the majority, and were in consequence deposed¹: and these proceedings were reported to the Emperor. Athanasius gives the Acacians' formulary in the second part of this treatise², and comments on it in the third.

That second part is intended to make good the proposition that Arians, as such, 'have no fixed belief, but drift through manifold changes of opinion³.' It was a favourite topic with the great champion of the Nicene Creed⁴; 'See what becomes of those who desert that standing-ground! They are carried about with every blast of doctrine: Council following on Council, and symbol superseding symbol⁵, are evidences of their doom of instability.' He begins with an extract (in which apparently the metre is sacrificed⁶) from that strange poem of Arius, the 'Thalia,' which was composed, about 321, in order to popularise his theory, and could leave no doubt in any mind as to its import, repeatedly affirming as it did that the 'Son' was a mere creature, a titular God, wholly alien in essence from the Father⁷. Then follows a long list of Arian or Arianising statements of doctrine: 1. The letter of Arius and his first adherents to 'their blessed pope Alexander⁸,' after their first excommunication; illustrated by sayings of their

¹ Athanasius says they deposed nine, whom he names, with others, and excommunicated nine more.

² De Syn. 29.

³ De Syn. 24.

⁴ De Syn. 20, 32, 38; Ep. Æg. 6; Ad Afros, 2. Cp. Hil. ad Const. ii. 5; c. Const. 23.

⁵ See Soc. ii. 10 as to the Eusebians' aim in their Councils.

⁶ Fialon, St. Athanase, p. 67.

⁷ De Syn. 15: cp. Orat. c. Ari. i. 5.

⁸ De Syn. 16; written at Nicomedia. See a Latin version in Hil. de Trin. iv. 12. Cp. Orat. c. Ari. ii. 19. This letter is remarkable as containing the phrase, 'a creature, but not as one of the creatures:' see Newman, Arians, p. 216. Valens at Ariminum modified this into 'Anathema to him who calls the Son a creature as are the other creatures,' in order to deceive the Catholics; Jerome, adv. Lucifer. 18.

chief supporters, including both the Eusebii, and extracts from the 'little treatise' of the Arian 'sophist' Asterius¹. 2. The letter of the Eusebian Council of Jerusalem, which received the Arians into communion, just ten years after their condemnation at Nicæa². 3, 4, 5. The formularies sanctioned at the Dedication-Council of Antioch in 341, orthodox on the whole in their positive aspect, but deficient as ignoring the Homousion³. 6. The creed sometimes called 'the fourth Antiochene,' presented in 342 by four Eusebian envoys to Constans, and chiefly remarkable for its censure of the error ascribed to Marcellus⁴. 7. A long formulary, known as the Macrostich⁵, sent by the Eusebians in 344-5 to the Westerns, in order, apparently, to persuade them that to be anti-Athanasian was not necessarily to be heterodox. It begins by repeating the creed just named (which had also been recently adopted by the seceders at Philippopolis⁶); but adds to it verbose disclaimers of the older Arianism, and condemnations of Sabellianism and Marcellianism. 8. The so-called 'first' Sirmian, composed at the second⁷ Council of Sirmium in 351: it annexes to the same creed a number of anathemas, aimed chiefly at the teaching of Marcellus's disciple Photinus⁸, bishop of Sirmium, whom three

¹ De Syn. 17-19: cp. Orat. c. Ari. i. 30, ii. 37, iii. 1.

² De Syn. 21: see above, p. 1.

³ De Syn. 22-24: cp. Soc. ii. 10. See Newman, Arians, p. 295. The second of these creeds was *the* creed of Antioch, adopted by the Council of Seleucia. Hilary, while desiring to put the best sense on it, owns that it has some questionable language; De Syn. 31. Sozomen thinks it agrees with the Nicene, unless its words have some esoteric meaning; iii. 5. It was probably based on a composition of Lucian of Antioch, for whom see Routh, Rel. Sac. iv. 17; Newman, Arians, p. 7.

⁴ De Syn. 25; Soc. ii. 18.

⁵ De Syn. 26; Soc. ii. 19. For the name see Soz. iii. 11. Cp. Newman, Arians, p. 296. For the rejection of this formulary at Milan, see Hil. Fragm. 5. 4.

⁶ Hil. Fragm. 3. 29.

⁷ A first council of Sirmium was held in 347 or 348, and while attacking Photinus, aimed a side-blow at Athanasius. Its synodal letter contained a very brief profession of faith,—the *true* 'first Sirmian creed,'—colourless in wording, but heterodox in aim. Hil. Fragm. 2. 21-24.

⁸ He laid special stress on the notion that Christ was a mere man on whom the Logos rested; Hefele, s. 71.

Councils¹ had already attempted to dispossess. 9. The 'second' Sirmian creed, drawn up in Latin in 357, and too famous as the 'blasphemia'² which, after long resistance to brutal cruelty, the aged Hosius was so unhappy as to sign: it illustrates the tendency of the principle, 'No non-biblical terms,' to serve the purpose of real Arianism, for it ignores the Homoion and denies the Divine Coequality³. 10. The Dated Creed is alluded to. 11. The formulary proposed by the Acacians at Seleucia⁴. 12. The recension of the Dated Creed drawn up at Nicè in Thrace⁵, October 10, 359⁶, and forced on the deputies from the Council of Ariminum, and afterwards on the Council itself⁷: it is Homœan, of a lower type than the Dated Creed, for it omits the guarding phrase 'in all things⁸,' and adds a prohibition of the word 'hypostasis.' This creed, the most practically mischievous of all the Arian confessions, was adopted by the Acacian Council of Constantinople early in 360⁹, and ruthlessly imposed on many

¹ Two at Milan, in 345 and 347; one at Sirmium.

² So Hil. de Syn. 11. He hoped to draw Gallicans and Semi-Arians together on the ground of their common abhorrence of this formulary, which, when sent into the West, was analysed and reprobated by Phæbadius of Agen; see his 'Contra Arianos,' in Galland. Bibl. Patr. v. 250 ff. He contends that it suggests that the Son is but a creature entitled a God. Socrates wrongly assigns it to the Council of 351; ii. 30. Epiphanius speaks of a creed signed by Hosius in which the Anomoion occurred; Hær. 73. 14. This may have been the 'blasphemia' interpolated, Athan. Treat. i. 162: or it may be only Epiphanius's way of saying that the 'blasphemia' was virtually Anomœan.

³ Ath. de Syn. 28.

⁴ Ath. de Syn. 29; Hil. de Syn. 14. In the first edition, our c. 32 followed immediately on c. 29; but c. 30, 31 were added under Julian, without any re-wording of the first words of c. 32.

⁵ On the idle attempt to pass off this creed of 'Nicè' as the creed of Nicæa, see Soc. iv. 37.

⁶ Hil. Fragm. 8.

⁷ Ath. de Syn. 30. The order of events is not clearly given, but this creed is said to have been drafted at Constantinople and then sent to Ariminum. But the Seleucian synod ended on Oct. 1, and this formulary was forced on the Ariminian deputies at Nicè on Oct. 10. Moreover, it was drawn up in Latin. Athanasius alludes to this incident 'in Thrace,' Ad Afros, 3.

⁸ 'Synodus dissidens,' says Hil. ad Const. ii. 10. The Acacians again sacrificed the Anomœans proper, in order to win Constantius. Their acts were annulled by the Semi-Arian Council of Lampsacus in 365.

⁹ Cp. De Syn. 30; Soz. iv. 24.

churches during the remainder of the reign of Constantius¹, who was now finally estranged from the Semi-Arians. 13. Lastly, Athanasius mentions, without quoting at length, a grossly Anomœan creed adopted by Acacians at Antioch in 361².

The list is not quite exhaustive: it omits the statement presented by Arius and Euzoius to Constantine in 330³; the confession of the first Sirmian Council; the Arian creed, in the form of an imperial letter, presented to the Council of Milan in 355⁴; the formulary, whatever it was, pressed on Egyptian bishops in 356⁵; the Semi-Arian formulary of Ancyra in 358 (to which, however, he refers later on); the Semi-Arian digest of several documents which Liberius accepted in the same year; and the Anomœan document brought home to Aetius at Constantinople in the end of 359⁶. Another defect is that it does not discriminate with sufficient clearness between the productions of the different schools of Arianism⁷. In going through it, we must remember, for instance, the gap which parted such a man as Basil from such a man as Acacius, yet further from such a man as Valens. But while remembering this, we shall see how impossible it was to reject the Nicene Creed and retain a coherent belief in Christ's Divinity.

The third part of the letter is the most important of all, for it treats of the true meaning and value of that Nicene language which in various degrees was disliked by Arianisers; and it falls into two subdivisions, referring to the objections taken by the Acacian and the Semi-Arian schools. It will be convenient to exhibit these objections with the answers given by Athanasius, *seriatim* and in substance. And first, for the Acacians.

(1) 'The phrases in the Nicene Creed, which describe the Son as "from the essence (*ousia*) of the Father⁸," and as "coessential

¹ On this persecution see Soz. iv. 26.

² Ath. de Syn. 31. Socrates says that this creed extended the 'unlikeness' to will, but was soon suppressed as if in shame; ii. 45.

³ Soc. i. 26.

⁴ Hil. de Syn. 78; Sulpic. ii. 39.

⁵ Ep. Æg. 5.

⁶ Theod. ii. 27.

⁷ On this subject see Newman, *Arians*, pp. 304-314, 345.

⁸ 'Only-begotten, that is, from the essence of the Father.' This was omitted in the Constantinopolitan revision of the Creed; but we retain it in the 'Quicunque,' ver. 31.

with the Father," are a stumbling-block to some, and a trouble to many¹.

Answer. 'Not to those who really believe in the Divine Sonship. If you acknowledge the Son to be begotten of the Father, you do, in fact, acknowledge Him to be "from the Father's essence;" for essence simply means being². Thus, if you advisedly deny Him to be "from the Father's essence," you deny Him to be Son, and make Him to be a creature³.'

(2) 'The phrases are not in Scripture⁴.'

Answer. '(a) The objection comes with a bad grace from Arianisers⁵; for Arianism abounds in "non-Scriptural" phrases⁶,

¹ So it is said in the three creeds given in De Syn. 28-30: cp. Hil. Fragm. 9. Arians said that 'from the essence' implied a partition of Deity, such as Manicheans held: compare Ath. de Syn. 16 with Theod. i. 6; Hil. de Syn. 79; Epiph. Hær. 69. 15.

² Here, as elsewhere, he is borrowing from his De Decr. Nic. 2. 2. Cp. his Ad Afros, 4.

³ 'The controversy turned on the question, what was meant by the word *Son*.' Athan. Treat. i. 10, note to Decr. Nic. 6, *τί ἐστιν ὁὖτος Υἱός*. See Orat. c. Ari. ii. 5. 73, Decr. Nic. 22, that if He is a genuine Son, not a son by adoption and grace (cp. De Syn. 54; Orat. c. Ari. ii. 59, iii. 19), then He is from God's 'being,' for God is 'He who is.' Compare the argument in Ep. ad Serap. ii. 5. So, later, in Ad Afros, 5, he says that 'from the essence' implies that He is not 'from God' in the sense in which all creatures are; and again, ib. 8, that Homoousion guards the coequality, and excludes all inadequate notions of 'likeness.' Quite early in the controversy, Eusebius of Nicomedia had written to Paulinus of Tyre that the Son was no more from the Father's essence than were men or drops of dew (alluding to Job xxxviii. 28), 'for nothing is from His essence, but all things came into being by His will;' Theod. i. 6. So Phæbadius, de Fid. Orth. 2: 'Si natus est, unius substantiæ est' (Galland. Bibl. Patr. v. 258). So Hil. de Syn. 20, that 'Father and Son' are used by Arians in an unreal sense: and Epiphanius reduces the question to this—Is the Sonship 'nominal' or real? Hær. 69. 15, 18. On the uniqueness of the Sonship, see Liddon, Bamp. Lect. pp. 10, 233, and compare the second edition of Cardinal Newman's Athanasian Treatises (which appeared while these sheets were passing through the press), ii. 38, 287.

⁴ The Acacians urged this. See above, p. lii. Cp. De Decr. Nic. 1.

⁵ Cp. Orat. c. Ari. i. 30; Ad Afros, 5. See Robertson, Hist. Ch. i. 292.

⁶ De Syn. 36. Among these he reckons 'Three Hypostases,' which he has cited, as from Arius, De Syn. 16, but which he afterwards in 362 ascertained to be used by some in an orthodox sense (as probably it had been used by most of those who accepted the Dedication Creed, De Syn. 23) to express the belief that the Father really existed as Father, the Son as Son, etc., and so as a safeguard against Sabellianism, not as an assertion of

such as "the ingenerate¹," &c. (δ) And *you* are specially inconsistent, in that at the Seleucian Council you professed not to object to the Dedication-Creed, which calls the Son by the non-Scriptural title of the "unvarying Image of the Father²," and yet objected to both the Homoousion and Homoiousion as non-Scriptural³. (ε) Lastly, the objection is unreal: it merely veils a repugnance to the ideas expressed in these phrases⁴. If you believed the Son to be truly Son, in the full force of that word, you would not quarrel with language which does but guard that belief⁵.

(3) 'But these phrases are obscure⁶.'

Answer. 'If you accept the anathemas at the end of the Nicene Creed, you *do* understand the phrases in question: for they express neither less nor more than what is denied by the propositions therein condemned⁷.'

He now turns to the Semi-Arians. It seemed to him that by wise and gentle treatment they might now be induced to detach themselves altogether from heresy. They had taken a decided part against Anomœanism at their Council of Ancyra in 358, and the anathema of that Council against the Homoousion⁸ had

quasi-Tritheism; Tom. ad Antioch. 5. In his Expos. Fid. 2 he denies three hypostases considered as 'separate from each other,' herein following Dionysius of Rome, Decr. Nic. 26. But in Ad Afros, 4, he falls back on the identification of hypostasis with ousia in the sense of 'that which exists:' cp. Epiph. Hær. 69, 70.

¹ See Orat. c. Ari. i. 30; Decr. Nic. 28; and Alexander, ap. Theod. i. 4. 49.

² I. e. 'the exact or adequate likeness,' see Athan. Treatises, i. 35; ed. 2. ii. 370; Newman, Arians, p. 295. The phrase was used by Alexander, Theod. i. 4. 38, and considered at Nicæa, Decr. Nic. 20; Ad Afros, 5.

³ The clause proscribing *all* use of 'essence' in regard to God is not in the formulæ presented at Seleucia, but in the Nicæ-Ariminian creed.

⁴ He saw through their policy in disowning the Anomœan Aëtius; see c. 38. Phæbadius wrote, 'Non vocabulum, sed vis vocabuli displicet,' c. Arian. 8; and, later, asked whether the objection was 'quia scriptum non est, an quia ita credi non liceat?' de Fid. Orth. 3.

⁵ Cp. Decr. Nic. 21 ff.; Epiph. Hær. 69, 70. See Waterland, iii. 652, 'The sense of Scripture *is* Scripture,' and i. 461; Robertson, Hist. Ch. i. 292; Lumby, Hist. of Creeds, p. 41; Bp. Wordsworth, Ch. Hist. p. 452.

⁶ See De Syn. 12. But so said Valens and others at Ariminum; Soz. iv. 17.

⁷ Compare Ad Afros, 9. The fourth proposition anathematized was the contradicting of the Homoousion.

⁸ See it in Epiphanius, Hær. 73. 11.

been withdrawn¹: and quite recently, at the Council of Seleucia, they had condemned the Acacian leaders, even if one of their number had not openly acknowledged the Homoousion before Constantius². They were perhaps coming to see that they must, for the sake of their religious faith, take the one step which would place them on the Catholic standing-ground. Therefore as Hilary, in his book on Councils, had put the best construction possible on their inadequate statements³, Athanasius now ignores alike the hostility which he had experienced from their chiefs, and the severe view which he had taken of them so lately as 356⁴: and 'discusses the case with them as with brothers'⁵ who, in effect, differed from himself and his friends about the one word Homoousion, and accepted the rest of the Nicene language, including the expression 'from the essence of the Father'⁶. The Homoiousion, he says, implies less than, and is not so good a test as, that expression: and they already admit so much, that they must logically admit all⁷. When they speak of the Son as a beam from the eternal Light⁸, and a stream from the Fount of Deity, they mean what is fully expressed by the Homoousion. Yet they have difficulties about the word; for

(1) 'It suggests,' they think, 'that the Divine Sonship resembles the human in its conditions.'

Answer. 'Not so: any such materialising notions are excluded by the correlative term "Word".'

¹ Cp. Hil. de Syn. 26, 90.

² Sylvanus of Tarsus, according to the text of Theod. ii. 27. But probably Sylvanus said 'Homoiousion.'

³ Hil. de Syn. 12 ff., 77; Tillemont, vii. 445.

⁴ Ep. Æg. 7.

⁵ Ath. de Syn. 41. On his 'good sense . . . magnanimity . . . gentleness and large sympathy for others,' see Cardinal Newman, Hist. Sketches, iii. 339.

⁶ E. g. at Seleucia; Hil. c. Const. 12.

⁷ Cp. Hil. de Syn. 88. 'Excuse me, brethren . . . you are not Arians, why do you rank yourselves with Arians by denying the Homoousion?' In Ad Afros, 8, Athanasius argues that what belongs to the Father's essence, and is an offspring from it, must be Homoousion.

⁸ Cp. Ath. ad Afros, 5. On these illustrations see note in Athan. Treatises, i. 43, on De Decr. 25 (and 2nd ed., ii. 174).

⁹ Comp. Newman, Arians, p. 161; Liddon, Bamp. Lect. p. 234; Robertson, Hist. Ch. i. 286. Athanasius disclaims all materialising notions as to the Sonship in De Decr. Nic. 24; and ib. 18, he says that the 'Word'

(2) 'But' (as they alleged in a letter 'from Easterns' read at the Council of Sirmium in 357¹) 'the Council of Antioch, which condemned Paul of Samosata many years before the Nicene Council, distinctly negated the Homooousion².'

Answer. (a) 'If the Antiochene Council is to be thus set against the Nicene, the authority of Dionysius of Rome as holding, and Dionysius of Alexandria as not rejecting, the Homooousion³, might in turn be set against that of the Antiochene Council, as prior to it⁴. But it would be unseemly to set Fathers against Fathers. Let us look at the meaning, rather than at the words, in each case. Why did the bishops at Antioch negative the Homooousion? Because Paul of Samosata (by way of *reductio ad absurdum*) put a perverse sense upon it, as if it implied two essences of the Father and the Son, both derived from a pre-existing essence⁵. The Council, not seeing their way through this sophism, put the term aside: but the Nicene fathers adopted it, in a sense wholly free from such conceptions, as the symbol of a *true* Divine Sonship⁶. Here is the point: the Homooousion is positively supported by the considerations that the Son's union with the Father is not merely

implies 'inseparability.' That he held strongly the idea of the 'Monarchia,' or of the Principium Deitatis in the Father, see Ep. ad Epict. 9; and on the 'Coinherence' of the Divine Persons, see Orat. c. Ari. iii. 4. On the Coinherence and the Monarchia see Athan. Treatises, ed. 2. vol. ii. pp. 72, 111. As to 'materialising,' see Soz. iii. 18.

¹ Hil. de Syn. 81: see Tillemont, vi. 418. (Athanasius had not a copy of the letter; De Syn. 43.)

² On the force which this objection would have for Asiatics, see Cardinal Newman, Tracts Theol. and Eccl. p. 100. Sabinus called the Nicene fathers ignorant; Soc. i. 8.

³ He quotes De Syn. 44, a passage (which he had before quoted in De Decr. Nic. 25 and De Sent. Dionys. 18) from the Alexandrian Dionysius's 'Defence and Refutation,' as to the charge brought against him for comparing the Son to a vessel and the Father to a shipwright, etc. See the 'De Sententia Dionysii,' 9, where he contends that Dionysius was only speaking of Christ's Manhood.

⁴ He says, 'much older,' but this is an oversight; Euseb. vii. 27, 30.

⁵ See Mozley on Theory of Development, p. 179: 'He had a subtler head than his judges,' etc. Some Semi-Arians wrongly imagined Paul to have maintained the Homooousion in a sense of his own; Hil. de Syn. 81.

⁶ He adds, Even if Homooousion has more than one sense, so has 'Ingenerate:' and this leads him to quote the famous passage from the received text of Ignatius, Ep. to Eph. 7.

moral but real¹; that Scripture represents Him an equal to the Father², while yet it excludes Ditheism; and that He is not, like created beings, a mere participator in the grace of God³. But to return to Paul's perverse inference: even granting that this "Gentile" use of the term "coessential" is relevant⁴, observe that if two coessential things are also coessential with a pre-existing essence which produced them, then even one such product must be coessential with its parent; but we expressly decline to be bound by "philosophical" uses of the term in question, or to attach to it any physical idea. In fact, it involves no duality of essence, nothing like Ditheism: we are speaking throughout of a Son, not of another god⁵. But your phrase *Homoiousion* does less than justice to your own idea: it really implies that sort of proximity to God which is possible for creatures who participate in His grace⁶. Now you do *not* regard the Son as a creature: you hold, with us, that He is a genuine Son: therefore, in mere consistency, you will surely give up fighting with shadows, and accept the term which secures your own belief⁷.

¹ De Syn. 48: cp. Orat. c. Ari. iii. 10; Ad Afros, 7; Hilary, de Syn. 20, Fragn. 11. 2, and c. Auxent. 6; Theodoret, ii. 8. 45; Epiphanius, Hær. 69. 19. See Newman, Arians, p. 233.

² De Syn. 49. Here perhaps he refers the *οὐκ ἀπαγγέλλον . . . ἰσα θεῷ* of Phil. ii. 6 to the Son's pre-existent glory. Cp. Orat. c. Ari. iii. 6.

³ De Syn. 51; so 48: cp. Orat. c. Ari. iii. 1.

⁴ De Syn. 51: cp. Soc. iii. 25; Soz. iii. 18. On this philosophical use, see Newman, Arians, pp. 192, 305, and in Athan. Treat. i. 152. For Hilary's treatment of the cavil, see his De Syn. 68; De Trin. iv. 4.

⁵ De Syn. 52. Some put this sense on it, as if it involved a partition of Deity; see Hil. de Syn. 68; Ambrose, de Fide, v. s. 40; cp. Waterland, i. 498. Others forced a Sabellian sense upon it, as if *οὐσία* meant personality; Hil. de Trin. iv. 4, de Syn. 68, Fragn. 11; Sulp. Sev. ii. 42; Basil, Ep. 214. 3. But, rightly understood, the term witnesses both against Ditheism and Sabellianism; for (1) it represents the Son as included within the one Divine Essence (see Newman, Arians, p. 260), and (2) it contrasts with any representation of Him as a mere aspect of the Father: see note in Athan. Treat. i. 203, and Ath. Expos. Fidei, 2, that *ὁμοούσιος* is not *μονοούσιος*. Also Epiph. Hær. 69. 70. On the question why the Nicene Council adopted 'coessential' instead of the simpler term 'coeternal,' see Card. Newman, Athan. Treat. ed. 2, ii. 232.

⁶ De Syn. 53. In Ep. Æg. 17 he takes it as implying the uncreatedness of the Son; but he is there speaking more popularly.

⁷ He afterwards found it necessary to protest against the acceptance of

We leave Athanasius in the act of rendering two eminent services to Christianity and the Church. It was much to simplify the use of the Nicene terms by extricating them once again from the subtleties which had gathered round them in the schools of Heathen thought; to tell the plainest Christian that if he *bona fide* believed his Saviour to be 'God's only Son,' and therefore truly God, he did implicitly believe Him to be eternally derived 'from the essence of the Father,' and 'coessential with Him;' that the Nicene testing-words meant this, and nothing but this, because this and nothing but this was what the great Council had been so solicitous to guard¹. It was also much to associate the cause of orthodoxy with a Christian-like attempt to promote union between those who, it might be hoped, were separated by a merely verbal difference, and therefore ought to be fighting on the same side; an attempt which for the time might be unsuccessful, but which at least befitted one who was ever wont to look through words into ideas, and whose zeal for the truth of Christ's Divinity was his motive for acting towards those who appeared to be joint-holders of it in that character of peacemaker and 'reconciler'—as Gregory of Nazianzus rather strangely words it²—which the Greeks were wont to ascribe to some of their gods. As we have seen, he

the Homooousion in an inadequate sense (such as Eusebius of Cæsarea had probably given to it), *Ad Jovian.* 1 (cp. *Valentinian I.*, in *Theod.* iv. 8). But in a later work, *Ad Afros*, 9, he again says that to believe the Son to be a genuine Son and not a creature is to believe all that the Church means by Homooousion. When Jeremy Taylor, in his '*Liberty of Prophesying*,' while admitting the Homooousion to be true, spoke of it as not of prime necessity, intimated a wish that it had not been 'determined,' and dwelt on Eusebian cavils as to its sense, he overlooked the momentousness of the question whether our Lord was Divine in a real sense or in an unreal, and forgot the pains taken at Nicæa, and afterwards by Athanasius and Hilary, to free the term as propounded from all degrading associations, and present it as the symbol of the real Divinity of Christ. What Taylor ought to have had before him was the question, 'If the Homooousion had been dropped, would not Arianism have secured its *locus standi* within the Church? and what would have been the consequence to Christianity as a working religion?'

¹ See Newman, *Grammar of Assent*, pp. 140, 147; Mozley on *Theory of Development*, pp. 163, 180.

² *Greg. Naz. Orat.* 21. 36: he has been describing Athanasius's action at the Alexandrian Council of 362 towards those who asserted 'one Hypostasis' and those who asserted 'three.' Cp. Newman, *Arians*, pp. 367, 387.

not only says that no thoughtful persons who own the true Sonship will deny it to proceed from the being of the Father, but virtually combines such persons with those Semi-Arians who, being earnest on the positive side of their own doctrine, would come ere long to acknowledge the Homousion itself. It would be a grave misrepresentation to say that he was willing in their case to give up the Nicene term absolutely: on the contrary, he says in plain words that the persons of whom he is thinking, and to whose present convictions he appeals, are 'not far from accepting' that term also, into which the Fathers had 'concentrated the meaning of the Scriptures¹;' but he is content to give them time, and relies on the honest working of religious minds for the attainment of the much desired result.

The reader of these Historical Treatises will find in them abundant illustration of what has been so well said by Dean Church², that 'Greeks saw their own nature and their own gifts elevated, corrected, transformed, glorified, in the heroic devotion of Athanasius, who, to all their familiar qualities of mind, brought a tenacity, a soberness, a height and vastness of aim, an inflexibility of purpose, which they admired the more because they were just the powers in which the (Greek) race failed.' But it has been not less truly said that the 'motive of his intense and lifelong battle against the Arian party was his instinctive sense and his clear conviction that the error set on foot by Arius, however disguised, struck at the root of that absolute devotion to the Saviour, which was the animating motive of his own life and of the life of the Church. . . . There could be no greater perversion of history than the accusation continually made against St. Athanasius and against the Church of that day, that they set on foot rash speculations into the nature of the Godhead. . . . The speculation on the nature of God was all on the other side³. . . . The question with St. Athanasius was the evangelical one, What think ye of Christ? It was Arius and his followers who put that presumptuous and

¹ De Syn. 41, 45.

² Church's Gifts of Civilisation, etc., p. 249.

³ See Waterland, i. 449. M. Fialon even calls Arianism 'nouvelle forme du platonisme et du gnosticisme, tempérée par l'idée pure de l'unité absolue et de la simplicité de l'être divin;' and again, 'il offrait aux peuples un christianisme hellénisé.' St. Athanase, p. 50. Athanasius com-

dangerous question, What think ye of the Deity¹? . . . The dogma for which St. Athanasius contended, instead of being a metaphysical subtlety, involves the very substance of Christian life and practice. The issues at stake in the contest were primarily moral, and the result was one of the greatest moral and spiritual victories in the history of the Church².

To maintain the doctrinal basis of this devotion to a truly Divine Christ, and thereby to preserve the Christian religion in its native vitality and its soul-renewing force,—this was the object for which Athanasius lived, and which imparts to the varied scenes of his protracted and glorious confessorship such a majestic moral unity. If he towers up as emphatically a great man, the truest ‘king of men’ in the long array of historic ecclesiastics, the spirit which swayed those royal faculties was assuredly that of a preeminently great Christian³. We seem to look into his heart when we hear him say to his suffragans, in the very darkest year of what Hooker calls ‘that long tragedy⁴,’ and with reference to the Arian attack upon the faith, ‘We are contending for our all⁵.’

Christ Church, Oxford,
April 5, 1881.

W. B.

plains, Decr. Nic. 28, that Arianism borrowed its ‘Ingenerate’ from the Neoplatonic triad of 1. the Good, or the One, 2. Mind, 3. Soul. Its view of the relation of the Son to the Father differed from the Neoplatonic idea as to that of Mind to the One. But it followed Neoplatonism in admitting the essentially Pagan idea of an inferior and titular divinity. In Orat. c. Ari. iii. 60 Athanasius accuses the Arians of having ‘learned from Ptolemy the Valentinian.’

¹ Orat. c. Ari. ii. 36.

² Prof. Wace in ‘Good Words’ for 1878, pp. 685–7.

³ See, e.g. the beautiful passage on the motives to Christian endurance, Fest. Ep. 10. 7, 8, beginning, ‘O beloved and dearest, if we are to pass from distresses to comfort,’ and ending, ‘so shall we overcome through Christ who loved us:’ he quotes Rom. viii. 38, 39. This was written at Treves in 338.

⁴ Hooker, v. 42. 5.

⁵ Ep. Æg. 21. In Orat. c. Ari. ii. 73 he calls the doctrine of ‘the Son of God’ τὸ κύριον τῆς πίστεως ἡμῶν.

ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ

ΑΘΑΝΑΣΙΟΥ

ΙΣΤΟΡΙΚΟΥ ΛΟΓΟΥ

ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ ΕΓΚΥΚΛΙΟΣ

ΤΟΥ ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΥ

ΑΘΑΝΑΣΙΟΥ ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΑΣ.

Τοῖς κατὰ τόπον συλλειτουργοῖς, κυρίοις ἀγαπητοῖς, Ἀθανάσιος
ἐν Κυρίῳ χαίρειν.

[April, A.D.
340.]

Ι. Ἄ μὲν πεπόνθαμεν δεινὰ καὶ ἀφόρητά ἐστι, καὶ οὐκ
ἐστιν ἐπαξίως αὐτῶν μνημονεύσαι· ἵνα δὲ ταχύτερον τὸ δεινὸν
τῶν συμβεβηκότων γνωσθῆναι δυνηθῇ, καλὸν ἡγησάμην ἱστο-
ρίας ἀπὸ τῶν γραφῶν μνημονεύσαι. Ἀνὴρ ποτε Λευίτης, ἀδικη-
θεὶς εἰς τὴν γυναῖκα, καὶ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τοῦ μύσους ἑωρακώς
(Ἐβραία γὰρ ἦν ἡ γυνὴ, καὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς ἐτύγχανε)
καὶ καταπλαγείς ἐπὶ τοῖς τολμηθεῖσιν εἰς αὐτὸν παρανομήμασιν,
ὥς ἡ θεία τῶν Κριτῶν διαγορεύει γραφῇ, διελὼν τὴν γυναῖκα
ἀπέστειλε κατὰ πᾶσαν φυλὴν τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ· ἵνα μὴ εἰς αὐτὸν
μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς πάντας κοινὸν τὸ τοιοῦτον ἀδίκημα πισ-
τευθῇ· καὶ ἵνα, ἔαν μὲν συμπαθῶσιν, ἐκδικήσωσιν, ἔαν δὲ
παρίδωσιν, ὥς αὐτοὶ λοιπὸν ἀδίκησαντες αἰσχυρθῶσι. Καὶ οἱ
μὲν ἀποσταλέντες τὸ γεγονός ἀπήγγελλον· οἱ δὲ, ἀκούοντες
καὶ ὁρῶντες, ἔλεγον μηδέποτε τὰ τοιαῦτα γεγενῆσθαι, ἀφ' ἧς
ἡμέρας ἀνέβησαν οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου. Πᾶσα γοῦν
φυλὴ τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ κεκίνηται, καὶ πάντες, ὥς αὐτοὶ παθόντες,
κατὰ τῶν πλημμελησάντων συνήλθον· καὶ τέλος κατεπολεμή-

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θησαν οἱ τὰ παράνομα δράσαντες, καὶ ἀνάθεμα παρὰ πάντων γεγόνασιν. Οὐ γὰρ εἰς τὴν συγγένειαν οἱ συνελθόντες ἐσκόπουν, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ πλημμεληθὲν ἀπέβλεπον. Οἴδατε τὴν ἱστορίαν, ἀδελφοί, καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῆς γραφῆς ἀκριβῶς περὶ ταύτης σημαινόμενα· ἐπεξεργάσασθαι γὰρ πλείονα περὶ αὐτῆς οὐ βούλομαι, πρὸς εἰδότας γράφων, καὶ ἐπειγόμενος τὰ νῦν ἐκείνων πλείονα σημᾶναι τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ εὐλαβείᾳ. Διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ τῆς ἱστορίας ταύτης ἐμνήσθην, ἵνα, τὰ τότε τοῖς νῦν γινομένοις συμβαλόντες, καὶ γνόντες, ὥς ταῦτα νεύκηκε τὴν ἐκείνων ὁμότητα, πλείον ὑμεῖς ἀγανακτήσητε ἢ οἱ κατὰ τῶν τότε παρανομησάντων. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ τὰ πικρὰ τῶν διωγμῶν τὰ γενόμενα καθ' ἡμῶν ὑπερβέβηκε· καὶ μικρὰ ἢ τοῦ Λευΐτου συμφορὰ πρὸς τὰ νῦν κατὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τολμηθέντα· καὶ μᾶλλον ταῦτα οὔτε ἠκούσθη ποτὲ ἐν τῇ οἰκουμένῃ, οὔτε τοιούτων τις πεπεύραται κακῶν. Τότε μὲν γὰρ γυνὴ μία ἦν ἡ ἀδικηθεῖσα, καὶ εἰς Λευΐτης ὁ τὴν βίαν παθών· νῦν δὲ ὅλη ἡ ἐκκλησία ἡδικήθη, καὶ τὸ ἱερατεῖον ὑβρίσθη, καὶ τό γε μείζον, εὐσέβεια ἀπὸ ἀσεβείας διώκεται· καὶ τότε μὲν μίας γυναικὸς ἐκάστη φυλὴ μέρος ὀρώσα κατεπλήττετο, ἄρτι δὲ ὅλης ἐκκλησίας ὁράται μέλη διηρημένα, καὶ τοὺς μὲν πρὸς ὑμᾶς, τοὺς δὲ πρὸς ἄλλους ἀποσταλέντας, τὴν ὕβριν καὶ τὴν ἀδικίαν, ἣν πεπόνθασιν, ἀπαγγέλλοντας. Κινήθητε δὴ οὖν καὶ ὑμεῖς, παρακαλῶ, μὴ ὥς ἡμῶν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὥς ὑμῶν ἀδικηθέντων, καὶ ἕκαστος, ὥς αὐτὸς παθὼν, βοηθησάτω, ἵνα μὴ δι' ὀλίγου ἐκκλησιαστικοὶ κανόνες, καὶ ἡ τῆς ἐκκλησίας πίστις παραφθαρῇ. Κινδυνεύει γὰρ ἀμφοτέρω, ἐὰν μὴ ταχέως ὁ Θεὸς δι' ὑμῶν τὰ πλημμεληθέντα διορθώσῃται, καὶ ἐκδικίας ἡ ἐκκλησία τύχη. Οὐ γὰρ νῦν κανόνες καὶ τύποι ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἐδόθησαν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν καλῶς καὶ βεβαίως παρεδόθησαν· οὐδὲ νῦν ἡ πίστις ἤρξατο, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ Κυρίου διὰ τῶν μαθητῶν εἰς ἡμᾶς διαβέβηκεν. Ἴν' οὖν μὴ τὰ ἐξ ἀρχαίων μέχρις ἡμῶν τηρηθέντα ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἐν ταῖς νῦν ἡμέραις παραπλῆγῃται, καὶ τὰ πιστευθέντα ἡμῖν ζητηθῇ παρ' ἡμῶν, κινήθητε, ἀδελφοί, ὥς οἰκονόμοι μυστηρίων Θεοῦ· τυγχάνοντες, καὶ ταῦτα ὑφ' ἐτέρων ἀρπάζόμενα θεωροῦντες. Τὰ μὲν οὖν πλείονα παρὰ τῶν γραμματοφόρων ἀκούσεσθε· συντόμως δὲ καὶ γὰρ σημᾶναι

ἡπείχθην, ἵνα τῷ ὄντι γνῶτε, ὅτι οὐδέποτε τοιαῦτα γέγονε κατὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας 'ἀναληφθεὶς ὁ Σωτὴρ ἐνετείλατο τοῖς μαθηταῖς' λέγων· 'Πορευθέντες, μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος.'

Acts i. 2.
Matt. xxviii.
19.

2. Τὰ μὲν οὖν καθ' ἡμῶν καὶ κατὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας παρανομηθέντα οὕτω γέγονε. Συναγόντων ἡμῶν συνήθως ἐν εἰρήνῃ, τῶν τε λαῶν εὐφραινομένων ἐπὶ ταῖς συνάξεσι, καὶ προκοπόντων τῇ κατὰ Θεὸν πολιτείᾳ, τῶν τε συλλειτουργῶν τῶν κατ' Αἴγυπτον, καὶ Θηβαίδα, καὶ Λιβύην, ἀγάπην καὶ εἰρήνην ἐχόντων πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ἐξαίφνης ὁ ἑπαρχος τῆς Αἰγύπτου γράμματα προτίθησι δημοσίᾳ, διατάγματος ἔχοντα τύπον, ὡς Γρηγορίου τινὸς ἐκ Καππαδοκίας εἰσερχομένου διαδόχου μου ἀπὸ τοῦ κοιματάου. Καὶ ἡ μὲν τοιαύτη ἀκοὴ τοὺς πάντας ἐτάραξε· καινὸν γὰρ ἦν καὶ ἄρτι πρῶτως ἀκουσθὲν τὸ τοιοῦτον· οἱ δὲ λαοὶ καὶ μᾶλλον εἰς τὰς ἐκκλησίας συνήρχοντο· ὅτι μάλιστα συνεώρων μήτε ἑαυτοὺς, μήτε ἐπίσκοπον, μήτε πρεσβύτερον, μήτε ὅλως τινὰς μεμψαμένους ἡμᾶς ποτε. Μόρους δὲ Ἀρειανοὺς ἑώρων σὺν αὐτῷ, καὶ Ἀρειανὸν αὐτὸν ἐπεγίνωσκον ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ Εὐσέβιον τοῖς Ἀρειανοῖς ἀποσταλέντα. Οἶδατε δὲ, ἀδελφοί, αἰ τοὺς περὶ Εὐσέβιον προ-
στάτας καὶ κοινωνοὺς τῆς ἀσεβοῦς αἵρέσεως τῶν Ἀρειομανιτῶν
γενομένους, καὶ δι' αὐτῶν αἰ ἐμῇ ἐπιβουλεύσαντας, καὶ τῆς
εἰς τὰς Γαλλίας ἀποδημίας αἰτίους ἡμῖν γενομένους. Διὰ
ταῦτα γὰρ εἰκότως καὶ οἱ λαοὶ ἠγανάκτουν, καὶ κατεβόων, μαρτυρόμενοι τοὺς ἄλλους δικαστὰς καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν, ὅτι μηδεμιᾶς μέμψεως ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν γενομένης, ἀλλὰ τῶν αἵρετικῶν Ἀρειανῶν αὐτὰ καθ' ἡμῶν παιζάντων, καινοτομία τις καὶ παρανομία τοιαύτη κατὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας γεγένηται. Εἰ γὰρ καὶ ὅλως ἦν τις καθ' ἡμῶν μέμψις κρατήσασα, ἔδει μὴ Ἀρειανὸν, μηδὲ τῶν τὰ Ἀρείου φρονούντων, κατὰ δὲ τοὺς ἐκκλησιαστικοὺς κανόνας, καὶ κατὰ τὸ τοῦ Παύλου ῥῆμα, 'συναχθέντων' τῶν λαῶν, 'καὶ τοῦ πνεύματος' τῶν καθιστα-
νόντων, 'σὺν τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ,'
πάντα κανονικῶς ἐξετασθῆναι τε καὶπραχθῆναι, παρόντων τῶν
αἰτουμένων λαῶν καὶ κληρικῶν, καὶ μὴ ἔξωθεν ὑπὸ Ἀρειανῶν,

Apol. c. Ari.
2, 11, 77.

[A.D. 335.]

1 Cor. v. 4.

Apol. c. Ari.
30.

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ὥσπερ ἐμπορευόμενον τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ἐπισκόπου παρὰ τοὺς μὴ αἰτήσαντας μηδὲ βουλομένους, μηδὲ ὅλως γινώσκοντας τὸ γεγονὸς, μετὰ προστασίας καὶ βίας τῶν ἕξωθεν δικαστῶν ἐπιβρίψαι αὐτόν. Τοῦτο δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἐκκλησιαστικούς κανόνας παραλύει, τὰ δὲ ἔθνη ἀναγκάζει βλασφημεῖν καὶ ὑπονοεῖν, ὅτι μὴ κατὰ θεῖον θεσμόν, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἐμπορίας καὶ προστασίας αἱ καταστάσεις γίνονται,

Cp. Apol. c. Ari. 15, 30 ;
Hist. Ari. 9, 10.

3. Ἡ μὲν οὖν κατάστασις ἡ θαυμαστὴ Γρηγορίου ὑπὸ Ἀρειανῶν γέγονε, καὶ τοιαύτην ἔσχε τὴν ἀρχήν. Ἡ δὲ εἰσοδος αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν οἷα παράνομα κατειργάσατο, καὶ ἡλικῶν κακῶν αἰτία γέγονεν, ἕξεστιν ὑμῖν ἐκ τῶν γραφομένων καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἐπιδημούντων ἐπερωτῆσαι καὶ μαθεῖν. Τῶν λαῶν δυσανασχετούντων, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις συναχθέντων ἐπὶ τῇ τοιαύτῃ καινοτομίᾳ, ἵνα μὴ ἡ τῶν Ἀρειανῶν ἀσέβεια καταμιγῇ τῇ τῆς ἐκκλησίας πίστει,

Apol. c. Ari. 72 ff.

Φιλάγριος, ὁ καὶ πάλαι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ τὰς ταύτης παρθένους ἀδικήσας καὶ νῦν ἑπαρχος Αἰγύπτου τυγχάνων, παραβάτης μὲν γενόμενος, πατριώτης δὲ ὢν τοῦ Γρηγορίου, καὶ οὐ σεμνὸν ἔχων τὸν τρόπον, ἀλλὰ καὶ προστάτας ἔχων τοὺς περὶ Εὐσέβιον, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο σπουδάζων κατὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, πείθει τοὺς ἐθνικοὺς δῆμους, τοὺς τε Ἰουδαίους καὶ τοὺς ἀτάκτους, ἐπαγγελίαις ἃς καὶ ὕστερον ἐπέδιδου, καὶ παροξύνει, καὶ ἀθρόως αὐτοὺς μετὰ ξιφῶν καὶ ῥοπαλῶν ἀφίησι κατὰ τῶν λαῶν εἰς τὰς ἐκκλησίας. Καὶ τί γέγονεν ἐκ τούτων οὐκέτι λοιπὸν ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν· οὔτε γὰρ ἀξίως σημᾶναι δυνατὸν, οὔτε χωρὶς δακρύων καὶ θρήνων μνημονεύσειεν ἂν τις κἂν τῶν ὀλίγων. Ποῖα γὰρ παρὰ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις τετραγῶδηται τοιαῦτα ; ἢ τί τοιοῦτον ἐν διωγμῷ καὶ πολέμῳ γέγονέ ποτε ; Ἡ μὲν ἐκκλησία καὶ

Hist. Ari. 9.

Hist. Ari. 10.

τὰ ἅγιον βαπτιστήριον πυρπολεῖται· εὐθὺς δὲ οἰμωγαὶ καὶ ὀλολυγαὶ, καὶ θρήνος ἦν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, ἀγανακτούντων καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς γιγνομένοις, καὶ καταβοώντων τοῦ ἡγεμόνος, καὶ τὴν βίαν μαρτυρομένων. Παρθένοι γὰρ ἅγιοι καὶ ἀμίαντοι ἐγυμνοῦντο, καὶ ἔπασχον ἃ μὴ θέμις· μὴ ἀνεχόμεναι δὲ, ἐκινδύνεον· μονάζοντες κατεπατούντο, καὶ ἀπέθνησκον· καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐδισκεύοντο, οἱ δὲ ξίφεσι καὶ ῥοπαλοῖς ἀνηρῶντο· ἄλλοι ἐτραυματίζοντο καὶ ἐτύποντο. Ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς ἁγίας

τραπέζης ἡλικὴ ἀσέβεια καὶ παρανομία γέγονεν! Ὅρνεα καὶ στροβίλους ἐθυσίαζον, εὐφημοῦντες μὲν αὐτῶν τὰ εἰδῶλα, Cp. Apol. c. Ari. 30. δυσφημοῦντες δὲ ἐν αὐταῖς ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τὸν Κύριον καὶ Σωτῆρα ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν, τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος. Τὰς θείας τῶν γραφῶν βίβλους, ἃς εὗρισκον ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, κατέκαιον. Εἰς δὲ τὸ ἅγιον βαπτιστήριον, φεῦ τῆς τόλμης. οἱ Κυριοκτόνοι Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ οἱ ἄθεοι ἐθνικοὶ ἀφυλάκτως εἰσερχόμενοι, τοιαῦτα αἰσχρὰ διεπράττοντο καὶ ἐλάλουν γυμνοῦντες ἑαυτοὺς, ὥς αἰσχύνεσθαι καὶ λέγειν αὐτά. Καὶ τινες ἀσεβεῖς ἄνδρες, τὰ πικρὰ τῶν διωγμῶν μιμούμενοι, παρθένων καὶ ἐγκρατῶν κρατοῦντες τὰς χεῖρας εἰλκον, καὶ διασύροντες, ἐβιάζοντο βλασφημεῖν, καὶ ἀρνεῖσθαι τὸν Κύριον, καὶ μὴ ἀρνούμενας κατέκοπτον καὶ κατεπάτουν.

4. Καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἡ θαυμαστὴ καὶ λαμπρὰ εἰσοδος Γρηγορίου τοῦ Ἀρειανοῦ, ἡδομένη τοῖς τοιούτοις κακοῖς, ὥσπερ ἐπαθλον καὶ μισθὸν τῆς τοιαύτης παρανόμου νίκης παρέχουσα τοῖς ἐθνικοῖς καὶ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις, καὶ τοῖς τὰ τοιαῦτα καθ' ἡμῶν ἐργασαμένοις εἰς πρέδαν δέδωκε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. Καὶ τῆς τοιαύτης παρανομίας καὶ ἀταξίας συγχωρηθείσης, τὰ πολέμων λοιπὸν χεῖρονα, καὶ ληστῶν ὁμότερα ἐγίνετο. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ τὰ ἀπαντῶντα διήρπαζον· οἱ δὲ τὰς ἀποκειμένας τινῶν παραθήκας διηροῦντο· τὸν οἶνον πολὺν ὄντα ἢ ἔπινον, ἢ ἐξεκένουν, ἢ ἀπέφερον· τὸ ἀποκείμενον ἔλαιον ἥρπαζον· τὰς θύρας καὶ τοὺς καγκέλλους ὥς σκύλα ἕκαστος ἐλάμβανε· τὰς λυχνίας παρ' αὐτὰ ἐν τῷ τοιχίῳ ἀπετίθεσαν, τοὺς κηριόλους τῆς ἐκκλησίας τοῖς εἰδώλοις ἀνῆπτον· καὶ ὅλως ἄρπαγὴ καὶ θάνατος ἦν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ. Καὶ οὐκ ᾔδουντο οἱ δυσσεβεῖς Ἀρειανοὶ τούτων γιγνομένων, ἀλλ' ἔτι χεῖρονα καὶ ὁμότερα προσετίθουν· πρεσβύτεροι γὰρ καὶ λαϊκοὶ ἐξέστησαν, παρθένοι ἀπομαφορίζομαι ἀπήγοντο εἰς τὸ βῆμα τοῦ ἡγεμόνος, καὶ εἰς τὴν φυλακὴν ἐβάλλοντο· ἄλλοι ἐδημεύθησαν, ἐμαστίχθησαν· οἱ ἄρτοι τῶν λειτουργῶν καὶ τῶν παρθένων ἐκωλύθησαν. Ταῦτα δὲ ἐγίνετο ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἀγίᾳ Τεσσαρακοστῇ περὶ τὸ Πάσχα, ὅτε οἱ μὲν ἀδελφοὶ ἐνήστευον, ὁ δὲ θαυμαστὸς Γρηγόριος, τὸν Καϊάφα τρόπον ἀναλαβὼν, μετὰ Πιλάτου τοῦ ἡγεμόνος κατὰ τῶν εἰς Χριστὸν εὐσεβοῦντων ἐνεπαροῖνει. Ἐν Παρασκευῇ

ENCYCL. γοῦν εἰσερχόμενος εἰς μίαν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν μετὰ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος
 [April 7, 340.] καὶ τῶν ἐθνικῶν δήμων, ὡς ἀποστρεφόμενους εἶδε τοὺς λαοὺς
 τὴν βίαιαν εἰσοδὸν αὐτοῦ, ἐποίησε τὸν ὠμότατον ἡγεμόνα ἐν
 μιᾷ ὥρᾳ τριάκοντα καὶ τέσσαρας παρθένους, καὶ ὑπάνδρους, καὶ
 εὐγενεῖς ἄνδρας μαστίξαι δημοσίᾳ, καὶ εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον
 ἐμβαλεῖν· ἐν οἷς μίαν παρθένον φιλολογούσαν, καὶ τὸ ψαλ-
 τήριον ἔτι κατέχουσιν ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ, μαστιχθῆναι πεποίηκε
 δημοσίᾳ· καὶ τὸ μὲν βιβλίον ὑπὸ τῶν δημίων διηρπάσθη, αὐτὴ
 δὲ ἡ παρθένος εἰς τὴν φυλακὴν καθείρχθη.

5. Τούτων γενομένων, οὐχ ἡσύχαζον, οὐδὲ εἰς τὰ ἐξῆς· ἀλλ'
 Cp. Apol. ad Const. 19. ἐβουλεύοντο καὶ ἐν τῇ ἄλλῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἐνθα μάλιστα ἐγὼ ἐν
 ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις ᾤκουν, τὰ αὐτὰ τοῖς προτέροις ποιῆσαι·
 ἐσπούδαζον δὲ τὴν μανίαν ἑαυτῶν καὶ εἰς αὐτὴν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν
 ἐπεκτεῖναι, ἵνα με θηρεύσαντες ἀνέλωσιν. Ὁ καὶ ἔπαθον ἂν,
 εἰ μὴ ἡ τοῦ Χριστοῦ χάρις ἐβοήθησεν, ἵνα μόνον ἐκφυγὼν
 ὑπαγορευοίμαι κὰν τὰ ὀλίγα δυνηθῶ. Ἐγὼ γὰρ, θεωρῶν αὐτοὺς
 ἔσχατα λυσσῶντας, λογισάμενος ἵνα μήτε ἡ ἐκκλησία βλαβῇ,
 καὶ αἱ ἐν αὐτῇ παρθένοι πάθωσι, καὶ θάνατοι πάλιν γένωνται,
 καὶ δεύτερον οἱ λαοὶ ὑβρισθῶσιν, ὑπέκλεψα ἑμαυτὸν τῶν λαῶν,
 Matt. x. 23. Cp. Apol. de Fuga, 11. μνησθεὶς τοῦ Σωτῆρος λέγοντος· Ὑμῶν διώκωσιν εἰς
 τήνδε τὴν πόλιν, φεύγετε εἰς τὴν ἐτέραν. Ἡδεῖν γὰρ αὐτοὺς
 ἀφ' ὧν ἔπραξαν εἰς τὴν ἐτέραν ἐκκλησίαν κακῶν, μηδὲν τῶν
 δεινῶν καὶ κατὰ τῆς ἄλλης παραιτουμένων· ὅπου γε οὐδὲ
 [April 9.] Cp. Apol. ad Const. 15. αὐτὴν τὴν Κυριακὴν τῆς ἁγίας ἑορτῆς ἡδέσθησαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν
 αὐτῇ τοὺς τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀνθρώπους εἰς φυλακὴν καθείρξαν·
 ὅτε ὁ μὲν Κύριος τοὺς πάντας ἐκ τῶν τοῦ θανάτου δεσμῶν
 ἠλευθέρωσεν, ὁ δὲ Γρηγόριος καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ, ὥσπερ ἀντιμα-
 χόμενοι τῷ Σωτῆρι, καὶ θαρβρόντες τῇ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος προστασίᾳ,
 τὴν ἐλευθέριον ἡμέραν τοῖς τοῦ Χριστοῦ δούλοις πένθος
 πεποιήκασιν. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ἕλληνες ὑφραίνοντο, δυσωπού-
 μενοι τὴν ἡμέραν· ὁ δὲ Γρηγόριος, ἴσως ἐντολὰς πληρῶν τῶν
 περὶ Εὐσέβιον, πευθεῖν ἠνάγκαζε τοὺς Χριστιανοὺς τῇ κακώσει
 τῶν δεσμῶν. Διὰ ταύτης τοίνυν τῆς βίας ὁ ἡγεμὼν ἤρπασε
 τὰς ἐκκλησίας, καὶ ἀρπάσας, Γρηγορίῳ καὶ τοῖς Ἀρειομανίταις
 παραδέδωκε. Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐκκήρυκτοι παρ' ἡμῶν διὰ τὴν ἀσέ-
 βειαν γενόμενοι ἐγκραυῶνται τῇ ἀρπαγῇ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν· ὁ δὲ

τοῦ Θεοῦ λαὸς καὶ οἱ κληρικοὶ τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας βιάζονται ἢ κοινωνεῖν τῇ ἀσεβείᾳ τῶν αἵρετικῶν Ἀρειανῶν, ἢ μὴ εἰσέρχεσθαι εἰς τὰς ἐκκλησίας. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ τοῖς ναυκλή-
ροις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς τὴν θάλατταν πλέουσιν οὐκ ὀλίγην
βίαν καὶ ἀνάγκην ἐπέθηκεν ὁ Γρηγόριος, διὰ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος
βασανίζων καὶ μαστίζων, ἄλλους δὲ καὶ δεσμεύων καὶ εἰς τὸ
δεσμωτήριον ἐμβάλλων· ἵνα μὴδὲ ἀντιλέγωσι τῇ παρανομίᾳ
αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ γράμματα παρ' αὐτοῦ λαμβάνωσι. Καὶ ἵνα
μὴ ἄχρι τούτων ἄρκεσθῇ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ αἵματος ἡμῶν ἐμφορηθῇ,
πεποίηκε τὸν ὁμότατον καὶ συνεργὸν αὐτοῦ ἡγεμόνα ψήφισμα
ὡς ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ λαοῦ κατ' ἐμοῦ γράψαι τῷ εὐσεβεστάτῳ
βασιλεῖ Κωνσταντίνῳ, ἐπίφθονα ῥήματα περιέχον, ἀφ' οὗ μὴ
μόνον ἔστι φυγεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μυρίους θανάτους προσδοκᾶν.
Καὶ ὁ μὲν τὸ ψήφισμα γράψας ἐστὶ παραβάτης ἐκ Χριστιανῶν,
καὶ εἰδῶλα ἀναισχύντως προσκυνῶν· οἱ δὲ ὑπογράψαντές εἰσιν
ἐθνικοὶ καὶ νεωκόροι τῶν εἰδώλων, καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς Ἀρειανοί.
Καὶ ἵνα μὴ πολὺς ἐν τῷ γράφειν γένωμαι, διωγμός ἐστιν
ἐνταῦθα, καὶ διωγμός οἷος οὐδέποτε γέγονε κατὰ τῆς ἐκκλη-
σίας. Ὅλως μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῷ πρὸ τούτου διωγμῷ καὶ φεύγων
τις προσηύχετο, καὶ κρυπτόμενος ἐβαπτίζετο· ἄρτι δὲ ἡ πολλὴ
ὁμότης καὶ τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν ἀθεότητα μεμίμηται. Ὡς γὰρ οἱ
τότε κατὰ τοῦ Δανιήλ, οὕτω καὶ ὁ θαυμαστός Γρηγόριος νῦν Dan. vi. 13.
τοὺς ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις προσευχομένους διαβάλλει τῷ ἡγεμόνι, καὶ
τοὺς λειτουργοὺς μετὰ πάσης ὕβρεως παρατηρεῖται, ὡς ἐκ τῆς
τοσαύτης βίας πολλοὺς μὲν ἀβαπτίστους κινδυνεύειν, πολλοὺς
δὲ χωρὶς τῶν ἐπισκεπτομένων νοσεῖν καὶ ὀδύρεσθαι, πικροτέραν
τῆς νόσου τὴν τοιαύτην συμφορὰν ἡγουμένους. Τῶν γὰρ
λειτουργῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας διωκομένων, οἱ λαοὶ, καταγινώ-
σκοντες τῆς ἀσεβείας τῶν αἵρετικῶν Ἀρειανῶν, αἰροῦνται
μᾶλλον οὕτω νοσεῖν καὶ κινδυνεύειν, ἢ χεῖρα τῶν Ἀρειανῶν
ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτῶν.

6. Ἀρειανὸς οὖν ἐστὶν ὁ Γρηγόριος, καὶ τοῖς Ἀρειανοῖς
ἀποσταλεῖς· οὐ γὰρ τις αὐτὸν ἡτήσατο πλὴν μόνων αὐτῶν
καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὡς μισθωτὸς καὶ ὡς ἀλλότριος, δεινὰ καὶ πικρὰ
τοῖς τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας λαοῖς, ὡς οὐκ οὖσιν ἰδίοις, διὰ
τοῦ ἡγεμόνος κατεργάζεται. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ Πιστὸν ὑπερ πρότε-

ENCYCL.
Cp Apol. c.
Ari. 19, 24.

ρον οἱ περὶ Εὐσέβιον τοῖς Ἀρειανοῖς κατέστησαν, μετὰ τὸ γράψαι ἡμᾶς περὶ αὐτοῦ, πάντες ὑμεῖς οἱ τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐπίσκοποι ἐπίστασθε ὥς διὰ τὴν ἀσέβειαν εἰκότως αὐτὸν ἀναθεματίσατε καὶ ἀπεκηρύξατε, τούτου ἕνεκα Γρηγόριον νῦν τὸν αὐτὸν τοῖς Ἀρειανοῖς ἀπέστειλαν. Εἴτα, ἵνα μὴ καὶ δεύτερον αἰσχύνῃν ὀφλήσωσι, γραφόντων ἡμῶν πάλιν κατ' αὐτῶν, διὰ τοῦτο τῇ ἔξωθεν βίᾳ καθ' ἡμῶν ἐχρήσαντο, ἵνα, τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν περικρατήσαντες, δόξωσιν ἐκφεύγειν τὴν τῶν Ἀρειανῶν ὑπόνοιαν. Ἀλλ' ἐσφάλησαν καὶ ἐν τούτῳ· οὐδεὶς γὰρ τῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀνθρώπων ἐστὶ μετ' αὐτῶν, εἰ μὴ μόνοι οἱ αἵρετικοί, καὶ οἱ δι' αἰτίας ἐκβληθέντες, καὶ ὅσοι διὰ τὴν ἀνάγκην τοῦ ἡγεμόνος ὑποκρίνονται. Τοῦτο δὲ τῶν περὶ Εὐσέβιον ἐστὶ τὸ δραματούργημα· ταῦτα οἱ περὶ Εὐσέβιον ἐκπαλαι μὲν ἐμελέτων καὶ συνετίθουν· νῦν δὲ καὶ ἰσχυσαν πρᾶξαι διὰ τὰς διαβολὰς, ἃς διέβαλον ἡμᾶς βασιλεῖ. Ἀμέλει οὐδὲ οὕτως ἡσυχάζουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ οὕτως ἡμᾶς ἀποκτείνειαι ζητοῦσι, καὶ τοῖς γνωρίμοις ἡμῶν φοβεροὺς ἑαυτοὺς δεικνύουσιν, ὥστε πάντας φυγαδεύεσθαι καὶ θάνατον παρ' αὐτῶν προσδοκᾶν. Ἀλλ' οὐ διὰ ταῦτα καὶ ὑμᾶς αὐτῶν τὴν παρανομίαν καταπτῆξαι χρῆ, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον καὶ ἐκδικῆσαι, καὶ ἀγανακτῆσαι κατὰ τῶν οὕτως καινοτομηθέντων καθ' ἡμῶν. Εἰ γὰρ, πάσχοντος μέλους ἐνός, 'συνπάσχει πάντα τὰ μέλη,' καὶ κατὰ τὸν μακάριον ἀπόστολον, 'κλαίειν μετὰ κλαίωντων' δεῖ, πασχούσης τῆς τηλικαύτης ἐκκλησίας, ἕκαστος, ὥς αὐτὸς πάσχων, ἐκδικεῖτω τὸ πρᾶγμα. Κοινὸς γάρ ἐστιν ὁ Σωτὴρ, ὁ ὑπ' αὐτῶν βλασφημούμενος, καὶ πάντων εἰσὶν οἱ κανόνες, οἱ ὑπ' αὐτῶν παραλνόμενοι. Ἄρα γὰρ εἰ, καθεζομένων ὑμῶν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, καὶ συναγομένων τῶν λαῶν χωρὶς τινος μέμψεως, εἴ τις ἐξαίφνης διὰ προστάγματος διάδοχος ἐληλύθει καθ' ἐνός ὑμῶν, καὶ τοιαῦτα ἐγεγόνει καθ' ὑμῶν, οὐκ ἂν ἡγανακτήσατε; οὐκ ἂν ἡξιώσατε ἐκδικηθῆναι; Διὰ τοῦτο ἀγανακτῆσαι ὑμᾶς δίκαιόν ἐστιν, ἵνα μὴ, τούτων σιωπωμένων, κατ' ὀλίγον καὶ εἰς ἐκάστην ἐκκλησίαν τὸ τοιοῦτον κακὸν διαβῇ, καὶ λοιπὸν ἐμπόριον καὶ ἀγοραῖον τὸ καθ' ἡμᾶς διδασκαλεῖον γένηται.

1 Cor. xii. 26.
Rom. xii. 15.
Cp Ep. Æg. 9.
Hist. Ari. 73.

7. Τὰ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τοὺς Ἀρειομανίτας οἴδατε, ἀγαπητοί· πολλάκις γὰρ αὐτῶν τὴν ἀσέβειαν ἰδίᾳ καὶ κοινῇ πάντες

ἀπεκηρύξατε· οἴδατε δὲ καὶ τοὺς περὶ Εὐσέβιον, ὡς προείπον, τῆς αὐτῆς ἐκείνοις ὄντας αἰρέσεως, δι' ἣν καὶ πάλαι ἡμῖν ἐπεβούλευσαν. Τὰ δὲ νῦν δι' αὐτοὺς καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῶν γενόμενα πικρότερα πολέμων ἐδήλωσα ὑμῖν, ἵνα, κατὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἱστορίαν μισοπόνηρον ζῆλον ἀναλαβόντες, ἐξάρητε τοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα πονηρὰ ἐργασαμένους κατὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας. Εἰ γὰρ Apol. c. Ari.
22, 30. Hist.
Ari. 9. καὶ πέρυσιν οἱ κατὰ Ῥώμην ἀδελφοί, μήπω τούτων γενομένων, ἀλλ' ἔνεκα τῶν πρώτων, σύνοδον ἔγραψαν γενέσθαι, ἵνα κἀκεῖνα ἐκδικηθῇ· ἥνπερ εὐλαβούμενοι οἱ περὶ Εὐσέβιον, προὔλαβον διαταράξαι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ ἠθέλησαν ἡμᾶς ἀνελεῖν, ἵνα λοιπὸν ἐπ' ἀδείας πράττωσιν ἃ βούλονται, καὶ μὴ ἔχωσι τὸν ἐλέγχοντα, πόσῃ μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τοῖς τηλικούτοις παρανομήμασιν ἀγανακτῆσαι ὀφείλετε, καὶ καταψηφίσασθαι αὐτῶν, ὅσῃ καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς προτέροις προσέθηκαν ; Παρακαλῶ, μὴ παρίδητε τὰ τηλικαῦτα, μηδὲ ἐπιτρέψητε τὴν περιβόητον Ἀλεξανδρέων ἐκκλησίαν ὑπὸ αἰρετικῶν καταπατηθῆναι. Διὰ ταῦτα γὰρ εἰκότως καὶ οἱ λαοὶ καὶ οἱ λειτουργοὶ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς εἰσι, διὰ μὲν τὰς τοῦ ἐπάρχου βίας σιωπῶντες, διὰ δὲ τὴν ἀσεβείαν τῶν Ἀρειομανιτῶν ἐκτρεπόμενοι. Ἐὰν τοίνυν γράφῃ πρὸς ὑμᾶς Γρηγόριος, ἢ ἄλλος τις περὶ αὐτοῦ, μὴ δέξησθε, ἀδελφοί, τὰ γράμματα αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ σχίσατε, καὶ δυσωπήσατε τοὺς κομίζοντας, ὡς ἀσεβείας καὶ πονηρίας ὄντας διακόνους. Ἐὰν δὲ καὶ τύπον εἰρηνικὸν τολμήσῃ γράφειν, μηδὲ ταῦτα δέξησθε· τῷ γὰρ φόβῳ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος οἱ δεχόμενοι κομίζουσι διὰ τὰς πολλὰς αὐτοῦ βίας. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ εἰκὸς καὶ τοὺς περὶ Εὐσέβιον γράφειν ὑμῖν περὶ αὐτοῦ, διὰ τοῦτο προὔπομνήσαι ὑμᾶς ἑσπούδασα, ἵνα καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τὸ ἀπροσωπόληπτον τοῦ Θεοῦ μιμησάμενοι, ἐκδιώξῃτε τοὺς παρ' αὐτῶν· ὅτι ἐν τοιούτῳ καιρῷ διωγμῶν, καὶ φθορᾶς παρθένων, καὶ θανάτους, καὶ ἀρπαγὰς τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις, καὶ πυρκαϊᾶν, καὶ βλασφημίας ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις, ἔνεκεν τῶν Ἀρειομανιτῶν κατεσκεύασαν ὑπὸ ἐθνικῶν καὶ Ἰουδαίων γενέσθαι. Οὐκ ἂν δὲ ὁ ἀσεβῆς καὶ μεμηνὼς Γρηγόριος ἀρνήσῃται ἑαυτὸν εἶναι Ἀρειανόν, ἔχων ἐλεγχον τὸν ὑπογράφοντα αὐτοῦ τὰ γράμματα. Ἀμμὼν γὰρ οὗτος ὁ ὑπογράφων, ἐκπαλαι μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ μακαρίτου Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ πρὸ ἐμοῦ ἐπισκόπου ἐπὶ πολλοῖς

ENCYCL. κακοῖς καὶ ἐπὶ ἀσεβείᾳ ἐξεβλήθη τῆς ἐκκλησίας. Πάντων οὖν ἔνεκεν καὶ ἀντιγράψαι ἡμῖν θελήσατε, καὶ καταγνῶναι τῶν ἀσεβῶν, ἵνα καὶ νῦν οἱ μὲν λειτουργοὶ οἱ ἐνταῦθα, καὶ οἱ λαοὶ, τὴν ὀρθοδοξίαν καὶ μισοπονηρίαν ὑμῶν ὁρῶντες, εὐφραίνωνται τῇ εἰς Χριστὸν ὁμοψύχῳ ὑμῶν πίστει, οἱ δὲ τοιαῦτα κατὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας παρανομήσαντες, μεταπαιδευθέντες ἐκ τῶν ὑμῶν γραμμάτων, κἂν ὀψέ ποτε δυνηθῶσι μεταγνῶναι. Προσείπατε τὴν παρ' ὑμῖν ἀδελφότητα. Οἱ σὺν ἐμοὶ πάντες ἀδελφοὶ προσαγορεύουσιν ὑμᾶς. Ἐβρώμένους καὶ μνημονεύοντας ὑμῶν ὁ Κύριος ὑμᾶς διαφυλάξειεν, κύριοι ἀληθῶς ποθεινότατοι.

ΤΟΥ ΕΝ ΑΓΙΟΙΣ ΠΑΤΡΟΣ ΗΜΩΝ

ΑΘΑΝΑΣΙΟΥ

ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΑΣ

ΑΠΟΛΟΓΗΤΙΚΟΣ ΚΑΤΑ ΑΡΕΙΑΝΩΝ.

1. Ἐγὼ μὲν ὥμην μετὰ τὰς τοσαύτας ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν γενομένας About A.D.
350.]
ἀποδείξεις καταδύεσθαι λοιπὸν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς, καὶ μᾶλλον ἐκ
τούτων καταγινώσκειν ἑαυτῶν, ἐφ' οἷς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐσυκο-
φάντησαν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὐδ' οὕτω καταγινωσθέντες ἐρυθριῶσιν,
ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀναισθησίας ἔρπουσι ταῖς καταλαλῶσιν, νομίζοντες
ἀνάδικα πάντα γίνεσθαι, οὐχ ἵνα κριθῶσι (φεύγουσι γάρ), ἀλλ'
ἵν' ἡμᾶς καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ἀκεραίων σκύλλωσιν, ἀναγκαῖον
ἡγησάμην ὑμῖν ἀπολογήσασθαι, ἵνα μηκέτι μὲν αὐτῶν ἀνέ-
χσθε γογγυζόντων, καταγνῶτε δὲ τῆς πονηρίας καὶ συκοφαν-
τίας αὐτῶν. Ὑμῖν μὲν γὰρ τοῖς γνησίοις ἀπολογοῦμαι· πρὸς
δὲ τοὺς φιλονεικοῦντας, παρῤῥησιάζομαι τοῖς κατ' αὐτῶν ἐλέγ-
χοις. Οὐκέτι γὰρ κρίσεως δεῖται τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς· κέκριται γὰρ
οὐχ ἅπαξ, οὐδὲ δεύτερον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλάκις· πρῶτον μὲν, ἐν Cp. c. 3, be-
low.
τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ χώρᾳ συναγομένη ὑπὸ ἐπισκόπων ἐγγὺς ἑκατόν·
δεύτερον δὲ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ, γράψαντος Εὐσεβίου, καὶ κληθέντων Cp. c. 20.
αὐτῶν τε καὶ ἡμῶν, καὶ συναχθέντων ἐπισκόπων κακεῖ πλέον
πεντήκοντα· καὶ τρίτον ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ συνόδῳ τῇ ἐν Σαρδικῇ Cp. c. 37.
συναχθείσῃ κατὰ πρόσταξιν τῶν θεοφιλεστάτων βασιλέων

APOL. C. ARI. Κωνσταντίου καὶ Κώνσταντος· ἐν ᾗ καὶ οἱ καθ' ἡμῶν γενόμενοι καθηρέθησαν ὡς συκοφάνται, τοῖς τε κριθεῖσιν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν συνεψηφίσαντο μὲν ἐπίσκοποι πλείους τριακοσίων, ἐξ ἐπαρχιῶν Αἰγύπτου, Λιβύης, καὶ Πενταπόλεως, Παλαιστίνης, Cp. c. 50 ; Hist. Ari. 17, 28. 'Αραβίας, 'Ισαυρίας, Κύπρου, Παμφυλίας, Λυκίας, Γαλατίας, Δακίας, Μυσίας, Θράκης, Δαρδανίας, Μακεδονίας, 'Ηπείρων, Θεσσαλίας, 'Αχαΐας, Κρήτης, Δαλματίας, Σισκίας, Παννουίων, Νωρικοῦ, 'Ιταλίας, Πικηνοῦ, Τουσκίας, Καμπανίας, Καλαβρίας, 'Απουλίας, Βρουττίας, Σικελίας, 'Αφρικῆς πάσης, Σαρδανίας, Σπανιῶν, Γαλλιῶν, Βρεττανιῶν. 'Επεμαρτύρησαν δὲ τούτοις Οὐρσάκιος καὶ Οὐάλης, οἱ πρότερον μὲν διαβάλλοντες, c. 58. ὕστερον δὲ μεταγνόντες· οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἀπεδέξαντο τὰ κριθέντα ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ συκοφάντας ἑαυτοὺς τε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς καθ' ἡμῶν γενομένους ὠμολόγησαν. Οἱ γὰρ οὕτως μεταγνόντες καὶ οὕτως γράψαντες δηλοὶ εἰσι καὶ τοὺς περὶ Εὐσέβιον ἐλέγχοντες· μετὰ γὰρ αὐτῶν κοινῇ τὴν καθ' ἡμῶν ἐμνηχανήσαντο συσκευήν. Τὰ τοίνυν ὑπὸ τοσούτων καὶ τηλικούτων ἐπισκόπων δοκιμασθέντα καὶ κριθέντα, ἀποδείχθέντα τε λευκῶς, περιττὸν εἶναι πάλιν ἀνακρίνεσθαι πᾶς ὅστις οὖν ὁμολογήσειεν, ἵνα μὴ, κὰν νῦν ἐξετασθῇ, πάλιν ἀνακριθῇ, καὶ αὖθις ἐξετασθῇ, καὶ οὕτως εἰς ἀπέραντον τὰ τῶν περιεργαζομένων γένηται.

2. "Ἡρκει μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἡ τῶν τοσούτων ἐπισκόπων ψῆφος δυσωπῆσαι τοὺς ἔτι κὰν προσποιεῖσθαι καθ' ἡμῶν βουλομένους· ὅτε δὲ καὶ ἐχθροὶ μαρτυροῦσιν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν τε καὶ καθ' ἑαυτῶν, φάσκοντες τὰ καθ' ἡμῶν εἶναι συσκευήν, τίς ἔτι λοιπὸν ἀμφιβάλλων οὐκ αἰσχύνεται; Τοῦ γὰρ νόμου κελεύοντος 'ἐπὶ στόματος δύο καὶ τριῶν μαρτύρων' ἴστασθαι τὰς κρίσεις, ἰδοὺ τοσοῦτον πλήθος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐστι μαρτύρων, Deut. xvii. 6. Matt. xviii. 16. ἔχον προσθήκην καὶ τὴν παρὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀπόδειξιν· ὥστε καὶ τοὺς ὑπολειπομένους μηκέτι προσέχειν οἷς, ὡς ἡθέλησαν, ἐδίκασαν, ἀλλὰ βιάζεσθαι λοιπὸν, καὶ ἀντὶ τῶν εὐλόγων ἀδικεῖν τοὺς ἐλέγχοντας αὐτοὺς. Τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτοὺς μάλιστα λυπεῖ, ἐπειδήπερ ἅπερ ἔκρυψαν αὐτοὶ πράξαντες, καὶ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἐν γωνίᾳ συνέθεντο, ταῦτα Οὐάλης καὶ Οὐρσάκιος ἐξήγαγον, καὶ ἀπεκάλυψαν· καὶ ἴσασιν ἀκριβῶς, ὡς ἡ τούτων

μετάνοια κατακρίνει μὲν ἐκείνους, δικαιοὶ δὲ τοὺς ἀδικηθέντας παρ' αὐτῶν. Διὰ τοῦτο γοῦν καὶ ἐν τῇ κατὰ Σαρδικὴν συνόδῳ καθιρέθησαν, ὥσπερ ἔμπροσθεν εἶπον, καὶ εἰκότως γε· οὕτω γὰρ καὶ οἱ τότε Φαρισαῖοι, ἀπολογούμενοι ὑπὲρ τοῦ Παύλου, Acts xxiii. 9. διήλεγχον τὴν ἑαυτῶν καὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων κατ' αὐτοῦ γενομένην συνωμοσίαν· οὕτως ὁ μακάριος Δαβὶδ ἐδείχθη μάτην διωκόμενος, ὁπνῆκα ὁ διώκων ὡμολόγησε λέγων· Ὁ ἤμαρτον, τέκνον Δαβὶδ· οὕτω καὶ οὗτοι νικηθέντες ὑπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας ἠξίωσαν, 1 Kings (1 Sam.) xxvi. 21. καὶ γράψαντες ἐπιδεδώκασιν Ἰουλίῳ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ Ῥώμης. Ἐγραψαν δὲ καὶ ἡμῖν, ἀξιοῦντες ἔχειν τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς εἰρήνην, οἱ τοσαῦτα θρυλλήσαντες· καὶ τάχα καὶ νῦν ἐρυθριῶντες διότι οὗς ἐζήτησαν ἀνελεῖν, τούτους τῇ χάριτι τοῦ Κυρίου ζῶντας ὀρώσι. Καὶ Ἀρειοὺν δὲ καὶ τὴν αἵρεσιν ἀνεθεμάτισαν, ἀκολουθῶν τοῦτο ποιοῦντες· εἰδότες γὰρ, ὡς δι' οὐδὲν ἕτερον οἱ περὶ Εὐσέβιον ἡμῖν ἐπεβούλευον ἢ διὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ἑαυτῶν ἀσέβειαν· Encycl. 2, etc. ἀπαξ κρίναντες ὁμολογῆσαι τὴν καθ' ἡμῶν συκοφαντίαν, εὐθὺς ἠρνήσαντο καὶ τὴν Χριστομάχου αἵρεσιν, δι' ἣν καὶ τὰ καθ' ἡμῶν ὑπεκρίναντο. Τὰ μὲν οὖν γραφέντα παρὰ τῶν ἐπισκόπων ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν κατὰ διαφόρους συνόδους, καὶ πρῶτα τὰ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, ἔστι τάδε.

Ἡ ἅγια σύνοδος ἡ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ συναχθεῖσα ἀπὸ τε τῆς Αἰγύπτου, καὶ τῆς Θηβαίδος, καὶ Λιβύης, καὶ Πενταπόλεως, τοῖς ἀπανταχοῦ τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐπισκόποις, ἀγαπητοῖς καὶ ποθεινοτάτοις ἀδελφοῖς ἐν Κυρίῳ χαίρειν.

3. Ἡδυνάμεθα μὲν, ἀγαπητοὶ ἀδελφοί, καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἅμα τῷ συσκευασθῆναι τὸν συλλειτουργὸν ἡμῶν Ἀθανάσιον, ἡ Letter of Egyptian Bishops A.D. 339-340. καὶ μετὰ τὸ εἰσελθεῖν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξανδρείαν, ἀπολογησασθαι περὶ ὧν συνεσκευάσαντο αὐτῷ οἱ περὶ Εὐσέβιον, καὶ Cr. c. 28, 37. αἰτιάσασθαι περὶ ὧν πέπονθε παρ' αὐτῶν, καὶ δεῖξαι πάσας τὰς γεγενημένας κατ' αὐτοῦ συκοφαντίας. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ τότε μὲν οὐκ ἐπέτρεπε τὰ πράγματα, ὡς ἴστε καὶ ὑμεῖς· νῦν δὲ νομίζομεν μετὰ τὴν ἐπάνοδον Ἀθανασίου τοῦ ἐπισκόπου δυνωπεῖσθαι, καὶ ἐρυθρίαν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ οὕτω φανεροῖς αὐτῶν ἀδικήμασι, τούτου ἕνεκεν σιγᾶν ἑαυτοὺς ἐπέισαμεν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ μετὰ τὸ παθεῖν τοσαῦτα τὸν ἄνδρα, μετὰ τὴν εἰς Γαλλίας c. 87. ἀποδημίαν, μετὰ τὴν ἐπὶ ξένης ἀντὶ τῆς οἰκείας καὶ πορρώτατῳ A.D. 336-338.

APOL. C. ARI.
(Letter of
Egyptian Bi-
shops.)

Prov. xix. 5.
Wisd. i-11.

διατριβὴν, μετὰ τὸ ὀλίγον δεῖν αὐτὸν ἀποθανεῖν ἐκ τῶν δια-
βολῶν αὐτῶν, εἰ μὴ βασιλέως ἔτυχε φιλανθρώπου, ἐφ' οἷς ἂν
καὶ πᾶς ἐχθρὸς ἐκορέσθη κἂν τὸν θυμὸν ὠμότατος, οὐκ ἐρυ-
θρίωσιν, ἀλλὰ πάλιν ἐπινεανιεύονται κατὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ
τοῦ ἀνδρὸς, καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἄφεσιν ἀγανακτοῦντες αὐτοῦ, χεί-
ροσιν ἐπιτολμῶσι δευτέροις· καὶ κατηγοροῦσι μὲν εὐχερῶς, οὐ
φοβοῦνται δὲ τὸ ἐν ταῖς ἀγλαῖς γραφαῖς γεγραμμένον· ‘Μάρτυς
ψευδῆς οὐκ ἀτιμώρητος ἔσται,’ καὶ ‘Στόμα καταψευδόμενον
ἀναιρεῖ ψυχὴν’ διὰ τοι τοῦτο οὐκέτι μὲν δυνάμεθα σιγᾶν,
θανυμάζομεν δὲ τὴν πονηρίαν αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν ἀκόρεστον ἐπὶ
συσκευαῖς φιλονεικίαν. Ἴδοὺ γὰρ, οὐ παύονται πάλιν βασι-
λικὰς ἀκοὰς κινοῦντες καθ’ ἡμῶν· οὐ παύονται γράφοντες
ὀλέθρου γράμματα, πρὸς ἀναίρεσιν ἐπισκόπου τοῦ τῆς ἀσε-
βείας αὐτῶν ἐχθροῦ. Πάλιν γὰρ ἔγραψαν τοῖς βασιλεῦσι
κατ’ αὐτοῦ, πάλιν αὐτὸν συσκεύασσθαι βούλονται, σφαγὰς
αἰτιώμενοι μὴ γενομένας· πάλιν αὐτὸν φονεῦσαι βούλονται,
φόνους αἰτιώμενοι μὴ γενομένους· καὶ τότε γὰρ ἂν ἐφόνευσαν
διαβάλλοντες, εἰ μὴ φιλανθρώπου βασιλέως ἐτύχομεν· πάλιν
αὐτὸν, ἵνα τὸ ἔλαττον εἴπωμεν, ἐπ’ ἐξοριστίαν ἀπελθεῖν ἐπέ-
γονται, συμφορὰς ἐξορίστων ὥς παρ’ αὐτοῦ γενομένων προσ-
ποιούμενοι θρηνεῖν. Καὶ θρηνοῦσι μὲν παρ’ ἡμῖν τὰ μὴ
γενόμενα, οὐκ ἀρκοῦνται δὲ τοῖς γενομένοις κατ’ αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ
καὶ δεύτερα καὶ χεῖρονα προσάφαι βούλονται· οὕτως εἰσὶ
πρᾶοι καὶ φιλάνθρωποι, καὶ τὸν τρόπον ἐπιεικεῖς· μᾶλλον δὲ
(εἰρήσεται γὰρ τάληθές) πονηροὶ καὶ πικροὶ, καὶ ἐκ φόβων καὶ
ἀπειλῶν, ἢ ἐξ εὐσεβείας καὶ ἐπιεικειας, ἢ τοῖς ἐπισκόποις
πρέπει, τιμώμενοι. Οἷα γὰρ μηδὲ τῶν ἔξω τις φιλοπραγ-
μόνων φθέγγαίτο, τοιαῦτα ῥήματα καταχέαι τετολμήκασιν,
ὧν πρὸς τοὺς βασιλέας ἔγραψαν. Καὶ τοσοῦτων φόνων
καὶ σφαγῶν κατηγορήσαν οὐκ ἐπὶ ἡγεμόνος, οὐκ ἐπ’ ἄλλου
τινὸς μείζονος, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τῶν Ἀγνούστων τῶν τριῶν· οὐδὲ
πρὸς τὰ διαστήματα τῶν ὁδῶν ἀποκνήσαντες, μόνον ἵνα
πάντα μείζονα δικαστήρια τῆς κατηγορίας αὐτῶν ἐμπλησθῇ.
Κατηγορία γὰρ ἀληθῶς, ἀγαπητοί, τὰ παρ’ αὐτῶν γενόμενα,
καὶ πασῶν ἀνωτάτω κατηγορία· ὅπου γε καὶ πάντων τῶν
ἀνθρωπίνων ἀνωτάτω τὰ δικαστήρια. Τί γὰρ ἄλλο τέλος

τῆς ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐξετάσεως, ἡ θάνατος ἐκ βασιλικῆς κινήσεως ἐπαγόμενος ;

4. Οὐκοῦν οὐ τὰ παρὰ Ἀθανασίου, ἀλλὰ τὰ παρ' αὐτῶν γινόμενα, θρήνου καὶ οἰμωγῆς ἄξια. Οὐκοῦν αὐτοὺς μᾶλλον ἂν τις δικαίως θρηνήσειεν· ἐπὶ τούτοις γὰρ ὀδύρεσθαι χρή· ἐπεὶ καὶ γέγραπται· ‘Μὴ κλαίετε τὸν τεθνηκότα, μήτε θρηνεῖτε αὐτόν· κλαύσατε κλαυθμῷ τὸν ἐκπορευόμενον, ὅτι οὐκ ἐπιστρέψει ἔτι.’ Πᾶσα γὰρ αὐτῶν ἡ ἐπιστολὴ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ πρὸς θάνατον ὄρα· καὶ φονεύειν ἐπιχειροῦσιν, ἔαν συγχωρῶνται, καὶ ποιεῖν ἐξορίστους. Συνεχωρήθησαν γὰρ, τοῦ θεοφιλεστάτου πατρὸς τῶν βασιλέων, ἀντὶ θανάτου, τῇ μεταθέσει τοῦ τόπου Jer. xxii. 10. τὸν θυμὸν αὐτῶν ἐκπλήσαντος. Ταῦτα γὰρ ὅτι μὴδὲ ψιλῶν Χριστιανῶν ἔργα, σπανίως δὲ καὶ ἔθνικῶν, μήτι γε ἐπισκόπων, δοκούντων καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τὰ δίκαια διδάσκουν, συνορᾶν ὑμῶν τὴν ἐν Χριστῷ συνείδησιν ἡγούμεθα· πῶς γὰρ οἱ τοὺς ἄλλους κωλύοντες κατηγορεῖν, αὐτοὶ κατήγοροι καὶ μέχρι βασιλέων γίνονται ; πῶς οἱ συμφορὰς ἐλεεῖν διδάσκοντες, οὐδὲ μετὰ τὴν ἐξοριστίαν ἡμῶν ἡσυχάζουσι ; Κοινὸς γὰρ γέγονεν ἡμῶν τῶν ἐπισκόπων ὁμολογουμένως ἐξορισμός· καὶ πάντες ἑαυτοὺς ἐξορίστους εἶχομεν, καὶ νῦν ὡς σὺν Ἀθανασίῳ ταῖς πατρίσιν ἀποδοθέντας, πάλιν ἀντὶ τῶν προτέρων ὀδυρμῶν ἐπ' αὐτῷ καὶ θρήνων μεγίστην εὐθυμίαν ἀπολαβόντας καὶ χάριν, ἣν ὁ Κύριος διαφυλάξειε, καὶ ἀνατρέψαι τοῖς περὶ Εὐσέβιον μὴ ἐπιτρέψῃ. Ταῦτα μὲν, εἰ καὶ ἀληθὴ ἦν ἢ κατηγοροῦν αὐτὸν, ἦν τινα κατηγορήματα, ὅτι παρὰ τὸ πρόσταγμα τοῦ Χριστιανισμοῦ, καὶ μετὰ τὸν τοῦ πειρασμοῦ ἐξορισμὸν ἐπεμβαίνοντες πάλιν, φόνων καὶ σφαγῶν καὶ ἄλλων ἐγκλημάτων κατηγοροῦσι, καὶ βασιλικαῖς ἀκοαῖς ταῦτα κατὰ τῶν ἐπισκόπων ἐπηχοῦσιν. Ὅτε δὲ πάντα ψεύδονται, καὶ πάντα συκοφαντοῦσι, καὶ μὴ πρόσεστιν αὐτῶν ἀλήθεια τοῖς στόμασι, μὴδὲ τοῖς γράμμασι, ποσαπλοῦν τὸ κακὸν παρ' αὐτοῖς ; ἡ ποταποὺς εἶναι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὑπολαμβάνετε ; Ἥδη τοίνυν ἐπ' αὐτὰ χωρήσωμεν, καὶ πρὸς τὰς κατηγορίας αὐτῶν τὰς νῦν γινόμενας ἀπαντήσωμεν. Καὶ γὰρ ἀπὸ τούτων οὐδὲ τὰ πρότερα παρ' αὐτῶν ἐπὶ συνόδῳ καὶ c. 71, 335 ff. κρίσει θρυλλούμενα, καλῶς πεπραγμένα, μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδὲ

APOL. C. ARI. ἀληθῇ λεγόμενα ἐλεγχθήσεται, καὶ πάλιν ἐπὶ τούτοις
(*Letter of*
Egyptian Bi- καταγνωσθήσονται.
shops.)

5. Δυσωπούμεθα μὲν οὖν περὶ τοιούτων ἀπολογούμενοι· πλὴν ἐπειδήπερ πρὸς πάντα ἑαυτοὺς οἱ προπετεῖς ἐπάγουσι κατήγοροι, καὶ μετὰ τὴν εἴσοδον Ἀθανασίου φόνους καὶ σφαγὰς αἰτιῶνται γεγενῆσθαι, παρακαλοῦμεν ἀνασχέσθαι τῆς ἀπολογίας, κὰν διὰ πλειόνων ἢ· τὰ γὰρ πράγματα ἀναγκάζει. Φόνος μὲν οὔτε παρὰ Ἀθανασίου γέγονεν, οὔτε δι' αὐτὸν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ εἰς ταύτην ἡμᾶς τὴν ἄδοξον ἀπολογία, ὡς προείπομεν, ἐμβιβάζουσιν οἱ κατήγοροι· σφαγαὶ δὲ καὶ δεσμοὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἡμῶν ἀλλότρια· δημίῳ παραδέδωκεν Ἀθανάσιος οὐδένα· καὶ τὸ δεσμωτήριον, ὅσον ἐπ' αὐτῷ, οὐδεπώποτε ἐνοχληθὲν παρ' αὐτοῦ. Τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν ἱερατεία, ὥσπερ αἰεὶ, καὶ νῦν καθαρὰ, μόνῳ σεμνυνόμενα τῷ αἵματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ τῇ εἰς αὐτὸν εὐσεβείᾳ. Οὐ πρεσβύτερος, οὐ διάκονος ἀνηρέθη παρὰ Ἀθανασίου· οὐ φόνον, οὐκ ἐξοριστίαν ἔδρασεν ὁ ἄνθρωπος. Ἀλλ' εἴθε μὴδὲ ἐκείνοι κατ' αὐτοῦ τοῦτ' ἔδρασαν ἀληθεῖα τὴν πείραν ἐπαγαγόντες. Οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἐξόριστος ἐνταῦθα γέγονε δι' αὐτὸν, πλὴν αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Ἀθανασίου τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας παρ' αὐτῶν, ὃν ἀφεθέντα καὶ πάλιν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἢ καὶ χείροσι περιβάλλειν ἐπιζητοῦσι, πάντα πρὸς ψευδῇ καὶ θανατηφόρᾳ ῥήματα τὴν γλῶτταν ἑαυτῶν ὀτρύνοντες. Ἴδου γὰρ, λοιπὸν καὶ τὰς τῶν δικαστῶν πράξεις ἐπ' αὐτὸν μεταφέρουσι· καὶ τὸν μὲν ἑπαρχον τῆς Αἰγύπτου φανερώως ὁμολογοῦσιν ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ κατὰ τινῶν ἀποπεφάνθαι· πάλιν δὲ οὐ δυσωποῦνται καὶ ταύτας τὰς ἀποφάσεις Ἀθανασίῳ προσάπτοντες· καὶ ταῦτα μὴδέπω τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπιβάντι, ἀλλ' ἔτι τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς ἀπὸ τῆς ἐξοριστίας ἐχομένῳ, καὶ κατὰ τὴν Συρίαν ὄντι· εἴ γε δεῖ καὶ μακρὰν ἀποδημίαν εἰς ἀπολογία φέρειν, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴδὲ ὑπεύθυνον εἶναι τινα οἷς ἂν ἡγεμῶν ἢ ἑπαρχος Αἰγύπτου πράξῃ. Εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ἦν, τί πρὸς Ἀθανάσιον αἱ τοῦ ἐπάρχου πράξεις; Ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐδὲ ἐπεδήμει τοῖς τόποις· καὶ τὰ πραχθέντα οὐ διὰ προφάσεις ἐκκλησιαστικὰς πέπρακται παρὰ τοῦ ἐπάρχου τῆς Αἰγύπτου, ἀλλὰ διὰ τινας ἃς ἐκ τῶν ὑπομνημάτων εἴσεσθε· ἅπερ, μετὰ τὸ γινῶναι τὰ παρὰ τούτων γραφέντα, πολυπραγ-

μονήσαντες ἀπεστείλαμεν ὑμῖν. Οὐκοῦν ὅτε καὶ νῦν τὰ μὴ γενόμενα μήτε παρ' αὐτοῦ μήτε δι' αὐτὸν βοῶσιν ὡς γενόμενα, καὶ τοσούτοις μαρτυροῦσιν ὡς πληροφορηθέντες κακοῖς, εἰπάτωσαν ἐκ ποίας συνόδου καὶ ταῦτα ἔγνωσαν; ἐκ ποίων ἀποδείξεων; ἐκ ποίας κρίσεως; Εἰ δὲ μηδὲν ἔχοντες τοιοῦτον ἀπλῶς διαβεβαιοῦνται, καὶ τὰ πρότερα πῶς γέγονεν, ἢ πῶς λέγουσιν, ὑμῖν κατελίσπομεν σκοπεῖν. Οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄλλο ἐστὶν ἢ συκοφαντία καὶ ἐχθρῶν ἐπιβουλή, καὶ θυμὸς ἄσχετα φρονῶν, καὶ κατὰ τῆς εὐσεβείας ἢ ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἀρειομανιτῶν ἀσέβεια λυττώσα, ἔν' ἐκποδῶν μὲν οἱ ὀρθόδοξοι γένωνται, μετ' ἀδείας δὲ λοιπὸν ἂ βούλονται κηρύττωσιν οἱ προστάται τῆς ἀσεβείας. Καὶ γὰρ οὕτως ἔχει.

6. Ἀρείου τοῦ ἀσεβήσαντος, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ ἡ Ἀρειομανιτῶν δι' αὐτὸν αἵρεσις κέκληται, τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐκβληθέντος ὑπὸ τοῦ μακαρίτου ἐπισκόπου Ἀλεξάνδρου, οἱ περὶ Εὐσέβιον μαθηταὶ τῆς ἀσεβείας αὐτοῦ καὶ κοινωνοὶ τυγχάνοντες, ἑαυτοὺς ἐκβεβλησθαι νομίζοντες, ἔγραφον πολλὰ παρακαλοῦντες Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν ἐπίσκοπον μὴ ἀφείναι τὸν αἵρετικὸν Ἀρείον ἔξω τῆς ἐκκλησίας. Ἀλεξάνδρου δὲ διὰ τὴν εἰς Χριστὸν εὐσέβειαν μὴ δεχομένου τὸν ἀσεβῆ, εἰς Ἀθανάσιον τότε διάκονον ὄντα ἐλυποῦντο, ἐπειδὴ τὰ πλείστα συνόντα Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ πολυπραγμονοῦντες αὐτὸν ἤκουον, καὶ τιμώμενον παρ' αὐτοῦ. Πείραν δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς εὐσεβείας τῆς εἰς Χριστὸν λαβόντες ἐκ τῆς συνόδου τῆς κατὰ Νίκαιαν συγκροτηθείσης, ἐν οἷς ἐπαρρησιάζετο κατὰ τῆς ἀσεβείας τῶν Ἀρειομανιτῶν, μειζόνως τὸ μῖσος ἠϋξάνον. Ὡς δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν αὐτὸν ὁ Θεὸς ἤγαγε, τὴν ἐκ παλαιοῦ τρεφομένην αὐτοῖς κακίαν ἀναζωπυρήσαντες, καὶ φοβούμενοι τὴν ὀρθοδοξίαν αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὴν κατὰ τῆς ἀσεβείας παράστασιν, Εὐσέβιος δὲ πλείον καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς συνειδήσεως ὧν οἶδε πληττόμενος, πάντα τρόπον ἐπεβούλευον καὶ συνεσκευάζοντο τῷ ἀνδρί. Ἐκίνουν βασιλέα κατ' αὐτοῦ, συνόδους ἡπείλουν πολλάκις· καὶ τέλος ἐν Τύρῳ συνήλθον, καὶ μέχρι νῦν οὐκ ἀφίστανται κατ' αὐτοῦ γράφοντες, καὶ οὕτως εἰσὶν ἀπαραίτητοι, ὡς καὶ τὴν κατάστασιν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς αὐτοῦ μέμφεσθαι, πανταχοῦ δεικνύοντες ἑαυτοὺς ἐχθροὺς, καὶ μισοῦντας τὸν ἄνδρα, καὶ ψευδῇ λέγοντες, μόνον

Cp. De
Syn. 17.

Cp Soc. i. 8.

A.D. 326.

c. 59.

c. 71.

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(Letter of
Egypt. Bi-
shops.)

ἵνα ἐκφauλίσωσιν αὐτὸν ἐν ταῖς ψευδολογαῖς. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν τούτων ὧν ψεύδονται, τὰ πρότερα διελέγχουσι ψευδῇ καὶ συσκευῆς μεστά. 'Μετὰ γὰρ τὴν τελευταίην,' φασιν, 'Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, ὀλίγων τινῶν Ἀθανασίου μνήμην ποιουμένων, ἐξ ἧ ἑπτὰ ἐπισκόπων λάθρα καὶ ἐν παραβύστῳ χειροτονοῦσιν αὐτόν.' Ταῦτα ἔγραψαν καὶ βασιλεύουσιν, οἱ μὴδὲν ψευδὲς γράφειν παραιτούμενοι. Ὅτι δὲ πᾶν τὸ πλήθος, καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας, ὥσπερ ἐκ μιᾶς ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος συνεληλυθότες, ἀνεβόων, ἔκραζον, αἰτοῦντες Ἀθανάσιον ἐπίσκοπον τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ· τοῦτο ἡὔχοντο δημοσίᾳ τῷ Χριστῷ, καὶ τοῦτο ἡμᾶς ὥρκιζον ποιεῖν ἐπὶ πλείστας ἡμέρας καὶ νύκτας, μήτε αὐτοὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀφιστάμενοι, μήτε ἡμᾶς ἐπιτρέποντες ἀφίστασθαι τούτου· καὶ ἡμεῖς μάρτυρες τούτου, καὶ ἡ πόλις πᾶσα, καὶ ἡ ἐπαρχία, οὐδὲν μὲν ἐναντίον, ὡς ἔγραψαν ἐκεῖνοι, κατ' αὐτοῦ λέγοντες· πάντα δὲ τὰ βέλτιστα, σπουδαῖον, εὐλαβῆ, Χριστιανὸν, ἕνα τῶν ἀσκητῶν, ἀληθῶς ἐπίσκοπον ὀνομάζοντες. Ὅτι δὲ οἱ πλείονες ἡμῶν αὐτὸν ἐχειροτόνησαν ὑπὸ ταῖς τῶν πάντων ὄψεσι καὶ βοαῖς, μάρτυρες πάλιν ἡμεῖς ἀξιοπιστότεροι τῶν ἀπόντων καὶ ψευδομένων, οἱ χειροτονήσαντες. Ἀλλ' ὁμῶς Εὐσέβιος τὴν κατάστασιν Ἀθανασίου μέμφεται, ἄνθρωπος τάχα μὴδὲ κατάστασιν ὅλως ἐσχηκώς· εἰ δέ που καὶ ἔσχεν, αὐτὸς ἀκυρώσας αὐτήν· ἐν Βηρυτῷ μὲν ἦν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, Βηρυτὸν δὲ ἀφείς εἰς Νικομήδειαν ἦλθε, τὴν μὲν παρὰ νόμον ἀφείς, [Qu. τὴν] εἰς ἣν δὲ παρὰ νόμον ἐπιβαίνων· καὶ τὴν μὲν οἰκείαν ἀστόργως καταλελοιπώς, τὴν δὲ ἄλλοτρίαν ἀλόγως κατέχων· καὶ τῆς μὲν πρώτης τὴν στοργὴν ὑπὸ τῆς ἄλλοτρίας ἐπιθυμίας παριδὼν, τῇ δὲ δευτέρᾳ μὴδὲ ἦν ὑπὸ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας ἔσχε τηρήσας. Ἴδου γὰρ κακείθεν ἀποστὰς ἄλλοτρίαν πάλιν κατέχει, πανταχοῦ ταῖς ἄλλοτρίαις ἐποφθαλμιῶν πόλεσι, καὶ ἐν πλούτῳ καὶ ἐν μεγέθει πόλεων νομίζων εἶναι τὴν εὐσέβειαν, καὶ τὸν κλῆρον τοῦ Θεοῦ, καθ' ὃν ἐτάχθη τις, μὴδὲν ἡγοῦμενος· οὐκ εἰδὼς, ὅτι καὶ ὅπου δύο ἢ τρεῖς συνηγμένοι εἰσὶν ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ Κυρίου, ἐκεῖ ἐστὶν ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν ὁ Κύριος· οὐκ ἐνθυμούμενος τὸ παρὰ τοῦ ἀποστόλου λεχθὲν, 2 Cor. x. 15. ὅτι 'οὐκ ἐν ἄλλοτρίοις καμάτοις καυχῆσομαι·' οὐ συννοῶν τὸ

Hist. Ari. 7.

[Qu. τὴν]

Cp. c. 25.

Cp. 1 Tim.
vi. 5.

Matt. xvii.
20.

2 Cor. x. 15.

παρ' αὐτοῦ παράγγελμα, 'Δέδεσαι γυναῖκί, μὴ ζῆτει λύσιν.' 1 Cor. vii. 27.
 Εἰ δὲ ἐπὶ γυναικὸς τὸ ῥητὸν, πόσῳ μᾶλλον ἐπὶ ἐκκλησίας
 καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐπισκοπῆς, ἣ ὁ συνδεθεὶς ἄλλην οὐκ ὀφείλει.
 ζῆτεῖν, ἵνα μὴ καὶ μοιχὸς παρὰ ταῖς θέλαις εὐρίσκηται γρα-
 φαῖς.

7. 'Ἀλλὰ καὶ τοιαῦτα ἑαυτῷ συνειδὼς, τετόλμηκε τὴν κατὰ-
 στασιν Ἀθανασίου, τὴν ὑπὸ πάντων ἐπὶ καλοῖς μαρτυρουμέ-
 νην, διαβάλλειν· καὶ καθαίρεσιν ὀνειδίζειν αὐτῷ τολμῇ,
 καθαιρεθεὶς αὐτὸς, καὶ μάρτυρα τῆς καθαιρέσεως ἔχων τὴν
 ἀντ' αὐτοῦ κατάστασιν. Πῶς οὖν ἢ αὐτὸς ἢ Θεόγνιος ἡδύ- Cp. Soc. i.
 ναντο καθαίρειν ἄλλον, αὐτοὶ καθαιρεθέντες, καὶ ταῖς ἀντ' 8, 14.
 αὐτῶν καταστάσεσιν ἐλεγχόμενοι; Οἶδατε γὰρ ἀκριβῶς, ὅτι
 Ἀμφίων μὲν ἐν Νικομηδείᾳ, Χρηστὸς δὲ ἐν Νικαίᾳ κατεστά-
 θησαν ἀντ' αὐτῶν διὰ τὴν οἰκείαν ἀσέβειαν, καὶ τὴν πρὸς
 τοὺς Ἀρειομανίτας κοινωνίαν, τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς συνόδου τῆς
 οἰκουμένης ἀποδοκιμασθέντας. Κἀκέλευν τὴν τῷ ὄντι A.D. 325.
 σύνοδον ἀναιρεῖν θέλοντες, τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἄδικον σύστασιν
 ὀνομάζειν 'σύνοδον' ἐπιχειροῦσι, καὶ τὰ παρ' ἐκεῖνη κρατεῖν
 μὴ θέλοντες, τὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς κρατεῖν βούλονται· καὶ σύνοδον
 ὀνομάζουσιν οἱ συνόδῳ τηλικαύτῃ μὴ πειθόμενοι. Οὕτως οὐ
 συνόδου πεφροντίκασιν, ἀλλὰ σχηματίζονται φροντίζειν, ἵνα,
 ἀελόντες τοὺς ὀρθοδόξους, τὰ δόξαντα τῇ ἀληθείᾳ καὶ μεγάλῃ
 συνόδῳ κατὰ τῶν Ἀρειανῶν λύσωσιν· ὧν προϋστάμενοι καὶ
 αἰεὶ καὶ νῦν, ψεύδεσθαι τολμῶσι κατὰ Ἀθανασίου τοῦ ἐπισκό-
 που. Ὅμοια γὰρ κἀκεῖνα τοῖς νῦν, ἃ ψεύδονται, ὅτι πρὸς τὴν
 εἰσοδὸν αὐτοῦ στάσεις καὶ θρήνοι καὶ ὀδυρμοὶ γεγόνασι, τῶν A.D. 338.
 λαῶν πρὸς τὴν ὑποδοχὴν αὐτοῦ δυσανασχετοῦντων. Οὐδὲν
 γὰρ τοιοῦτον γέγονεν, ἀλλὰ πᾶν τοῦναντίον, χαρὰ καὶ εὐθυμία,
 καὶ δρόμος τῶν λαῶν, πρὸς τὴν εὐκταίαν αὐτοῦ θέαν ἐπειγο-
 μένων· εὐφροσύνης δὲ αἱ ἐκκλησίαι μεσταί, καὶ εὐχαρισταί
 πρὸς τὸν Κύριον ἀναφερόμεναι πανταχοῦ. Λειτουργοὶ δὲ καὶ
 κληρικοὶ πάντες οὕτως αὐτὸν ἐωράκασιν, ὥς εὐφρανθῆναι τὰς
 ψυχὰς, κἀκέλευν τὴν ἡμέραν πασῶν εὐθυμοτέραν ἐσχηκεῖναι
 πιστεύειν. Τὴν γὰρ ἡμῶν τῶν ἐπισκόπων ἀνεκλάλητον χαρὰν
 τί χρὴ γράφειν; προλαβόντες γὰρ εἰρήκαμεν, ὥς σὺν αὐτῷ
 πάσχειν ἐνομίζομεν.

APOL. C. ARI.
(Letter of
Egypt. Bi-
shops.)

A. D. 335.

c. 77.

Cp. Epiph.
Hær. lxxviii.
7.

Cp. c. 49 ;
De Syn. 17.

See below,
c. 36, 72 ;
Hist. Ari. 11.

c. 65, 69.

8. Τούτων τοίνυν οὕτως ὁμολογουμένων, καὶ παρ' αὐτῶν ἐναντίως προφερομένων, ποίαν ἔχει πίστιν ἢ παρ' αὐτῶν θρυλουμένη σύνοδος ἢ κρίσις ; Οἱ γὰρ οὕτως ἐπιβαίνειν τολμῶντες, οἷς οὐκ εἶδον, οἷς οὐκ ἐδίκασαν, ἐφ' οἷς οὐ συνήλθον, καὶ γράφειν ὥς πληροφορηθέντες, πῶς ἐφ' οἷς συνεληλυθέναι λέγουσι πιστευθῆναι δύνανται ; 'Αλλ' οὐ κατ' ἐχθραν κακέϊνα πεποιηκέναι καὶ ταῦτα πιστευθήσονται ; Ποία γὰρ καὶ σύνοδος ἐπισκόπων ἦν τότε ; ποῖον συνέδριον ἀληθείας ἐχόμενον ; τίς τῶν πλειόνων ἐν αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἐχθρὸς ἡμέτερος ἦν ; Οὐ διὰ τὴν 'Αρείου μανίαν οἱ περὶ Εὐσέβιον καθ' ἡμῶν ὤρμησαν ; Οὐ τοὺς ἄλλους συμφρονοῦντας αὐτοῖς ἐπήγοντο ; Οὐκ ἀεὶ κατ' αὐτῶν ἐγράφομεν ὥς τὰ 'Αρείου φρονούντων ; Οὐκ Εὐσέβιος ὁ ἐν Καισαρείᾳ τῆς Παλαιστίνης ἐπὶ θυσίᾳ κατηγορεῖτο ὑπὸ τῶν σὺν ἡμῖν ὁμολογητῶν ; Οὐ Γεώργιος, ὡς καθαιρεθεὶς ὑπὸ 'Αλεξάνδρου τοῦ μακαρίου ἡλέγχετο ; Οὐκ ἐπ' ἄλλοις ἄλλοι καὶ διαφόροις ἠθύνοντο ; Πῶς οὖν οὗτοι συνιέναι καθ' ἡμῶν ἤθελον ; Πῶς δὲ σύνοδον ὀνομάζειν τολμῶσιν, ἧς κόμης προῦκάθητο, καὶ παρὴν σπεκουλάτωρ, καὶ κομεντάριος ἡμᾶς εἰσήγευ ἀντὶ διακόνων τῆς ἐκκλησίας ; 'Εκεῖνος ἐφθέγγετο, καὶ οἱ παρόντες ἐσιώπων, μᾶλλον δὲ ὑπήκουον τῷ κόμητι· καὶ τὸ κινοῦν τοὺς δοκοῦντας ἐπισκόπους ὑπὸ τῆς ἐκείνου βουλῆς ἐνεποδίζετο. 'Εκεῖνος ἐκέλευεν, ἡμεῖς ὑπὸ στρατιωτῶν ἡγόμεθα· μᾶλλον δὲ τῶν περὶ Εὐσέβιον κελευνόντων, ἐκεῖνος ταῖς τούτων ἐξυπηρετεῖτο γνώμαις. Τὸ δὲ ὅλον, ἀγαπητοί, ποία σύνοδος ἔνθα τὸ τέλος ἐξοριστία καὶ φόβος εἰς δόξαν ἦν βασιλεῖ ; Ποία δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐγκλήματα ; Μείζον γὰρ ἐπὶ τούτοις τὸ κατ' αὐτῶν θαῦμα. 'Αρσένιος τις ἦν, ὃν πεφονεῦσθαι ἐμέμφοντο, καὶ ποτήριον διέβαλλον κεκλᾶσθαι μυστικόν. 'Αλλ' 'Αρσένιος μὲν ζῇ, καὶ μεθ' ἡμῶν εὔχεται συνάγεσθαι, καὶ οὐκ ἄλλας ἀναμένει μαρτυρίας, ἵνα ζῶν φανῇ, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ὁμολογεῖ ζῆν, οἰκείους γράμμασι πρὸς τὸν συνεπίσκοπον ἡμῶν 'Αθανάσιον γράφων, ὃν αὐτοῦ φονέα διεβεβαιοῦντο. Καὶ οὐκ ἡδοῦντο οἱ ἀσεβεῖς ἄνδρα πρὸ τοσοῦτου διαστήματος, καὶ πλὴν καὶ πεζῇ πάμπολυ μῆκος ἀπέχοντα, παρ' αὐτοῦ πεφονεῦσθαι κατηγοροῦντες, οὐ κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους μηδὲ τὴν χώραν εἶδεν ἄνθρωπος. 'Αλλὰ καὶ κρύναι

τετολμήκασι, καὶ ἀφανῇ καταστήσαι μηδὲν παθόντα. Καὶ εἰ οἶόν τε ἦν εἰς ἄλλην οἰκουμένην ἂν μετετίθεσαν, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ τοῦ ζῆν ἁληθῶς ἂν ἐξήγαγον, ἵνα εἴτε ἐπαληθεύοντες, εἴτε πλασάμενοι φόνον, ἁληθῶς Ἀθανάσιον ἀποκτείνωσιν. Ἀλλὰ τῇ θεῇ προνοίᾳ καὶ ἐν τούτῳ χάρις, τῇ μηδὲν ἄδικον ἰσχύειν ἐπιτρεπούσῃ, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τὰς πάντων ὄψεις Ἀρσένιον ὑπαγούσῃ c. 65 ; ζῶντα, καὶ φανερώς τὴν τότε συσκευὴν καὶ συκοφαντίαν Soc. i. 29. ἐλέγχοντα· οὐ γὰρ ὡς φονέας ἀποστρέφεται, οὐδὲ ὡς ἡδικη-κότας μισεῖ· πέπονθε γὰρ ὅλως οὐδέν. Ἀλλὰ κοινωνεῖν c. 27, 69. ἡμῖν ἀξιοῖ, καὶ συναριθμείσθαι βούλεται, δι' ὧν ἔγραψε.

9. Καὶ ὅμως Ἀθανάσιος μὲν συνεσκευάζεται παρ' αὐτῶν, ὡς τὸν ζῶντα πεφονευκῶς, ἐξωρίζετο δὲ παρὰ τῶν αὐτῶν. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁ πατὴρ τῶν βασιλέων τοῦτον ἐξώρισεν, ἀλλ' αἱ τούτων διαβολαί. Σκοπεῖτε γὰρ, εἰ μὴ οὕτως ἔχει· ὡς οὐδὲν μὲν ἠύρισκετο κατὰ τοῦ συλλειτουργοῦ ἡμῶν Ἀθανασίου, ὁ δὲ κόμης ἐβιάζετο, καὶ πολὺς ἦν σπουδάζων κατ' αὐτοῦ, ὁ μὲν ἐπίσκοπος Ἀθανάσιος, φυγὼν τὴν γενομένην βίαν, ἀνῆλθε c. 86. πρὸς τὸν εὐσεβεστάτον βασιλέα, παραιτούμενος ὅμα καὶ τὸν κόμητα καὶ τὰς ἐκείνων συσκευὰς, ἀξιῶν δὲ νόμιμον ἐπισκόπων σύνοδον συγκροτηθῆναι, ἣ καὶ αὐτὸν δέξασθαι τὴν ἀπολογίαν, ὧν ἐπήγαγον αὐτῷ. Καὶ γράφει μὲν βασιλεὺς ἀγανακτῶν, καὶ προσκαλεσάμενος αὐτοὺς, ἐπαγγελλόμενός τε αὐτοὺς ἀκροάσασθαι, ὁ καὶ τὴν σύνοδον κελύσας γενέσθαι· οἱ δὲ περὶ Εὐσέβιον, ἀνελθόντες, διαβάλλουσιν Ἀθανάσιον, οὐκέτι μὲν τὰ ἐν Τύρῳ θρυλούμενα παρ' αὐτῶν, περὶ σίτου δὲ καὶ πλοίων ἐποχῆς, ὡς Ἀθανασίου ἐπαγγειλαμένου δύ- c. 87. νασθαι κωλύειν τὴν ἀπὸ Ἀλεξανδρείας εἰς τὴν Κωνσταντι- νούπολιν τοῦ σίτου μετακομιδὴν· ταῦτά τινες τῶν ἐξ ἡμῶν ἔνδον ὄντες μετὰ Ἀθανασίου ἀκηκόασι τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπει- λούντος. Εἶτα τοῦ Ἀθανασίου ὀδυρομένου ἐπὶ τῇ διαβολῇ, καὶ διαβεβαιουμένου, μὴ εἶναι ταύτην ἁληθῇ· πῶς γὰρ ἂν ἰδιώ- της ἄνθρωπος καὶ πένης τηλικαῦτα δύναιτο ; Εὐσέβιος, οὐδὲ δημοσίᾳ παραιτησάμενος τὴν διαβολὴν, ὥμυνε τὸν Ἀθανά- σιον εἶναι πλούσιον, καὶ δυνατὸν, καὶ ἱκανὸν πρὸς πάντα, ἵνα ἐκ τούτων κάκεῖνα εἰρηκῶς Ἀθανάσιος νομισθῇ. Ταῦτα μὲν οἱ σεμνοὶ κατηγοροῦν ἐπίσκοποι· ἡ δὲ τοῦ Θεοῦ χάρις

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c. 68.

κρείττων τῆς πονηρίας αὐτῶν γεγένηται· τὴν γὰρ εὐσέβειαν τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς φιλανθρωπίαν κεκίνηκε, καὶ ἀντὶ θανάτου τὴν ἐξοριστείαν παρέσχεν. Οὐκοῦν αἱ διαβολαί, καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο, τούτων αἰτίαι. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ βασιλεὺς, πρὸ τούτου γράφων, τὴν συσκευὴν ἐμέμψατο, τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν ᾗτιάσατο, τῶν Μελιτιανῶν κατεψηφίσατο, ἀθεμίτους, ἀρᾶς ἀξίους, τὰ δεινότατα αὐτοὺς ἐγγράφως εἰπών. Κεκίνηται γὰρ νεκρὸν ἀκηκοὺς ἄνθρωπον, ὃς ἐν τοῖς ζῶσιν ἦν· κεκίνηται φόνον ἀκούσας ἐπὶ ζῶντι, καὶ τοῦ βίου μὴ στερηθέντι, καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἀπεστείλαμεν.

11.

10. Οἱ δὲ περὶ Εὐσέβιον οἱ θαυμαστοί, ἵνα καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν καὶ τὰ γραφέντα λύειν δόξωσιν, ὄνομα συνόδου σχηματίζονται, καὶ τὸ ἔργον αὐτῆς παρὰ βασιλέως λαμβάνουσι. Καὶ κόμης ἐπὶ τούτῳ, καὶ στρατιῶται δορυφόροι τῶν ἐπισκόπων, καὶ βασιλικά γράμματα συνελθεῖν, οὗς ᾗτησαν ἐπαναγκάζοντα. Ἐνταῦθα τὸ παράδοξον τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς αὐτῶν ἐνθυμήθητε, καὶ τὴν ἀνωμαλίαν τῶν τολμωμένων αὐτοῖς, ἵνα ὅθεν δῆποτε παντὶ τρόπῳ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐξ ἡμῶν ἀρπάσωσιν. Εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐπέτρεπον ἑαυτοῖς τὴν κρίσιν μόνοις ὡς ἐπίσκοποι, τίς κόμητος καὶ στρατιωτῶν χρεία; ἢ πῶς ὑπὸ βασιλικοῖς συνήγοντο γράμμασιν; Εἰ δὲ βασιλέως ἐδέοντο, καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ τὸ κύρος ἔχειν ἤθελον, διὰ τί τὴν κρίσιν αὐτοῦ παρέλκον; Ἡ πῶς ἐκείνου τοὺς μὲν Μελιτιανοὺς συκοφάντας, ἀθεμίτους, Ἀθανάσιον δὲ καθαρώτατον δι' ὧν ἔγραψε κρίναντος, καὶ τὸν φόνον ἐκτραφδοῦντος τὸν ἐπὶ τῷ ζῶντι πεπλασμένον, οὗτοι καὶ Μελιτιανοὺς ἀληθεύειν, κἀκείνους ὑπεύθυνον εἶναι διωρίζοντο; καὶ μὴ αἰδούμενοι, τὸν ζῶντα νεκρὸν ἐποιοῦν; ζῶντα καὶ μετὰ τὴν κρίσιν τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ ὅτε συνήεσαν, καὶ ἄχρι νῦν σὺν ἡμῖν ὄντα. Ταῦτα μὲν περὶ Ἀρσενίου.

Hist Ari. 52.

11. Ποτήριον δὲ μυστικόν, ποῖον, ἢ ποῦ κατεαγὲν παρὰ Μακαρίου; τοῦτο γὰρ ἄνω καὶ κάτω περιόντες θρυλοῦσι. Καίτοι Ἀθανάσιον μὲν οὐδὲ οἱ κατήγοροι τετολμήκασιν αἰτιάσασθαι, εἰ μὴ παρ' αὐτῶν ὑπεβλήθησαν· ἀλλ' ὅμως αὐτοὶ τὸ τέλος τῆς μέμψεως ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἄγουσιν· ὃ μὴδὲ ἐπὶ Μακάριον ἔδει χωρεῖν, οὐκ ἐλεγχθέντα. Καὶ οὐκ αἰσχύνονται ταῦτα

ἐπὶ κατηχομένων, καὶ τό γε χερίστον, ἐπὶ Ἑλλήνων τρα-
 γωδοῦντες τὰ μυστήρια· δέον, ὡς γέγραπται, 'μυστήριον Tob. xii. 7;
 βασιλέως καλὸν κρύπτειν' καὶ ὡς ὁ Κύριος παρήγγειλε· 'Μὴ Matt. vii. 6.
 δῶτε τὰ ἅγια τοῖς κυσὶ, μηδὲ βάλητε τοὺς μαργαρίτας ἔμπρο-
 σθεν τῶν χοίρων.' Οὐ χρή γὰρ τὰ μυστήρια ἀμυήτοις τραγω-
 δεῖν, ἵνα μὴ Ἕλληνες μὲν ἀγνοοῦντες γελῶσι, κατηχούμενοι
 δὲ, περίεργοι γενόμενοι, σκανδαλίζονται. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁμως
 ποῖον ἢ ποῦ, ἢ παρὰ τίσι κατεαγὲν ποτήριον; Μελιτιανοὶ
 μὲν γὰρ εἰσιν οἱ κατηγοροῦντες, καθόλου πιστεῦεσθαι μὴ
 ὀφείλουντες. Σχισματικοὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐχθροὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας
 γεγόνασιν, οὐ νῦν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τοῦ μακαρίου Πέτρου, ἐπισκόπου c. 59.
 καὶ μάρτυρος γενομένου· οἱ καὶ αὐτῷ Πέτρῳ ἐπιβουλεύσαντες, Cp. ad Ep.
 καὶ Ἀχιλλᾶν τὸν μετ' ἐκείνον διαβαλόντες, καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου Æg. 22.
 κατηγορήσαιτες μέχρις αὐτοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως. Οὕτω γὰρ δὴ
 μελετήσαντες, λοιπὸν καὶ εἰς Ἀθανάσιον διέβησαν, οὐδὲν
 ξένον τῆς πονηρίας ἑαυτῶν ποιοῦντες· καὶ γὰρ ὥσπερ τοὺς
 πρὸ αὐτοῦ, οὕτω καὶ τοῦτον ἐσυκοφάντησαν. Ἀλλὰ νῦν
 αὐτῶν καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἢ συκοφαντία καὶ αἱ διαβολαὶ κεκρα-
 τήκασιν, ὅτι τοὺς περὶ Εὐσέβιον ἔσχον συνεργοὺς καὶ
 προστάτας διὰ τὴν οἰκείαν ἀσεβειαν τῶν Ἀρειομανιτῶν, δι'
 ἣν ὥσπερ πολλοῖς ἐπισκόποις, οὕτω καὶ Ἀθανασίῳ συνε-
 σκευάσαντο. Καὶ γὰρ ὁ τόπος ἐκεῖνος ἐν ᾧ κεκλᾶσθαι τὸ c. 76.
 ποτήριόν φησιν, οὐκ ἦν ἐκκλησία· πρεσβύτερος οὐκ ἦν ὁ c. 63, 74-
 τὸν τόπον παροικῶν· ἡμέρα, καθ' ἣν Μακάριον τοῦτο πεποιη-
 κέναι φασὶν, οὐκ ἦν Κυριακή. Μήτε τοίνυν ἐκκλησίας οὔσης
 ἐκεῖ, μήτε τοῦ ἱεουργοῦντος, μήτε τῆς ἡμέρας ἀπαιτούσης,
 ποῖον ἢ πότε, ἢ ποῦ τὸ ποτήριον κέκλασται μυστικόν; Ποτή-
 ρια μὲν γὰρ εἶναι πολλὰ καὶ κατὰ τὰς οἰκίας, καὶ ἐν ἀγορᾷ
 μέσῃ δῆλον, καὶ τούτων οὐδὲν ὁ θραύων ἀσεβεῖ· τὸ δὲ
 μυστικὸν ποτήριον, ὃ, κὰν θραυσθῇ παρ' ἐκόντος, ἀσεβῆ
 ποιεῖ τὸν ἐπικεχειρηκότα, παρὰ μόνοις τοῖς νομίμως προ-
 εστῶσιν εὐρίσκεται· οὗτος ὁ τρόπος τούτου τοῦ ποτηρίου
 μόνος, ἄλλος οὐδεῖς. Τοῦτο ὑμεῖς νομίμως προπίνετε τοῖς
 λαοῖς· τοῦτο ὑμεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ κανόνος παρελά-
 βετε· τοῦτο μόνον ἐστὶ τῶν τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας
 προεστώτων. Μόνον γὰρ ὑμῶν ἐστι προπίνειν τὸ αἷμα τοῦ

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(Letter of
Egypt. Bi-
shops.)

[Qu. Κυρια-
κός.]

c. 28, 46, 72,
74.

Χριστοῦ, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων οὐδενός. Ἄλλ' ὅσον τὸ μυστικὸν ὁ θλάων ἀσεβῆς, τοσοῦτον ἀσεβέστερος ὁ ἐνυβρίζων τὸ αἷμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ· ἐνυβρίζει γὰρ ὁ παρὰ τὸν ἐκκλησιαστικὸν θεσμόν 'τοῦτο ποιῶν.' Καὶ ταῦτά φαμεν οὐχ ὅτι κὰν σχισματικῶν ποτήριον κέκλασται παρὰ Μακαρίου, ἀλλ' ὅτι μὴδὲν ἦν ὅλως ἐκεῖ· πῶς γάρ; ὅπου μήτε τόπος Κυριακῆς, μήτε τις ἐκεῖ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἀλλὰ μήτε ὁ καιρὸς μυστηρίων ἦν; Οὗτος δέ ἐστιν ὁ πολυθρῦλλητος Ἰσχύρας, ὁ μήτε ὑπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας χειροτονηθεὶς, καὶ ὅτε τοὺς ὑπὸ Μελετίου κατασταθέντας πρεσβυτέρους Ἀλέξανδρος ἐδέχετο, μὴδὲ ἐκείνοις συναριθμηθεὶς· οὕτως οὐδὲ ἐκεῖθεν κατεστάθη.

c. 74, 76.

12. Πόθεν οὖν πρεσβύτερος Ἰσχύρας; τίνας καταστήσαντος; ἄρα Κολλούθου; τοῦτο γὰρ λοιπόν. Ἄλλ' ὅτι Κόλλουθος πρεσβύτερος ὦν ἐτελεύτησε, καὶ πᾶσα χεὶρ αὐτοῦ γέγονεν ἄκυρος, καὶ πάντες οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ κατασταθέντες ἐν τῷ σχίσματι λαϊκοὶ γεγόνασιν, καὶ οὕτω συνάγονται, δῆλον, καὶ οὐδενὶ καθέστηκεν ἀμφίβολον. Πῶς οὖν ἰδιώτης ἀνθρώπος, καὶ οἰκίσκον οἰκῶν ἰδιωτικόν, ποτήριον ἔχειν μυστικὸν πιστευθεῖν; ἀλλὰ τότε τὸν ἰδιώτην 'πρεσβύτερον' ὠνόμαζον, καὶ τὴν προσηγορίαν αὐτῷ ταύτην διὰ τὴν καθ' ἡμῶν ἀδικίαν ἐχαρίζοντο, καὶ νῦν μισθὸν τῆς κατηγορίας ἐκκλησίας οἰκοδομὴν προξενούσιν. Οὕτως οὐκ εἶχεν ἐκκλησίαν ἀνθρώπος, ἀλλὰ μισθὸν τῆς κακοηθείας καὶ τῆς πρὸς τὴν κατηγορίαν ὑπακοῆς νῦν ἦν οὐκ εἶχε λαμβάνει, καὶ τάχα καὶ ἐπισκοπὴν ἀντέδοσαν αὐτῷ· ταῦτα γὰρ θρυλεῖ περιῶν, καὶ οὕτω καθ' ἡμῶν βρευνθῆται. Οὕτω λοιπὸν τηλικαῦτα ἔπαθλα παρὰ τῶν ἐπισκόπων τοῖς κατηγοροῖς καὶ συκοφάνταις προστίθεται, εἰκότως· οἱ γὰρ συνεργὸν εἰς ἃ ἤθελον αὐτὸν ἐσχηκότες, ὥς τῶν πραγμάτων κοινωνοὶν, οὕτω καὶ τῆς ὁμοίας ἐπισκοπῆς ἠξίωσαν. Ἀλλὰ μήπω ταῦτα, ἔτι δὲ τὰς ἀκοὰς τοῖς τότε πραχθεῖσι παρ' αὐτῶν ἔνδοτε.

c. 85.

(p. c. 72 ff.

13. Μὴ δυνηθέντες πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν, καίτοι κατ' αὐτῆς παρεσκευασμένοι, καὶ ἐν Τύρῳ μὴδὲν ἀποδείξαντος Ἰσχύρα, ἀλλὰ συκοφάντου δεικνυμένου, καὶ τὴν συσκευὴν αὐτῶν τῆς συκοφαντίας λυούσης, εἰς ἀποδείξεις ὑπερτίθενται, καὶ ἐπαγγέλλονται πέμψειν ἐξ αὐτῶν τοὺς κατὰ Μαρεώτην πολυπραγ-

μονήσοντας. Καὶ οὗς ἡμεῖς παρητούμεθα φανερώς διὰ πολλὰ, καὶ ὥς τὰ Ἀρείου φρονούντας, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἡμῶν ἐχθροὺς, ἀπέστειλαν αὐτοὶ κρύφα, χρώμενοι τῇ δυναστείᾳ, Διόγνιον, Μάριν, Θεόδωρον, Μακεδόνιον, δύο νεωτέρους τὴν ἡλικίαν καὶ τὸν τρόπον, Οὐρσάκιον καὶ Οὐάλην ἀπὸ Παννουσίας· καὶ οὔτοι μετὰ τὴν τοσαύτην ὁδὸν, ἣν ὑπέμειναν, ἵνα δικάσωσι τῷ ἐχθρῷ, πάλιν ἀπὸ Τύρου καὶ εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἡπείγοντο· μηδὲ τὸ μάρτυρες οἱ δικασταὶ γενέσθαι παραιτησάμενοι, ἀλλὰ πάντα τρόπον ἐπιβουλῆς ἀναδεξάμενοι φανερώς, καὶ πάντα κάματον καὶ πᾶσαν ὁδὸν ὑποστάντες, ἵνα τὴν κατασκευαζομένην συσκευὴν πληρώσωσι. Καὶ τὸν μὲν ἐπίσκοπον Ἀθανάσιον κατεχόμενον ἐπὶ ξένης ἡφίεσαν· αὐτοὶ δὲ εἰς τὴν τοῦ ἐχθροῦ πόλιν εἰσῆσαν, ὥσπερ ἐπικωμάζοντες, καὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ τῷ λαῷ· καὶ τὸ παραλογώτερον, Ἰσχύραν τὸν κατήγορον μεθ' ἑαυτῶν ἐπαγόμενοι, Μακάριον τὸν κατηγορούμενον οὐκ ἐπέτρεψαν ἀκολουθῆσαι, ἀλλ' ἔμφρουρον ἀφῆκαν ἐν Τύρῳ. Ἄνω γὰρ καὶ κάτω Μακάριος ὁ πρεσβύτερος τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ὑπήγετο παρ' αὐτῶν τῷ ἐγκλήματι.

14. Μόνοι τοίνυν μετὰ τοῦ κατηγοροῦ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν εἰσελθόντες, σύνοικον αὐτὸν, καὶ συνέστιον, καὶ συμπότην ἔχοντες, καὶ τὸν ἐπαρχὸν τῆς Αἰγύπτου Φιλάργριον παραλαβόντες, ἐπὶ τὴν Μαρεώτην ἀπῆλθον· κακεῖ δῆθεν ἐποιοῦντο τὴν ἐξέτασιν μόνοι, ὥς ἤθελον, μετὰ τοῦ προειρημένου, πολλὰ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους παρῆναι παρακάλεσαντας οὐκ ἐπιτρέψαντες. Ἡξίου δὲ παρῆναι οἱ τε τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῆς χώρας πάσης πρεσβύτεροι, ἵνα τοὺς ὑποβαλλομένους ὑπὸ Ἰσχύρα διελέγξωσι τίνες καὶ πόθεν εἰσὶ. Καὶ τοὺς μὲν λειτουργοὺς ἐκάλουν παρῆναι· ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἐθνικῶν ἐξήταζον περὶ ἐκκλησίας, περὶ ποτηρίου, περὶ τραπέζης, καὶ τῶν ἁγίων· καὶ τὸ δεινότερον, ἐθνικοὺς ἐκάλουν μάρτυρας περὶ ποτηρίου μυστικοῦ ζητοῦντες· καὶ οὗς ἠρπάσθαι παρὰ Ἀθανασίου διωρίζοντο, ἐκ μετακλήσεως τοῦ 'καθολικοῦ,' καὶ μηδὲ ὅποι γῆς εἰσι γινώσκειν, τούτους εἰσῆγον ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν καὶ τοῦ ἐπαρχοῦ μόνον. Καὶ οὐκ ᾔδουντο τούτους ἠφανίσθαι παρὰ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Ἀθανασίου λέγοντες, ὦν ταῖς μαρτυρίαις συγχρῆσθαι δοκοῦσιν. Ἀλλὰ κἀναυῆθα μόνον φονεῦσαι βουλόμενοι, πάλιν τοὺς ζῶντας,

APOL. C. ARI.
(Letter of
Egypt. Bi-
shops.)

ὡς ἀποθανόντας, τὸν ἐπὶ Ἀρσενίου τρόπον μιμούμενοι πλάτ-
τονται. ὄντας γὰρ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ φαινόμενους ἐπὶ τῆς
ἰδίας, ὑμῖν τοῖς μακρὰν ὡς ἀφανεῖς ἐκτραγωδοῦσιν, ἵνα, μακρὰν
ὄντων τῶν ἐλέγχων, τὸν συλλειτουργὸν ἡμῶν διαβάλλωσιν,
ὡς βίᾳ καὶ δυναστείᾳ χρώμενον, καίτοι πάντα αὐτοὶ μετὰ
δυναστείας καὶ προστασίας πράττοντες. Καὶ γὰρ ὁμοία
πάλιν τὰ κατὰ Μαρεώτην τοῖς κατὰ Τύρον ἐγίνετο· ὥσπερ
γὰρ ἐκεῖ κόμης ἦν μετὰ στρατιωτικῆς ὑπηρεσίας, οὐδενὶ
ἐπιτρέπων παρὰ τὰ ἐκείνοις δοκοῦντα ἢ λέγεσθαι, ἢ πρᾶτ-
τεσθαι, οὕτω καὶ ἐνταῦθα ὁ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἑπαρχος μετὰ
τῆς τάξεως ἦν, πάντας μὲν τοὺς τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐκφοβῶν,
μηδένα δὲ μετὰ ἀληθείας ἐπιτρέπων μαρτυρεῖν· καὶ τὸ παρα-
δοξότερον, ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ τόπῳ καὶ τῇ οἰκίᾳ τοῦ κατηγόρου, καὶ
ῥέουσιν, καὶ ἐξετάζειν ἐδόκουν ἃ ἡβούλουντο, οἱ εἴτε δικασταί,
εἴτε μάρτυρες, εἴτε τῆς ἑαυτῶν καὶ Εὐσεβίου σπουδῆς, ὅπερ
ἀληθέστερον, ὑπηρετᾷ παραγενόμενοι.

Compare En-
cycl. 3; Apol.
ad Const. 33.

15. Καὶ τίνα τὰ παρ' αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν τολμη-
θέντα, νομίζομεν ὑμᾶς μὴ ἀγνοεῖν· πανταχοῦ γὰρ διαδέδοται.
Εἰς γὰρ γυμνὰ κατὰ τῶν ἁγίων παρθένων καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν
ἐχώρει, καὶ μάστιγες κατὰ τῶν ἐντίμων παρὰ Θεῷ σωμάτων,
καὶ τοὺς πόδας ἐχώλεον ὑπὸ τῶν πληγῶν αἱ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐν
ἀγνεῖᾳ καὶ πᾶσιν ὁλόκληροι τοῖς καλοῖς. Ἔργασαι τε κατ'
αὐτῶν ἐπεσεύοντο· καὶ ἐθνικοὶ δῆμοι πρὸς τὸ γυμνοῦν, τύπτειν,
ἀσελγαίνειν κατ' αὐτῶν, βωμούς τε καὶ θυσίας ἐπαπειλεῖν
αὐταῖς. Καὶ τῖς ἀσελγῆς ἀνὴρ, ὡς ἐξουσίας λοιπὸν δοθείσης
ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπάρχου πρὸς χάριν τῶν ἐπισκόπων, χεῖρα παρθένου
κατεῖχε, καὶ πρὸς τυχόντα βωμὸν εἴλκεν, ἀνάγκην θυσίας καὶ
διωγμοῦ μιμούμενος. Καὶ ταῦτα ἐπράττετο, καὶ φυγὴ τῶν
παρθένων ἦν, καὶ γέλως τῶν ἐθνικῶν κατὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας,
τῶν ἐπισκόπων ἔνδον ὄντων, καὶ ταύτην τὴν οἰκίαν οἰκούντων,
ἐν ᾗ ταῦτα ἐπράττετο, καὶ ἀφ' ἧς διὰ τὴν εἰς αὐτοὺς χάριν,
ξίφων αἱ παρθένοι γυμνῶν, καὶ παντὸς κινδύνου, καὶ ὕβρεων,
καὶ παροιρίας πεπείρανται. Καὶ ταῦτα ἐπασχον ἐν νηστείᾳ
παρὰ τῶν τοῖς ἐπισκόποις ἔνδον συνεστιωμένων.

16. Ταῦτα προειδότες, ὡς ἐχθρῶν εἰσόδος οὐχ ἡ τυχούσα
βλάβη, τὴν παραίτησιν ἐποιησάμεθα. Ταῦτα καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος

ἐν νῶ λαβὼν ὁ τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης ἐπίσκοπος, γράφει πρὸς Cp. c. 66, 80.
 τοὺς ἐκεῖ μέναντας τὴν συσκευὴν ἐλέγχων, καὶ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν
 μαρτυρόμενος· ὃν κὰν συναριθμῶσιν ἑαυτοῖς, καὶ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς
 μετρῶσιν ἕνα, οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ κατ' ἐκείνου τὴν βίαν δεικνύουσι.
 Καὶ γὰρ καὶ ὁ παμπόνηρος Ἰσχύρας, οὐδὲ αὐτὸς ἄνευ φόβου
 καὶ βίας ἐπ' αὐτὸ ὥρμησεν, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη τὴν κατηγορίαν
 ὑπέδν. Τούτου τεκμήριον, αὐτὸς ἔγραψεν Ἰσχύρας πρὸς τὸν c. 64.
 συνεπίσκοπον Ἀθανάσιον, ὅτι μηδὲν ἐκεῖ πέπρακται τοιοῦτον,
 ἀλλ' ὑπεβλήθη πλάσασθαι. Καὶ ταῦτα ἔγραψεν οὐ δεχθεὶς
 παρ' αὐτοῦ ὡς πρεσβύτερος, οὐ τοιαύτην χάριτος προσηγορίαν
 λαβὼν, οὐκ οἰκοδομὴν ἐκκλησίας εἰς ἀμοιβὴν τυχῶν, οὐ μισθὸν
 ἐπισκοπῆς προσδοκίσας· ὦν πάντων ἔτυχε παρ' αὐτῶν διὰ τὴν
 κατηγορίαν. Ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ γένος αὐτοῦ πᾶν μεθ' ἡμῶν συν- c. 63, 85.
 ἦγετο· οὐκ ἂν συναχθέντες, εἶγε τὸ τυχὸν ἡδίκητο.

17. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὅτι μὴ λόγος, ἀλλ' ἔργον, μάρτυρες μὲν
 οἱ τοῦ Μαρεώτου πρεσβύτεροι πάντες, οἱ αἰεὶ συνόντες ἐν ταῖς c. 74.
 περιοδίαῖς τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, οἱ καὶ τότε γράψαντες κατὰ
 Ἰσχύρα· καὶ μήτε ἐν Τύρῳ οἱ ἐλθόντες ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπιτρα- c. 79.
 πέντες εἰπεῖν τὴν ἀλήθειαν, μήτε ἐν τῷ Μαρεώτῃ ἀπομείναν- c. 72.
 τες, συγχωρηθέντες ἐλέγχει τὸν Ἰσχύραν συκοφάντην· καὶ
 αὐτὰ δὲ τὰ ἀντίγραφα τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου γραμμάτων, καὶ τῶν
 πρεσβυτέρων, καὶ τὰ Ἰσχύρα. Ἀπεστείλαμεν δὲ καὶ τὴν τοῦ
 πατρὸς τῶν βασιλέων ἐπιστολὴν· ἐνθα οὐ μόνον ἐπ' Ἀρσενίῳ c. 68.
 δυσχεραίνει, ὅτι ζῶντος ἀνθρώπου φόνος ἐνεκαλείτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 ἐπὶ τῷ ποτηρίῳ ἐθαύμαζε τὸ ποικίλον τῆς κατηγορίας καὶ
 πεπλανημένον, ὅτι πῇ μὲν Μακαρίου τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου, πῇ δὲ c. 68.
 Ἀθανασίου τοῦ ἐπισκόπου κατηγοροῦν, ὡς κλάσαντος ταῖς
 χερσὶ τὸ ποτήριον· καὶ πάλιν συκοφάντας τοὺς Μελιτιανούς,
 καὶ πάλιν Ἀθανάσιον καθαρώτατον ἀποφαίνεται. Πῶς γὰρ
 οὐ συκοφάνται Μελιτιανοὶ, καὶ πρό γε πάντων Ἰωάννης ; c. 65, 70, 80.
 ὁ εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, κοινωνήσας ἡμῖν, καταγνοὺς [Qu. 65]
 ἑαυτοῦ, μηδὲν ἔτι περὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου κινήσας, ἐπειδὴ τοὺς περὶ
 Εὐσέβιον εἶδε σπονδάζοντας τοῖς Ἀρειομανίταις, οὐκ ἀποτολ-
 μῶντας δὲ φανερώς αὐτοῖς συνεργεῖν, ἀλλὰ ζητοῦντας ἄλλοις
 χρῆσθαι προσώποις, ἑαυτὸν ὑποβέβληκεν, ὥσπερ τῶν ξζω
 θεάτρων, ὑποκριτὴν. Καὶ ἡ μὲν ὑπόθεσις ἦν Ἀρειανῶν ἀγών·

APOL. C. ARI.
(Letter of
Egypt. Bi-
shops.)

καὶ τὸ πρωτότυπον, ἐκείνους κατορθοῦν· ὑποβολὴ δὲ καὶ παράρ-
τημα τούτων, Ἰωάννης καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ· ἵνα οἱ τῶν Ἀρειανῶν
σπουδασταὶ διὰ τῆς τούτων προφάσεως, δικαστῶν σχήματι,
τοὺς ἐχθροὺς τῆς ἀσεβείας ἀπώσωνται, καὶ τὴν ἀσέβειαν ἐγκα-
ταπήξωσι, καὶ τοὺς Ἀρειανοὺς εἰσαγάγωσι τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ· καὶ
οἱ τὴν εὐσέβειαν ἐξωθήσασιν θέλοντες δι' ἀσεβείας νικῆσαι βιά-
ζονται· καὶ οἱ τὴν ἀσέβειαν τὴν κατὰ Χριστοῦ προελόμενοι,
τοὺς τῆς ἀσεβείας ἐχθροὺς ὡς ἀσεβεῖς ἀνελεῖν ἐπεχείρησαν·
καὶ ποτήριον ἡμῖν προφέρουσι κεκλασμένον, ἵνα δόξῃ καὶ
Ἀθανάσιος κατὰ Χριστοῦ συνασεβεῖν αὐτοῖς. Ποία γὰρ καὶ
μνήμη παρ' αὐτοῖς ὀφείλεται ποτηρίου μυστικοῦ; πόθεν ἀσε-
βείας τῆς εἰς Χριστὸν προστάταις περὶ ποτηρίου νοῦς εὐσεβείας;
πόθεν τοῖς τὸν Χριστὸν μὴ γνωρίζουσιν ποτήριον Χριστοῦ γνῶ-
ριμον; πῶς οἱ ποτήριον τιμᾶν προσποιούμενοι τὸν τοῦ ποτη-
ρίου Θεὸν ἀτιμάζουσιν; ἢ πῶς οἱ ποτήριον ὀδυρόμενοι τὸν
ἐπίσκοπον τὸν ἐν αὐτῷ μυσταγωγοῦντα φονεῦσαι ζητοῦσι;
καὶ ἐφόνευσαν ἂν τὸ ὅσον ἐν ἑαυτοῖς. Πῶς δὲ οἱ τὸν θρόνον
τὸν ἐστολισμένον ἐπισκοπικῶς ὀδυρόμενοι, τὸν ἐν αὐτῷ καθή-
μενον ἐπίσκοπον ἀνελεῖν ζητοῦσιν; ἵνα καὶ ὁ θρόνος τὸν ἐπί-
σκοπον ζητῇ, καὶ οἱ λαοὶ τῆς εὐσεβοῦς διδασκαλίας στερη-
θῶσιν. Οὔτε οὖν ποτήριον, οὔτε φόνος, οὔτε τι τῶν ὑπ' αὐ-
τῶν τερατολογηθέντων εἰς τοῦτο αὐτοὺς προήγαγεν, ἀλλ' ἡ
προειρημένη τῶν Ἀρειανῶν ἀσέβεια· δι' ἣν καὶ Ἀθανασίῳ καὶ
ἄλλοις ἐπισκόποις ἐπιβουλεύσαντες, ἔτι καὶ νῦν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ
πολεμοῦσιν. Ἄρα γὰρ τίνες οἱ φόρους καὶ ἐξοριστίας ἀληθῶς
ποιήσαντες; οὐχ οὗτοι; Ἄρα τίνες, ταῖς ἔξωθεν προστασίαις
χρώμενοι, τοῖς ἐπισκόποις ἐπιβουλεύουσιν; οὐχ οἱ περὶ Εὐσέ-
βιον μᾶλλον, καὶ οὐκ Ἀθανάσιος, ὡς αὐτοὶ γράφουσι; παρ'
αὐτῶν γὰρ αὐτὸς καὶ ἄλλοι πεπόνθασιν. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ πρεσβύ-
τεροι τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας τέσσαρες κατ' ἐκείνους τὸν καιρὸν,
καίτοι μὴδὲ εἰς Τύρον ἐξεληθόντες, ὑπερόριοι παρ' αὐτῶν γεγό-
νασιν. Ἄρα τίνες οἱ θρήνων καὶ δακρύων ἄξιοι; οὐχ οἱ καὶ
τὰ πρῶτα ποιήσαντες, καὶ δεύτερα συνάπτειν μὴ παραιτού-
μενοι, καὶ πάντα συκοφαντοῦντες, ἵνα ἐπίσκοπον ἀπολέσωσι
μὴ ὑπέκοντα τῇ τῆς ἀσεβείας αὐτῶν αἰρέσει; Διὰ τοῦτο ἡ
ἐχθρα τῶν περὶ Εὐσέβιον· διὰ τοῦτο τὰ ἐν Τύρῳ κινηθέντα·

Cp. Soz.
ii. 25.

διὰ τοῦτο αἱ προσποίητοι κρίσεις· διὰ τοῦτο νῦν καὶ χωρὶς κρίσεως παρ' αὐτῶν, ὡς πεπληροφορημένων, γράμματα· διὰ τοῦτο αἱ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα τῶν βασιλέων καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς τοὺς εὐσεβεστάτους βασιλεῖς διαβολαί.

18. Οἷα γὰρ καὶ νῦν κατείρηται ὁ συλλειτουργὸς ἡμῶν Ἀθανάσιος, ἀναγκαῖον ὑμᾶς εἰδέναι, ἵνα καὶ ἐκ τούτου καταγνῶτε τῆς πονηρίας αὐτῶν, καὶ γνώσκητε ὅτι μηδὲν ἄλλο ἢ φονεῦσαι ζητοῦσι τὸν ἄνδρα. Σίτος παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς τῶν βασιλέων ἐδίδοδοτο πρὸς τὰς τῶν χηρῶν διατροφὰς ἰδίᾳ μὲν Λιβύας, ἰδίᾳ δέ τισιν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου. Τούτον πάντες λαμβάνουσιν ἄχρι νῦν, Ἀθανασίου μηδὲν ἐξ αὐτοῦ κομιζομένου πλὴν μόνου τοῦ συγκάμνειν αὐτοῖς. Ἀλλὰ νῦν ἐκείνων λαμβανόντων μὴ μεμψαμένων, ὁμολογούντων λαμβάνειν, διαβέβληται Ἀθανάσιος ὡς ὅλον τὸν σίτον πιπράσκων, καὶ εἰς τὸ ἴδιον ἀποφερόμενος· καὶ τοῦτο ἔγραψε βασιλεὺς, αἰτιώμενος ἐκ τῶν γεγενημένων διαβολῶν. Τίνες τοίνυν οἱ διαβεβληκότες; Οὐχ οἱ καὶ τὰ πρῶτα ποιήσαντες, καὶ τὰ δεύτερα κινεῖν μὴ παραιτούμενοι; Τίνες οἱ τῶν γραμμάτων τούτων αἴτιοι τῶν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως λεγομένων; οὐχ οἱ Ἀρειανοὶ σπουδάζοντες, καὶ μηδὲν κατὰ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς παραιτησάμενοί μῆτε λέγειν, μῆτε γράφειν; Οὐδεὶς γὰρ, τοὺς τοσαῦτα ποιήσαντας ἀφελίς, ἄλλους ὑποπτεύσειε. Καὶ γὰρ ἐναργέστατον αὐτῶν τὸ δεῖγμα τῆς διαβολῆς φαίνεται· σπουδάζουσι γὰρ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀφελέσθαι τὸν σίτον τῇ προφάσει τῆς διαβολῆς, καὶ Ἀρειανοῖς παρασχεῖν. Ὁ πάντων μάλιστα εἰς τοὺς αἰτίους τῆς σπουδῆς καὶ τοὺς ἐξάρχους αὐτῶν ἀνατρέχει, τοὺς μῆτε φόνους κατὰ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς κινήσαι παραιτησαμένους, δι' ὧν ψευδῇ διαβεβλήκασιν βασιλεῖ, μῆτε τῶν κλήρων τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀφελέσθαι τὰς τροφὰς, ἵνα τῷ ὄντι κέρδος αἰρετικοῖς παράσχωται.

19. Ἀπεστείλαμεν δὲ καὶ τὴν μαρτυρίαν τῶν κατὰ Λιβύην, καὶ Πεντάπολιν, καὶ τῶν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου συλλειτουργῶν ἡμῶν, ἵνα καὶ ἐκ τούτου γνῶτε τὴν κατὰ Ἀθανασίου γεγενημένην συκοφαντίαν. Ταῦτα δὲ ποιοῦσιν, ἵνα, φόβῳ λοιπὸν ἡσυχάζοντων τῶν τὰ τῆς εὐσεβείας φρονούντων, ἢ τῶν ἀσεβῶν Ἀρειανῶν αἵρεσις ἀντεισαχθῇ. Ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ μὲν ὑμῶν εὐλαβείᾳ χάρις, ἀγαπητοί, ὅτι πολλάκις τοὺς Ἀρειανοὺς ἀναθεμα-

APOL. C. ARI.
(*Letter of
Egypt. Bi-
shops.*)

Encycl. 6.

c. 26.

1 Cor. v. 13.

Hist. Ari. 78.

τίζοντες ἐγράψατε, καὶ χώραν αὐτοῖς εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν οὐ
 δεδώκατε· τῶν δὲ περὶ Εὐσέβιον ὁ ἔλεγχος ἐγγύς. Ἴδου γὰρ
 μετὰ τὰ πρότερα παρ' αὐτῶν περὶ τῶν Ἀρειανῶν γράμματα,
 ὧν καὶ ἀπεστείλαμεν τὰ ἀντίγραφα, φανερώς λοιπὸν τοὺς παρὰ
 πάσης τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀναθεματισθέντας Ἀρειομα-
 νίτας ἐπεγείρουσι κατὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, καὶ ἐπίσκοπον αὐτοῖς
 κατέστησαν, καὶ ταῖς ἀπειλαῖς καὶ τοῖς φόβοις διαιροῦσι τὰς
 ἐκκλησίας, ἵνα πανταχοῦ συνεργοὺς ἔχωσι τῆς ἀσεβείας αὐ-
 τῶν. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ διακόνους πρὸς τοὺς Ἀρειομανίτας ἀπο-
 στέλλουσιν, οἱ φανερώς συνάγονται παρ' αὐτοῖς καὶ γράφου-
 σιν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἀντίγραφα παρ' αὐτῶν κομίζονται, τὴν ἐκκλη-
 σίαν κατασχίζοντες, καὶ κοινωνοῦντες αὐτοῖς, καὶ γράμματα
 ἀποστέλλοντες πανταχοῦ, τὴν αἵρεσιν αὐτῶν συνιστῶντα, καὶ
 τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἀποκρητύττοντα, ὥς δυνήσεσθε μαθεῖν, ἀφ' ὧν
 αὐτοὶ τῷ Ῥωμαίων ἐπισκόπῳ, καὶ τάχα καὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἔγραψαν.
 Ὡς οὖν οὐκ ἀνεκδίκητα ταῦτά ἐστι, συνοράτε καὶ ὑμεῖς, ἀγαπη-
 τοί. Δεινὰ γὰρ καὶ ἀλλότρια τῆς κατὰ Χριστὸν διδασκαλίας
 ἐστί. Τούτου γοῦν ἕνεκεν κοινῇ συνελθόντες ἐγράψαμεν ὑμῖν,
 ἀξιοῦντες ὑμῶν τὴν ἐν Χριστῷ σύνεσιν ἀποδέξασθαι μὲν τὴν
 ὁμολογίαν ταύτην, καὶ συναλγῆσαι τῷ συνεπισκόπῳ ἡμῶν
 Ἀθανασίῳ, ἀναγκηθεῖν δὲ κατὰ τῶν περὶ Εὐσέβιον, τῶν τὰ
 τοιαῦτα ἐπιχειρούντων, πρὸς τὸ μηκέτι τοιαύτην κακίαν καὶ
 πονηρίαν κατὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἰσχύειν· ὑμᾶς γὰρ ἐκδίκους
 κατὰ τῆς τοιαύτης ἀδικίας ἐπικαλούμεθα, ὑπομνησκοντες τὸ
 ἀποστολικόν· Ἐξάρατε τὸν πονηρὸν ἐξ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν. Πονηρὰ
 γὰρ ἀληθῶς καὶ οὐκ ἄξια κοινωνίας τὰ παρ' αὐτῶν παραχθέντα.
 Οὐκοῦν μηκέτι προσέχετε, κἂν πάλιν ὑμῖν γράφωσι κατὰ τοῦ
 ἐπισκόπου Ἀθανασίου· (πάντα γὰρ ψευδῆ τὰ παρ' αὐτῶν)
 μὴδ' ἂν ὀνόματα δὲ ἐπισκόπων Αἰγυπτίων ἐγχαράττωσιν ἐπι-
 στολαῖς. Δῆλον γὰρ, ὅτι οὐχ ἡμεῖς ἐσμεν οἱ γράφοντες,
 ἀλλὰ Μελιτιανοί, οἱ αἰὲ σχισματικοί, οἱ καὶ μέχρι νῦν τὰς
 ἐκκλησίας ταραττοντες, καὶ στάσεις κινοῦντες. Καταστάσεις
 γὰρ ἀλόγους καὶ σχεδὸν ἐθνικῶν ποιοῦνται· καὶ τοιαῦτα πράτ-
 τουσιν, ἃ δυσωπούμεθα μὲν γράφειν, δύνασθε δὲ μαθεῖν παρὰ
 τῶν ἀποσταλέντων παρ' ἡμῶν, τῶν καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ὑμῖν
 ἀποδιδόντων.

20. Ταῦτα μὲν οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Αἰγύπτου πρὸς πάντας, καὶ πρὸς Ἰούλιον τὸν ἐπίσκοπον τῆς Ῥώμης· καὶ οἱ περὶ Εὐσέβιον δὲ πρὸς Ἰούλιον ἔγραψαν· καὶ νομίζοντες ἡμᾶς ἐκφοβεῖν, ἡξίωσαν σύνοδον καλέσαι, καὶ αὐτὸν Ἰούλιον, εἰ βούλοιτο, κριτὴν γενέσθαι. Ἡμῶν τοίνυν ἀνελθόντων εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην, ἔγραψεν εἰκότως Ἰούλιος καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς περὶ Εὐσέβιον, ἀποστείλας καὶ δύο πρεσβυτέρους ἑαυτοῦ, Ἑλπίδιον καὶ Φιλόξενον. Ἐκεῖνοι δὲ, ἀκούσαντες περὶ ἡμῶν, ἐταράχθησαν, οὐ προσδοκήσαντες ἡμᾶς ἀνέρχεσθαι· καὶ παρητήσαντο, προφάσεις ἀπιθάνους πορισάμενοι, μᾶλλον δὲ φοβηθέντες, μὴ ἄπερ οἱ περὶ Οὐάλεντα καὶ Οὐρσάκιον ὡμολόγησαν, ταῦτα κατ' αὐτῶν ἐλεγχθῇ. Λοιπὸν οὖν συνελθόντες ἐπίσκοποι πλέον πεντήκοντα, ἔνθα Βίτων ὁ πρεσβύτερος συνήγεν, ἡμᾶς μὲν ἀπολογουμένους ἀπεδέξαντο, καὶ ἐκῶρσαν εἰς ἡμᾶς τὴν τε κοινωνίαν καὶ τὴν ἀγάπην. Ἠγανάκτησαν δὲ κατ' ἐκείνων, καὶ ἡξίωσαν Ἰούλιον γράψαι τοῖς περὶ Εὐσέβιον ταῦτα, τοῖς καὶ γράψασιν αὐτῷ· καὶ ἔγραψεν αὐτὸς, καὶ ἀπέστειλε διὰ Γαβριανοῦ τοῦ κόμητος.

A.D. 339.

Summer of
A.D. 340.

c. 58.

Nov. A.D.
341.

ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ ΙΟΥΛΙΟΥ.

Ἰούλιος Δανίῳ, καὶ Φλακίλλῳ, Ναρκίσσῳ, Εὐσεβίῳ, Μάρι, (Letter of Julius.)
Μακεδονίῳ, Θεοδώρῳ, καὶ τοῖς σὺν αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἀπὸ Ἀντιοχείας γράψασιν ἡμῖν, ἀγαπητοῖς ἀδελφοῖς, ἐν Κυρίῳ χαίρειν.

21. Ἀνέγνων τὰ γράμματα τὰ διὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων μου Ἑλπίδιου καὶ Φιλοξένου ἀποκομισθέντα, καὶ ἐθαύμασα, πῶς ἡμεῖς μὲν ἀγάπῃ καὶ συνειδήσει ἀληθείας ἐγράψαμεν, ὑμεῖς δὲ μετὰ φιλονεικίας, καὶ οὐχ ὥς ἔπρεπεν, ἐπεστείλατε. Ὑπερσφία γὰρ καὶ ἀλαζονεία τῶν γραψάντων διὰ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ἐδείκνυτο. Ταῦτα δὲ ἀλλότρια τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ πίστεώς ἐστιν. Ἔδει γὰρ τὰ μετὰ ἀγάπης γραφέντα ἀμοιβῆς τῆς ἰσῆς μετὰ ἀγάπης τυχεῖν, καὶ μὴ μετὰ φιλονεικίας. Ἡ οὐχὶ ἀγάπης ἐστὶ γνώρισμα πρεσβυτέρους ἀποστείλαι συμπθεῖν τοῖς πάσχουσι, προτρέψασθαι τοὺς γράψαντας ἐλθεῖν, ἵνα πάντα θάπτον λύσιν λαβόντα διορθωθῇναι δυνηθῇ, καὶ μηκέτι μήτε οἱ ἀδελφοὶ ἡμῶν πάσχωσι, μήτε ὑμᾶς τινες διαβάλλωσιν; Ἄλλ' οὐκ οἶδα, τί τὸ δόξαν οὕτως ὑμᾶς διατεθῆναι, ὥστε καὶ

APOL. C. ARI.
(Letter of
Julius.)

ἡμᾶς ποιῆσαι λογίζεσθαι, ὅτι καὶ ἐν οἷς ἐδόξατε ῥήμασιν ἡμᾶς τιμᾶν, ταῦτα μετασχηματιζόμενοι μετὰ εἰρωνείας τινὸς εἰρήκατε. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι οἱ ἀποσταλέντες, οὓς ἔδει μετὰ χαρᾶς ἐπανελθεῖν, τοῦναντίον λυπούμενοι ἐπανήλθον, ἐφ' οἷς ἐωράκασιν ἐκεῖ γινόμενοις. Καὶ ἔγωγε τοῖς γράμμασιν ἐντυχὼν, πολλὰ λογισάμενος, κατέσχον παρ' ἑμαυτῷ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν, νομίζων ὅμως ἥξειν τινὰς, καὶ μὴ χρεῖαν εἶναι τῆς ἐπιστολῆς, ἵνα μὴ καὶ, ἐς φανερόν ἐλθοῦσα, πολλοὺς τῶν ἐνταῦθα λυπήσῃ. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ μηδενὸς ἐλθόντος, ἀνάγκη γέγονεν αὐτὴν προκομισθῆναι, ὁμολογῶ ὑμῖν, πάντες ἐθαύμασαν, καὶ ἐγγὺς ἀπιστίας γεγόνασιν, εἰ ὅλως παρ' ὑμῶν τοιαῦτα ἐγράφη· φιλονεικίας γὰρ μᾶλλον καὶ οὐκ ἀγάπης ἦν ἡ ἐπιστολή. Εἰ μὲν οὖν φιλοτιμίας λόγων ἔνεκεν ὁ ὑπαγορεύσας ἔγραψεν, ἄλλων τὸ τοιοῦτον ἐπιτήδευμα. Ἐν γὰρ τοῖς ἐκκλησιαστικοῖς οὐ λόγων ἐπίδειξις ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ κανόνες ἀποστολικοί, καὶ σπουδὴ τοῦ μὴ σκανδαλίζειν ἕνα τῶν μικρῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ. Συμφέρει γὰρ κατὰ τὸν ἐκκλησιαστικὸν λόγον, 'μύλον ὀνικὸν κρεμασθῆναι εἰς τὸν τράχηλον καὶ καταποντισθῆναι, ἢ σκανδαλίσαι κἂν ἕνα τῶν μικρῶν.' Εἰ δὲ ὥς τινων λελυπημένων διὰ τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους μικροψυχίαν, (οὐ γὰρ ἂν εἴποιμι πάντων εἶναι ταύτην γνώμην) τοιαύτη γέγονεν ἡ ἐπιστολή, ἔπρεπε μὲν μηδὲ ὅλως λυπηθῆναι, μηδὲ 'ἐπιδύναί τὸν ἥλιον ἐπὶ τῇ λύπῃ.' ἔδει δὲ ὅμως μὴ εἰς τοσοῦτον παραχθῆναι, ὥστε καὶ ἔγγραφον αὐτὴν ἐπιδείξασθαι.

Math. xviii.
6.

Eph. iv. 26.

22. Τί γὰρ καὶ γέγονεν ἄξιον λύπης, ἢ ἐν τίνι ἦν ἄξιον λυπηθῆναι ὑμᾶς οἷς καὶ ἐγράψαμεν; Ἡ ὅτι προετρεψάμεθα εἰς σύνοδον ἀπαντῆσαι; ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μᾶλλον ἔδει μετὰ χαρᾶς δέξασθαι. Οἱ γὰρ παῖδες ἔχοντες, ἐφ' οἷς πεποιήκασι, καὶ, ὥς αὐτοὶ λέγουσι, 'κεκρίκασι,' οὐκ ἀγανακτοῦσιν, εἰ παρ' ἐτέρων ἐξετάζοιτο ἡ κρίσις· ἀλλὰ θαρρόουσιν, ὅτι ἂν δικαίως ἔκριναν, ταῦτα ἄδικοι οὐκ ἂν ποτε γένοιτο. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ οἱ ἐν τῇ κατὰ Νίκαιαν μεγάλῃ συνόδῳ συνελθόντες ἐπίσκοποι οὐκ ἄνευ Θεοῦ βουλήσεως συνεχώρησαν ἐν ἐτέρᾳ συνόδῳ τὰ τῆς προτέρας ἐξετάζεσθαι, ἵνα καὶ οἱ κρίνοντας, πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ἔχοντες τὴν ἐσομένην δευτέραν κρίσιν, μετὰ πάσης ἀσφαλείας ἐξετάζωσι, καὶ οἱ κρινόμενοι πιστεύωσι, μὴ κατ' ἐχθραν τῶν

προτέρων, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ δίκαιον ἑαυτοὺς κρίνεσθαι. Εἰ δὲ τὸ τοιοῦτον ἕθος παλαιὸν τυγχάνον, μνημονευθὲν δὲ καὶ γραφὲν ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ συνόδῳ, ὑμεῖς τοῦτο παρ' ὑμῖν ἰσχύειν οὐ θέλετε, ἀπρεπὴς μὲν ἡ τοιαύτη παραίτησις· τὸ γὰρ ἀπαξ συνήθειαν ἐσχηκὸς ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, καὶ ὑπὸ συνόδων βεβαιωθὲν, οὐκ εὐλογον ὑπὸ ὀλίγων παραλύεσθαι. Ἄλλως τε οὐδὲ ἐν τούτῳ δικαίως ἂν φανείεν λυπηθέντες. Οἱ γὰρ παρ' ὑμῶν τῶν περὶ [A.D. 339.] Εὐσέβιον ἀποσταλέντες μετὰ γραμμάτων, λέγω δὴ Μακάριος ὁ πρεσβύτερος, καὶ Μαρτύριος καὶ Ἡσύχιος οἱ διάκονοι, ἀπαντήσαντες ἐνταῦθα, ὡς οὐκ ἠδυνήθησαν πρὸς τοὺς ἐλθόντας Ἀθανασίου πρεσβυτέρους ἀντιστῆναι, ἀλλ' ἐν πᾶσι διετρέποντο καὶ διηλέγχοντο, τὸ τηνικαῦτα ἠξίωσαν ἡμᾶς ὥστε *Encycl. 7.* σύνοδον συγκροτῆσαι, καὶ γράψαι καὶ Ἀθανασίῳ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ *Hist. Ari. 9.* εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, γράψαι δὲ καὶ τοῖς περὶ Εὐσέβιον, ἵνα ἐπὶ παρουσίᾳ πάντων ἡ δικαία κρίσις ἐξενεχθῇ· τὸτε γὰρ καὶ ἀποδεικνύναι πάντα τὰ κατὰ Ἀθανάσιον ἐπηγγέλλαντο. Κοινῇ γὰρ ὑφ' ἡμῶν διηλέγχθησαν οἱ περὶ Μαρτύριον καὶ Ἡσύχιον, καὶ οἱ Ἀθανασίου τοῦ ἐπισκόπου πρεσβύτεροι μετὰ πεποιθήσεως ἀνθίσταντο· οἱ δὲ περὶ Μαρτύριον, εἰ δεῖ τάληθες εἰπεῖν, ἐν πᾶσι διετρέποντο, ὅθεν καὶ ἠξίωσαν σύνοδον γενέσθαι. Εἰ τοίνυν, μηδὲ τῶν περὶ Μαρτύριον καὶ Ἡσύχιον ἀξιώσαντων γενέσθαι σύνοδον, προτρεψάμενος ἡμῖν ἐγὼ σκύλαι τοὺς γράψαντας, ἕνεκεν τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν τῶν αἰτιωμένων ἀδικίαν πεπονθέναι, καὶ οὕτως εὐλογος ἦν καὶ δικαία ἡ προτροπὴ, ἔστι γὰρ ἐκκλησιαστικὴ καὶ Θεῷ ἀρέσκουσα· ὅτε δὲ οὗς ὑμεῖς αὐτοὶ οἱ περὶ Εὐσέβιον ἀξιοπίστους ἠγήσασθε, καὶ οὗτοι ἠξίωσαν ἡμᾶς συγκαλέσαι, ἀκόλουθον ἦν τοὺς κληθέντας μὴ λυπηθῆναι, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον προθύμως ἀπαντῆσαι. Οὐκοῦν ἡ μὲν δόξασα ἀγανάκτησις τῶν λυπηθέντων προπετῆς, ἡ δὲ παραίτησις τῶν μὴ θελησάντων ἀπαντῆσαι ἀπρεπὴς, καὶ ὑποπτος ἐκ τούτων δείκνυται. Αἰτιᾶται τις ἃ πράττων αὐτὸς ἀποδέχεται, εἰ παρ' ἐτέρου γινόμενα βλέποι; Εἰ γὰρ, ὡς γράφετε, 'ἀσάλευτον ἔχει τὴν ἰσχὺν ἐκάστη σύνοδος,' καὶ ἀτιμάζεται ὁ κρίνας, ἔαν παρ' ἐτέρων ἡ κρίσις ἐξετάζηται, σκοπεῖτε, ἀγαπητοὶ, τίνες εἰσὶν οἱ σύνοδον ἀτιμάζοντες, καὶ τίνες τὰ τῶν φθασάντων κρίναι διαλύουσι. Καὶ ἵνα μὴ τὰ καθ' ἕκαστον νῦν

APOL. C. ARI.
(*Letter of
Julius.*)

ἐξετάζων ἐπιβαρεῖν τινας δοκῶ, ἀλλὰ τό γε τελευταῖον γενόμενον, ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ φρίζειεν ἂν τις ἀκούων, ἀρκεῖ πρὸς ἀπόδειξιν πάντων τῶν παραλειφθέντων.

23. Οἱ Ἀρειανοὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ τῆς μακαρίας μνήμης Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ γενομένου ἐπισκόπου τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας, ἐπὶ ἀσεβείᾳ ἐκβληθέντες, οὐ μόνον ὑπὸ τῶν καθ' ἑκάστην πόλιν ἀπεκηρύχθησαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν κοινῇ συνελθόντων ἐν τῇ κατὰ Νίκαιαν μεγάλη συνόδῳ ἀνεθεματίσθησαν. Οὐ γὰρ ἦν αὐτῶν τὸ τυχόν πλημμέλημα, οὐδὲ εἰς ἄνθρωπον ἦσαν ἁμαρτήσαντες, ἀλλ' εἰς αὐτὸν τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν, τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος. Καὶ ὁμως οἱ ὑπὸ πάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀποκηρυχθέντες, καὶ κατὰ πᾶσαν ἐκκλησίαν στηλιτευθέντες, νῦν λέγονται δεδέχθαι, ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ ὑμᾶς ἀκούσαντας χαλεπαίνειν δίκαιον ἡγοῦμαι. Τίνες οὖν εἰσιν οἱ 'σύνοδον ἀτιμάζοντες;' οὐχὶ οἱ τῶν τριακοσίων τὰς ψήφους παρ' οὐδὲν θέμενοι, καὶ ἀσέβειαν εὐσεβείας προκρίναντες; Ἡ μὲν γὰρ τῶν Ἀρειομανιτῶν αἵρεσις ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν ἀπανταχοῦ ἐπισκόπων κατεγνώσθη καὶ ἀπεκηρύχθη· Ἀθανάσιος δὲ καὶ Μάρκελλος οἱ ἐπίσκοποι πλείους ἔχουσι τοὺς ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν λέγοντας καὶ γράφοντας. Μάρκελλος μὲν γὰρ ἐμαρτυρήθη ἡμῖν, καὶ ἐν τῇ κατὰ Νίκαιαν συνόδῳ τοῖς τὰ Ἀρείου φρονούσιν ἀντειρηκώς· Ἀθανάσιος δὲ ἐμαρτυρήθη, μηδὲ ἐν Τύρῳ καταγνωσθεῖς, ἐν δὲ τῷ Μαρεώτῃ μὴ παρεῖναι, ἐνθα τὰ ὑπομνήματα κατ' αὐτοῦ γεγενῆσθαι λέγεται. Οἴδατε δὲ, ἀγαπητοί, ὅτι τὰ κατὰ μονομέρειαν ἰσχύν οὐκ ἔχει, ἀλλ' ὑποπτα τυγχάνει. καὶ ὁμως, τούτων ὄντων, ἡμεῖς ὑπὲρ ἀκριβείας, οὔτε ὑμῖν, οὔτε τοῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν γράψασι πρόκριμα ποιοῦντες προετρεψάμεθα τοὺς γράψαντας ἐλθεῖν, ἵν', ἐπειδὴ πλείους εἰσὶν οἱ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν γράψαντες, ἐπὶ συνόδου πάντα ἐξετασθῇ, πρὸς τὸ μηδὲ τὸν ἀναίτιον κατακριθῆναι, μήτε τὸν ὑπεύθυνον ὡς καθαρὸν λογισθῆναι. Οὐκοῦν οὐ παρ' ἡμῶν 'ἀτιμάζεται σύνοδος,' ἀλλὰ παρ' ἐκείνων τῶν ἀπλῶς καὶ ὡς ἔτυχε τοὺς παρὰ πάντων κατακριθέντας Ἀρειανούς, καὶ παρὰ γνώμην τῶν κρινάντων δεξαμένων. Οἱ γὰρ πλείους ἤδη ἀναλύσαντές εἰσι σὺν Χριστῷ· οἱ δὲ ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐν τῷ βίῳ τούτῳ ἐξετάζονται, ἀγανακτοῦντες, ὅτι τὴν αὐτῶν κρίσιν ἔλυσάν τινες.

24. Τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν γενομένων μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ἔγνωμεν. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ Καρπώνης τις, ἐκβληθεὶς ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου διὰ τὴν Ἀρείου αἵρεσιν μετὰ τινων, καὶ αὐτῶν ἐκβληθέντων διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν αἵρεσιν, ἐληλύθασιν ἐνταῦθα, ἀποσταλέντες παρὰ Γρηγορίου τινός· ὅμως δὲ ἐμάθομεν καὶ παρὰ Μακαρίου τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου, καὶ Μαρτυρίου καὶ Ἡσύχιου τῶν διακόνων. Πρὸ τοῦ γὰρ ἀπαντῆσαι τοὺς Ἀθανασίου πρεσβυτέρους, προετρέποντο ἡμᾶς γράφειν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ Πιστῷ τινι, ἡνίκα καὶ Ἀθανάσιος ὁ ἐπισκοπος ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ἦν. Τοῦτον δὲ τὸν Πιστὸν οἱ Ἀθανασίου τοῦ ἐπισκόπου πρεσβύτεροι παραγενόμενοι ἀπέδειξαν εἶναι Ἀρειανὸν, ἐκβληθέντα μὲν ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ ἐπισκόπου καὶ τῆς κατὰ Νίκαιαν συνόδου, κατασταθέντα δὲ ὑπὸ Σεκούνδου τινός, ὃν ἡ μεγάλη ^{Cp. Ep. A'g.} ^{Hist. Ari. 65.} ^{19.} σύνοδος Ἀρειανὸν ὄντα ἐξέβαλε. Τοῦτο δὲ οὐδὲ αὐτοὶ οἱ ^{19.} ^{Hist. Ari. 65.} περὶ Μαρτύριον ἀντέλεγον, οὐδὲ ἡρνοῦντο τὸν Πιστὸν ὑπὸ Σεκούνδου ἐσχηκέναι τὴν κατάστασιν. Σκοπεῖτε τοίνυν καὶ ἐκ τούτων, τίνας ἂν ὑπὸ μέμψιν δικαίως γένοιτο, οἱ μὴ πεισθέντες ἡμεῖς, ὥστε Πιστῷ τῷ Ἀρειανῷ γράψαι, ἢ οἱ συμβουλευόντες 'ἀτιμάσαι' τὴν μεγάλην σύνοδον, καὶ τοῖς ἀσεβέσιν ὡς εὐσεβέσι γράψαι; Καὶ γὰρ καὶ Μακάριος ὁ πρεσβύτερος, ὁ παρὰ Εὐσεβίου μετὰ τῶν περὶ Μαρτύριον ἀποσταλεῖς, ὡς ἤκουσεν ἐπιστάντας τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους Ἀθανασίου, ἐκδεχομένων ἡμῶν τὴν παρουσίαν αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῶν περὶ Μαρτύριον καὶ Ἡσύχιον, ἀπεδήμησε νυκτὸς καίτοι νοσῶν τῷ σώματι· ὡς ἐκ τούτου λοιπὸν ἡμᾶς ἀκολούθως στοχάζεσθαι, ὅτι αἰσχυρόμενος τὸν κατὰ Πιστοῦ ἔλεγχον ἀνεχώρησεν. Ἀδύνατον γὰρ τὴν κατάστασιν Σεκούνδου τοῦ Ἀρειανοῦ ἐν τῇ καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἰσχύσαι. 'Ατιμία' γὰρ ἀληθῶς αὕτη κατὰ τῆς συνόδου καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ συνελθόντων ἐπισκόπων, ἔαν τὰ μετὰ τοσαύτης σπουδῆς καὶ εὐλαβείας, ὡς Θεοῦ παρόντος, γενόμενα, ἀντὶ μηδενὸς λυθῇ.

25. Εἴπερ οὖν, ὡς γράφετε, 'ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ Νοβάτου καὶ τὸν ^[i.e. Novatian.] Σαμοσατέα Παῦλον παραδείγματος τὰ τῶν συνόδων ἰσχύειν δόγματα χρῆ', ἔδει μᾶλλον μὴ λυθῆναι τῶν τριακοσίων τὴν ψήφον, ἔδει τὴν καθολικὴν σύνοδον ὑπὸ τῶν ὀλίγων μὴ ἀτιμασθῆναι. Αἵρετικοὶ γὰρ οἱ Ἀρειανοὶ, ὥσπερ κᾀκεῖνοι, καὶ

APOL. C. ARI.
(Letter of
Julius.)

c. 6.

[i. e. Jan. A. D.
341.]

Hist. Ari. 11.

ὁμοίαι αἱ κατὰ τούτων ψῆφοι ταῖς κατ' ἐκείνων. Τούτων δὲ πολλὰ μηθέντων, τίνες εἰσὶν οἱ 'φλόγα διχονοίας ἀνάφαντες;' ἡμᾶς γὰρ τοῦτο πεποιηκέναι γράψαντες ἐμέμψασθε. Ἄρ' οὖν ἡμεῖς διχονοίας εἰργασάμεθα, οἱ συναλγούντες τοῖς πάσχουσιν ἀδελφοῖς, καὶ κατὰ κανόνα πάντα πεποιηκότες; ἢ οἱ φιλονείκως καὶ παρὰ κανόνα τῶν τριακοσίων τὴν ψῆφον λύσαντες, καὶ κατὰ πάντα 'τὴν σύνοδον ἀτιμάσαντες;' Οὐ γὰρ μόνον οἱ Ἀρειανοὶ ἐδέχθησαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τόπου εἰς τόπον μεμελετήκασιν ἐπίσκοποι διαβαίνειν. Εἰ οὖν ἀληθῶς 'ἴσην καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡγείσθε τιμὴν τῶν ἐπισκόπων, καὶ μὴ ἐκ τοῦ μεγέθους τῶν πόλεων,' ὥς γράφετε, 'κρίνετε τοὺς ἐπισκόπους,' ἔδει τὸν πεπιστευμένον μικρὰν μένειν ἐν τῇ πιστευθείσῃ, καὶ μὴ ἐξοσθενεῖν μὲν τὸ πεπιστευμένον, μεταβαίνειν δὲ εἰς τὴν μὴ ἐγχειρισθείσαν, ἵνα τῆς μὲν παρὰ Θεοῦ δοθείσης καταφροῦνῃ, τὴν δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων κενοδοξίαν ἀγαπήσῃ. Οὐκοῦν, ἀγαπητοὶ, ἔδει ἀπαντῆσαι, καὶ μὴ παραιτήσασθαι, ἵνα καὶ τέλος λάβῃ τὸ πρᾶγμα· τοῦτο γὰρ ὁ λόγος ἀπαιτεῖ. Ἄλλ' ἴσως ἡ προθεσμία ἐνεπόδισε· γράψαντες γὰρ ἐμέμψασθε, ὅτι 'στενὴν τὴν προθεσμίαν τῆς συνόδου' ὥρισamen· ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο, ἀγαπητοὶ, πρόσφασις ἐστίν. Εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐρχομένους τινὰς συνέκλεισεν ἡ ἡμέρα, στενὸν ἂν τὸ διάστημα τῆς προθεσμίας ἡλέγχθη· εἰ δὲ οἱ ἐλθεῖν μὴ βουλόμενοι κατεσχέκασιν καὶ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους ἕως αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἰανουαρίου μηνὸς, μὴ θαρρούντων ἐστὶν ἡ πρόσφασις· ἦλθον γὰρ ἂν, ὥς προείπον, εἰ ἐθάρρουν, οὐ πρὸς τὸ διάστημα τῆς ὁδοῦ σκοποῦντες, οὐδὲ πρὸς τὴν προθεσμίαν ὀρώντες, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοῖς δικαίοις καὶ τοῖς εὐλόγοις παρρησιαζόμενοι. Ἄλλ' ἴσως διὰ τὸν καιρὸν οὐκ ἀπήντησαν· τοῦτο γὰρ γράφοντες πάλιν ἐδηλώσατε, ὥς ἄρα ἔδει ἡμᾶς, 'σκοπήσαντας τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐφάς καιρὸν,' μὴ προτρέφασθαι ὑμᾶς ἀπαντῆσαι. Εἰ μὲν οὖν διὰ τὸ τοιοῦτον εἶναι τὸν καιρὸν οὐκ ἀπηντήσατε, ὥς φατέ, ἔδει προτέρους ὑμᾶς, τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον σκοπήσαντας, μὴ αἰτίους σχίσματος, μηδὲ ὁλοφυγῆς καὶ θρήνων ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις γενέσθαι. Νῦν δὲ οἱ ταῦτα πεποιηκότες ἔδειξαν μὴ τὸν καιρὸν αἴτιον, ἀλλὰ τὴν προαίρεσιν τῶν μὴ θεκησάντων ἀπαντῆσαι.

26. Θαυμάζω δὲ κακεῖνο τὸ μέρος τῆς ἐπιστολῆς, πῶς ὅλως

κὰν ἐγράφη παρ' ὑμῶν, ὅτι δὴ ' τοῖς περὶ Εὐσέβιον μόνοις, καὶ οὐ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν μόνος' ἔγραψα· εὐχέρειαν γὰρ τῶν μεμψαμένων μᾶλλον ἢ τις εὖροι ἥπερ ἀλήθειαν. Ἐγὼ γὰρ, οὐκ ἄλλοθεν λαβὼν κατὰ Ἀθανασίου γράμματα ἢ διὰ τῶν περὶ Μαρτύριον καὶ Ἡσύχιον, ἐκείνοις ἀνάγκη ἔγραψα τοῖς καὶ γράψασι κατ' αὐτοῦ. Ἐδει τοίνυν ἢ τοὺς περὶ Εὐσέβιον μὴ μόνους χωρὶς πάντων ὑμῶν γράφαι, ἢ ὑμᾶς, οἷς μὴ ἔγραψα, μὴ λυπεῖσθαι, εἰ ἐκείνοις ἐγράφη τοῖς καὶ γράψασιν. Εἰ γὰρ ἐχρῆν καὶ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν ἐπιστεῖλαι, ἔδει καὶ ὑμᾶς σὺν ἐκείνοις γράφαι. Νῦν δέ, τὸ ἀκόλουθον σκοποῦντες, ἐκείνοις ἐγράψαμεν τοῖς καὶ δηλώσασιν ἡμῖν, καὶ τοῖς ἀποστείλασι πρὸς ἡμᾶς. Εἰ δὲ καὶ τὸ μόνον ἐμὲ γεγραφέναι ἐκείνοις ἐκίνησεν ὑμᾶς, ἀκόλουθόν ἐστιν ὑμᾶς ἀγανακτεῖν, ὅτι καὶ μόνῳ ἐμοὶ ἔγραψαν. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τούτῳ πιθανὴ μὲν καὶ οὐκ εὐλογος ἢ πρόφασις, ἀγαπητοί· [ἄλογος.] ὅμως δὲ γνωρίσαι ὑμῖν ἀναγκαῖον, ὅτι, εἰ καὶ μόνος ἔγραψα, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐμοῦ μόνου ἐστὶν αὕτη ἡ γνώμη, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντων τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἱταλίαν, καὶ τῶν ἐν τούτοις τοῖς μέρεσιν ἐπισκόπων. Καὶ ἔγωγε τοὺς πάντας οὐκ ἠθέλησα ποιῆσαι γράψαι, ἵνα μὴ παρὰ πολλῶν τὸ βάρος ἔχωσιν. Ἀμέλει καὶ νῦν τῇ ὀρισθείσῃ προθεσμίᾳ συνῆλθον ἐπίσκοποι, καὶ ταύτης τῆς γνώμης γεγόνασιν, ἣν πάλιν γράφων ὑμῖν σημαίνω· ὥστε, ἀγαπητοί, εἰ καὶ μόνος ἐπιστέλλω, ἀλλὰ πάντων γνώμην ταύτην εἶναι γινώσκετε. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν περὶ τοῦ μὴ εὐλόγως τινας ἐξ ὑμῶν προφάσεις, ἀλλὰ ἀδίκους καὶ ὑπόπτους, πορίσασθαι.

27. Περὶ δὲ τοῦ μὴ εὐχερῶς μηδὲ ἀδίκως ἡμᾶς ὑποδεδέχθαι εἰς κοινωνίαν τοὺς συνεπισκόπους ἡμῶν Ἀθανασίου καὶ Μάρκελλον, εἰ καὶ τὰ προλεχθέντα ἱκανά, ὅμως διὰ βραχέων εὐλογον ὑμῖν δεῖξαι. Ἐγραψαν οἱ περὶ Εὐσέβιον πρότερον κατὰ τῶν περὶ Ἀθανασίου· ἐγράψατε δὲ καὶ νῦν ὑμεῖς· ἔγραψαν δὲ καὶ πλείστοι ἐπίσκοποι ἀπὸ τῆς Αἰγύπτου καὶ ἐξ ἄλλων ἐπαρχιῶν ὑπὲρ Ἀθανασίου. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν τὰ κατ' αὐτοῦ γράμματα παρ' ὑμῶν μάχεται πρὸς ἑαυτὰ, καὶ οὐδεμίαν συμφωνίαν ἔχει τὰ δευτέρα πρὸς τὰ πρῶτα, ἀλλ' ἐν πολλοῖς τὰ πρῶτα ὑπὸ τῶν δευτέρων λύεται, καὶ τὰ δευτέρα ὑπὸ τῶν πρῶτων διαβάλλεται· ἀσυμφώνων δὲ ὄντων τῶν γραμμάτων,

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- οὐδεμία πίστις περὶ τῶν λεγομένων ἐστίν· ἔπειτα, εἰ τοῖς παρ' ὑμῶν γραφεῖσιν ἀξιούτε πιστεῦειν, ἀκόλουθόν ἐστι καὶ τοῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ γράψασι μὴ ἀπιστῆσαι· καὶ μάλιστα ὅτι ὑμεῖς μὲν πόρρωθεν, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ἐν τοῖς τόποις ὄντες, καὶ εἰδότες τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τὰ ἐκεῖ γινόμενα πράγματα γράφουσι, μαρτυροῦντες αὐτοῦ τῷ βίῳ, καὶ διαβεβαιούμενοι ἐν πᾶσιν αὐτῶν συσκευὴν πεποιθέναι. Καὶ πάλιν Ἀρσένιος τις ἐπίσκοπος ἐλέχθη ποτὲ ὡς ἀναιρεθεὶς παρὰ Ἀθανασίου ἀλλὰ τοῦτον ἐμάθομεν ζῆν, ἀλλὰ καὶ φιλίαν ἔχειν πρὸς αὐτόν. Τὰ ὑπομνήματα τὰ ἐν Μαρεώτῃ γενόμενα διεβεβαιώσατο κατὰ μονομέρειαν γεγενῆσθαι· μήτε γὰρ ἐκεῖ παρῆναι Μακάριον τὸν πρεσβύτερον τὸν κατηγορούμενον, μήτε αὐτὸν τὸν ἐπίσκοπον αὐτοῦ Ἀθανασίου· καὶ τοῦτο οὐ μόνον ἐκ τῶν αὐτοῦ λόγων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπομνημάτων, ὧν ἐκόμισαν ἡμῖν οἱ περὶ Μαρτύριον καὶ Ἡσύχιον, ἔγνωμεν· ἀναγνόντες γὰρ εὗρομεν, ὅτι ὁ μὲν κατήγορος Ἰσχύρας ἐκεῖ παρῆν, οὔτε δὲ Μακάριος, οὔτε ὁ ἐπίσκοπος Ἀθανάσιος· ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους Ἀθανασίου ἀξιούντας παρῆναι, καὶ μὴ συγχωρηθέντας. Ἔδει δὲ, ἀγαπητοί, εἴπερ μετὰ ἀληθείας ἐγίνετο τὸ κριτήριον, μὴ μόνον τὸν κατήγορον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν κατηγορούμενον παρῆναι. Ὡσπερ γὰρ ἐν τῇ Τύρῳ Μακάριος παρῆν ὁ κατηγορούμενος, καὶ Ἰσχύρας ὁ κατήγορος, καὶ οὐδὲν ἐδείχθη· οὕτως ἔδει καὶ ἐν τῷ Μαρεώτῃ μὴ μόνον ἀπελθεῖν τὸν κατήγορον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν κατηγορούμενον, ἵνα παρῶν ἢ ἐλεγχθῇ, ἢ, μὴ ἐλεγχθεὶς, δείξῃ τὴν συκοφαντίαν. Νῦν δὲ, τούτου μὴ γενομένου, ἀλλὰ μόνου ἀπελθόντος τοῦ κατηγόρου, μεθ' ὧν παρητήσατο Ἀθανάσιος, ὑποπτα τὰ πράγματα φαίνεται.

28. Ἡτιᾶτο δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀπελθόντας εἰς τὸν Μαρεώτην παρὰ γνώμην αὐτοῦ ἀπεληλυθέναι. Ἐλεγε γὰρ, ὅτι Θεόγνιον, καὶ Μάριν, καὶ Θεόδωρον, Οὐρσάκιον, καὶ Οὐάλευτα, καὶ Μακεδόνιον, ὑπόπτους ὄντας, ἀπέστειλαν. Καὶ τοῦτο οὐκ ἐκ τῶν λόγων αὐτοῦ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ γενομένου ἐπισκόπου τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης ἐδείκνυε.
- c. 80. Προήνεγκε γὰρ ἐπιστολὴν αὐτοῦ γραφεῖσαν πρὸς Διονύσιον, τὸν ἐν τῇ συνόδῳ κόμητα, ἐν ᾗ δηλοῖ φανεράν συσκευὴν γενέσθαι κατὰ Ἀθανασίου. Καὶ αὐτοῦ δὲ τοῦ κατηγόρου Ἰσχύρα

προεκόμισε χεῖρα ὁλόγραφον αὐθεντικὴν, ἐν ᾗ μάρτυρα τὸν c. 64.
Θεὸν τὸν παντοκράτορα ἐπικαλούμενος, μήτε ποτηρίου κλάσιν,
μήτε τραπέζης ἀνατροπὴν γεγενῆσθαι ἔλεγεν, ἀλλ' ὑποβεβλή-
σθαι ἑαυτὸν ὑπὸ τινῶν πλάσασθαι ταύτην τὴν κατηγορίαν.
Ἀπαντήσαντες δὲ καὶ πρεσβύτεροι τοῦ Μαρεώτου, διεβεβαιώ- Cr. c. 74.
σαντο μήτε τὸν Ἰσχύραν πρεσβύτερον εἶναι τῆς καθολικῆς
ἐκκλησίας, μήτε τι τοιοῦτον πεπλημμεληκέναι Μακάριον,
ὁποῖον ἐκεῖνος κατηγορήσεν. Οἱ πρεσβύτεροι δὲ καὶ οἱ διά-
κονοι, ἀπαντήσαντες ἐνταῦθα, οὐκ ὀλίγα, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλὰ
ἐμαρτύρησαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Ἀθανασίου, διαβεβαιούμενοι
μηδὲν ἀληθὲς εἶναι τῶν κατ' αὐτοῦ λεγομένων, συσκευὴν δὲ
αὐτὸν πεπουνθέναι. Καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Αἰγύπτου δὲ καὶ Λιβύης
πάντες ἐπίσκοποι, γράφοντες διεβεβαιώσαντο καὶ τὴν κατὰ c. 6.
στασιν αὐτοῦ ἔννομον καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικὴν γεγενῆσθαι, καὶ
πάντα τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν λεγόμενα κατ' αὐτοῦ εἶναι ψευδῆ· οὔτε
γὰρ φόνον γεγενῆσθαι, οὔτε τινὰς ἀναιρεθῆναι δι' αὐτὸν, οὔτε
κλάσιν ποτηρίου γεγενῆσθαι, ἀλλὰ πάντα εἶναι ψευδῆ. Καὶ
ἐκ τῶν ὑπομνημάτων δὲ τῶν ἐν Μαρεώτῃ κατὰ μονομέρειαν
γεγενημένων, ἐδείκνυν ὁ ἐπίσκοπος Ἀθανάσιος ἕνα κατηχού-
μενον ἐξετασθέντα, καὶ εἰπόντα ἔνδον εἶναι μετὰ Ἰσχύρα, ὅτε Cr. c. 46, 83.
Μακάριος ὁ πρεσβύτερος Ἀθανασίου, ὡς λέγουσιν, ἐπέστη τῷ
τόπῳ· καὶ ἄλλους δὲ ἐξετασθέντας καὶ εἰπόντας τὸν μὲν 'ἐν
κελλίῳ μικρῷ,' τὸν δὲ 'ὀπισθεν τῆς θύρας κατακείσθαι τὸν
Ἰσχύραν, τότε νοσοῦντα,' ὅτε Μακάριον λέγουσιν ἀπηντηκέναι c. 63.
ἐκεῖ. Ἀπὸ δὴ τούτων ὧν ἔλεγε καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀκολούθως στοχα-
ζόμεθα, ὅτι πῶς οἶόν τε τὸν ὀπισθεν τῆς θύρας νόσῳ κατακεί-
μενον τότε ἔσθηκέναι, καὶ λειτουργεῖν, καὶ προσφέρειν; ἢ
πῶς οἶόν τε ἦν προσφορὰν προκεῖσθαι, ἔνδον ὄντων τῶν κατη-
χουμένων; Εἰ γὰρ ἔνδον ἦσαν οἱ κατηχούμενοι, οὕτω ἦν ὁ
καιρὸς τῆς προσφορᾶς. Ταῦτα, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, ἔλεγεν ὁ ἐπί-
σκοπος Ἀθανάσιος, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπομνημάτων ἐδείκνυε, διαβε-
βαιουμένων καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ, μηδὲ ὅλως αὐτὸν πρεσβύτερον
γεγενῆσθαι ποτε ἐν τῇ καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, μηδὲ συνῆχθαι
αὐτόν ποτε ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ὡς πρεσβύτερον· οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ
ὅτε Ἀλέξανδρος ἐδέχετο μετὰ φιλανθρωπίας τῆς μεγάλης c. 59.
συνόδου τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ σχίσματος Μελιτίου, ὠνομάσθαι αὐτὸν

APOL. C. ARI.
(Letter of
Julius)

Cp. c. 71.

c. 46, 83.

ὑπὸ Μελιτίου μετὰ τῶν αὐτοῦ διεβεβαιούντο· ὃ καὶ μέγιστόν ἐστι τεκμήριον μὴ εἶναι αὐτὸν μήτε Μελιτίου. Εἰ γὰρ ἦν, πάντως καὶ αὐτὸς αὐτοῖς συνηριθμεῖτο. Ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις ὃ Ἰσχυράς ψευσάμενος ἐδείκνυτο ὑπὸ Ἀθανασίου ἐκ τῶν ὑπομνημάτων· κατηγορήσας γὰρ ὡς βιβλίων κεκαυμένων, ὅτε, ὡς λέγουσι, Μακάριος ἐπέστη, ἠλέγχθη ὑφ' ὧν αὐτὸς ἤνεγκε μαρτύρων ψευσάμενος.

[From the
spring of 340.]

Hist. Ari. 9.

Encycl. 4.
Hist. Ari. 10.

29. Τούτων τοίνυν οὕτως λεγομένων, καὶ τοσούτων μὲν ὄντων τῶν μαρτύρων τῶν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, τοσούτων δὲ δικαιωμάτων προφερομένων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, τί ἔδει ποιεῖν ἡμᾶς; ἢ τί ὁ ἐκκλησιαστικὸς κανὼν ἀπαιτεῖ, ἢ μὴ καταγνῶναι τοῦ ἀνδρὸς, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἀποδέξασθαι καὶ ἔχειν αὐτὸν ἐπίσκοπον, ὥσπερ καὶ ἔχομεν; Καὶ γὰρ πρὸς τούτοις πᾶσι παρέμεινεν ἐνταῦθα ἐνιαυτὸν καὶ ἕξ μῆνας, ἐκδεχόμενος τὴν παρουσίαν ὑμῶν ἢ τῶν βουλομένων ἐλθεῖν· τῇ δὲ παρουσίᾳ ἐδυσώπει πάντας, ὅτι οὐκ ἂν παρῆν εἰ μὴ ἐθάρρει. Καὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ ἐλήλυθεν, ἀλλὰ κληθεὶς καὶ λαβὼν γράμματα παρ' ἡμῶν, καθάπερ καὶ ὑμῖν ἐγράψαμεν. Καὶ ὅμως μετὰ τοσαῦτα ὑμεῖς ὡς 'παρὰ κανόνας ποιήσαντας' ἡμᾶς ἐμέμψασθε. Σκοπεῖτε τοίνυν, τίνες εἰσιν οἱ παρὰ κανόνας πράξαντες, ἡμεῖς οἱ μετὰ τοσούτων ἀποδείξεων τὸν ἄνδρα δεξάμενοι, ἢ οἱ ἀπὸ τριάκοντα καὶ ἕξ μυνῶν ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ ὀνομάσαντές τινα ὡς ἐπίσκοπον ξένον, καὶ ἀποστείλαντες εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν μετὰ στρατιωτικῆς ἐξουσίας; ὅπερ οὐ γέγονεν, οὐδὲ εἰς Γαλλίας αὐτοῦ ἀποσταλέντος· ἐγεγόνει γὰρ ἂν καὶ τότε, εἰ ὄντως ἦν καταγνωσθείς. Ἀμέλει ἐπανελθὼν σχολάζουσιν καὶ ἐκδεχομένην αὐτὸν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν εὗρεν.

30. Ἀλλὰ νῦν οὐκ οἶδα, ποίῳ τρόπῳ γέγονε τὰ γενόμενα. Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ, εἰ δεῖ τάληθες εἰπεῖν, οὐκ ἔδει, γραψάντων ἡμῶν σύνοδον γενέσθαι, προλαβεῖν τινας τὴν ἐκ τῆς συνόδου κρίσιν· ἔπειτα οὐκ ἔδει τοιαύτην καινοτομίαν κατὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας γενέσθαι. Ποῖος γὰρ κανὼν ἐκκλησιαστικὸς, ἢ ποῖα παράδοσις ἀποστολικὴ τοιαύτη, ὥστε, εἰρηνευούσης ἐκκλησίας, καὶ ἐπισκόπων τοσούτων ὁμόνοιαν ἔχόντων πρὸς τὸν ἐπίσκοπον τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας Ἀθανάσιον, ἀποσταλῆναι Γρηγόριον, ξένον μὲν τῆς πόλεως, μήτε ἐκεῖ βαπτισθέντα, μήτε γνωσκό-

μενον τοῖς πολλοῖς, μὴ αἰτηθέντα παρὰ πρεσβυτέρων, μὴ παρ' ἐπισκόπων, μὴ παρὰ λαῶν, ἀλλὰ κατασταθῆναι μὲν ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ, ἀποσταλῆναι δὲ εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, οὐ μετὰ πρεσβυτέρων, οὐ μετὰ διακόνων τῆς πόλεως, οὐ μετὰ ἐπισκόπων τῆς Αἰγύπτου, ἀλλὰ μετὰ στρατιωτῶν; Τοῦτο γὰρ ἔλεγον καὶ ἡτιῶντο οἱ ἐνταῦθα ἐλθόντες· εἰ γὰρ καὶ μετὰ τὴν σύνοδον ὑπεύθυνος ἦν εὐρεθεῖς ὁ Ἀθανάσιος, οὐκ ἔδει τὴν κατάστασιν οὕτω παρανόμως καὶ παρὰ τὸν ἐκκλησιαστικὸν κανόνα γενέσθαι· ἀλλ' ἐπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἱερατείου, ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ κλήρου, τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἐπαρχίᾳ ἐπισκόπους ἔδει καταστήσαι, καὶ μὴ νῦν τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων κανόνας παραλύεσθαι. Ἄρα γὰρ, εἰ καθ' ἑνὸς ὑμῶν ἐγεγόνει τοιοῦτον, οὐκ ἂν ἐβοήσατε, οὐκ ἂν ἡξιώσατε, ὥς παραλελυμένων τῶν κανόνων, ἐκδικηθῆναι; Ἀγαπητοί, ὥς Θεοῦ παρόντος, μετὰ ἀληθείας φθεγγόμεθα καὶ λέγομεν, οὐκ ἔστι τοῦτο εὐσεβές, οὐδὲ νόμιμον, οὐδὲ ἐκκλησιαστικόν. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ τὰ λεγόμενα γεγενῆσθαι παρὰ Γρηγορίου ἐν τῇ εἰσόδῳ αὐτοῦ δείκνυσι τὴν τῆς καταστάσεως τάξιν. Ἐν γὰρ τοιούτοις εἰρηνικοῖς καιροῖς, ὥς αὐτοὶ οἱ ἐλθόντες ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ἀπήγγειλαν, καθὼς καὶ οἱ ἐπίσκοποι ἔγραψαν, ἡ ἐκκλησία ἐμπρησμὸν ὑπέμεινε, παρθένοι ἐγυμνώθησαν, μονάζοντες κατεπατήθησαν, πρεσβύτεροι καὶ πολλοὶ τοῦ λαοῦ ἡκίσθησαν, καὶ βίαν πεπόνθασιν, ἐπίσκοποι ἐφυλακίσθησαν, περιεσύρησαν πολλοί· τὰ ἅγια μυστήρια, ἐφ' οἷς ἡτιῶντο Μακάριον τὸν πρεσβύτερον, ὑπὸ ἐθνικῶν διηρπάζετο, καὶ εἰς γῆν κατεβάλλετο, ἵνα τὴν Γρηγορίου τινὲς κατάστασιν δέξωνται· τὰ δὲ τοιαῦτα δείκνυσι τοὺς 'παραλύνοντας τοὺς κανόνας.' Εἰ γὰρ νομίμη ἦν ἡ κατάστασις, οὐκ ἂν διὰ παρανομίας ἠνάγκαζε πείθεσθαι τοὺς νομίμως ἀπειθοῦντας αὐτῷ. Καὶ ὅμως, τοιούτων γενομένων, γράφετε 'εἰρήνην μεγάλην γεγενῆσθαι ἐν τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ καὶ τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ'· ἐκτὸς εἰ μὴ ἀντιμεταβέβληται τὸ ἔργον τῆς εἰρήνης, καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα εἰρήνην ὀνομάζετε.

31. Κάκεινο δὲ ὑμῖν ἀναγκαῖον ἐνόμισα δηλῶσαι, ὅτι Ἀθανάσιος διεβεβαιούτο Μακάριον ἐν Τύρῳ ὑπὸ στρατιώτας γεγενῆσθαι, καὶ μόνον τὸν κατήγορον ἀπεληλυθέναι μετὰ τῶν ἀπελθόντων εἰς τὸν Μαρεώτην, καὶ τοὺς μὲν πρεσβυτέρους

Encycl. 3.
Cp. Hist. Ari.
10, 12.

APOL. C. ARI.
(Letter of
Julius.)

ἀξιούντας παρῆναι ἐν τῇ ἐξετάσει μὴ συγκεχωρηῆσθαι· τὴν δὲ ἐξέτασιν γεγενῆσθαι περὶ ποτηρίων καὶ τραπέζης, ἐπὶ παρουσίᾳ τοῦ ἐπάρχου καὶ τῆς τάξεως αὐτοῦ, παρόντων ἔθνικων καὶ Ἰουδαίων. Τοῦτο δὲ κατὰ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἀπιστον ἦν, εἰ μὴ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπομνημάτων ἐδείκνυτο, ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ ἐθαυμάσαμεν, νομίζω δὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς ἐπιθαυμάζειν, ἀγαπητοί. Πρεσβύτεροι μὲν οὐκ ἐπιτρέπονται παρῆναι, οἱ καὶ τῶν μυστηρίων λειτουργοὶ τυγχάνοντες, ἐπὶ δὲ ἐξωτικῷ δικαστοῦ, παρόντων κατηχουμένων, καὶ τό γε χεῖριστον, ἐπὶ ἔθνικων καὶ Ἰουδαίων τῶν διαβεβλημένων περὶ τὸν Χριστιανισμόν, ἐξέτασις περὶ αἵματος Χριστοῦ καὶ σώματος Χριστοῦ γίνεται. Εἰ γὰρ καὶ ὅλως ἐγγόνει τι πλημμέλημα, ἔδει ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ὑπὸ κληρικῶν νομίμως ἐξετάζεσθαι τὰ τοιαῦτα, καὶ μὴ ὑπὸ ἔθνικων τῶν τὸν λόγον βδελυσσομένων καὶ μὴ εἰδότων τὴν ἀλήθειαν. Τοῦτο δὲ τὸ ἀμάρτημα ἡλίκον καὶ ὁποῖόν ἐστι, σπυροῦν καὶ ὑμᾶς καὶ πάντας πεπλόστευκα. Περὶ μὲν Ἀθανασίου τοιαῦτα.

c. 46, 83.

Cp. c. 47.
Ap. de
Fuga 3.
Hist. Ari. 6.
De Syn. 24.

32. Περὶ δὲ Μαρκελλου, ἐπειδὴ καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ ὡς ἀσεβοῦντος εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν ἐγράψατε, δηλῶσαι ὑμῖν ἐσπούδασα, ὅτι ἐνταῦθα γενόμενος, διεβεβαιώσατο μὲν μὴ εἶναι ἀληθὴ τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ γραφέντα παρ' ὑμῶν· ὅμως δὲ ἀπαιτούμενος παρ' ἡμῶν εἰπεῖν περὶ τῆς πίστεως, οὕτω μετὰ παρρησίας ἀπεκρίνατο δι' ἑαυτοῦ, ὡς ἐπιγινῶναι μὲν ἡμᾶς, ὅτι μηδὲν ἐξωθεν τῆς ἀληθείας ὁμολογεῖ· οὕτως γὰρ εὐσεβῶς περὶ τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ὁμολόγησε φρονεῖν, ὥσπερ καὶ ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία φρονεῖ· καὶ οὐ νῦν ταῦτα πεφρονηκέναι διεβεβαιώσατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔκπαλαι· ὥσπερ οὖν καὶ οἱ ἡμέτεροι πρεσβύτεροι, τότε ἐν τῇ κατὰ Νίκαιαν συνόδῳ γενόμενοι, ἐμαρτύρησαν αὐτοῦ τῇ ὀρθοδοξίᾳ· καὶ γὰρ καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν κατὰ τῆς αἰρέσεως τῶν Ἀρειανῶν πεφρονηκέναι δισχυρίζατο· ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ ὑμᾶς ὑπομνήσαι δίκαιόν ἐστιν, ἵνα μηδεὶς τὴν τοιαύτην αἵρεσιν ἀποδέχεται, ἀλλὰ βδελύττεται ὡς ἀλλοτρίαν τῆς ὑγιαίνουσας διδασκαλίας. Ὅρθὰ τοίνυν αὐτὸν φρονούντα, καὶ ἐπὶ ὀρθοδοξίᾳ μαρτυρούμενον, τί πάλιν καὶ ἐπὶ τούτου ἔδει ποιεῖν ἡμᾶς, ἢ ἔχειν αὐτὸν, ὥσπερ καὶ εἴχομεν, ἐπίσκοπον, καὶ μὴ ἀποβάλλειν τῆς κοινωνίας; Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐγὼ, οὐχ ὡς ὑπεραπολογούμενος αὐτῶν γέγραφα, ἀλλ' ἕνεκα τοῦ πιστεῦ-

Cp. Epiph.
lxxii. 2, 3.

c. 23.

σαι ὑμᾶς, ὅτι δικαίως καὶ κανονικῶς ἐδεξάμεθα τοὺς ἄνδρας, καὶ μάτην φιλονεικεῖτε· ὑμᾶς δὲ δίκαιόν ἐστι σπονδάσαι, καὶ πάντα τρόπον καμεῖν, ἵνα τὰ μὲν παρὰ κανόνα γενόμενα διορθώσεως τύχῃ, αἱ δὲ ἐκκλησίαι εἰρήνην ἔχωσι, πρὸς τὸ τὴν τοῦ Κυρίου εἰρήνην τὴν δοθεῖσαν ἡμῖν παραμεῖναι, καὶ μὴ σχίζεσθαι τὰς ἐκκλησίας, μηδὲ ὑμᾶς ὥς αἰτίους σχίσματος μέμψιν ὑπομεῖναι. Ὁμολογῶ γὰρ ὑμῖν τὰ γενόμενα οὐκ εἰρήνης, ἀλλὰ σχίσματος προφάσεις εἰσίν.

33. Οὐ γὰρ μόνον οἱ περὶ Ἀθανάσιον καὶ Μάρκελλον οἱ ἐπίσκοποι ἐληλύθασιν ἐνταῦθα, αἰτιώμενοι κατ' αὐτῶν ἀδικίαν γεγονέναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ πλείστοι ἄλλοι ἐπίσκοποι ἀπὸ Θράκης, ἀπὸ Κοίλης Συρίας, ἀπὸ Φοινίκης καὶ Παλαιστίνης, καὶ πρεσβύτεροι μὲν οὐκ ὀλίγοι, ἄλλοι δὲ τινες ἀπὸ Ἀλεξανδρείας, καὶ ἄλλοι ἐξ ἄλλων μερῶν, ἀπήντησαν εἰς τὴν ἐνταῦθα σύνοδον, ἐπὶ πάντων τῶν συνελθόντων ἐπισκόπων, πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις, οἷς ἔλεγον, ὅτι καὶ ἀπωδύροντο, βίαν καὶ ἀδικίαν τὰς ἐκκλη- [Qu. ἐτι] σίας πεπουνθέναι, καὶ ὅμοια τῶν κατὰ Ἀλεξάνδρειαν καὶ τὰς ἑαυτῶν, καὶ ἐν ἄλλαις ἐκκλησίαις γεγενῆσθαι διεβεβαιῶντο, οὐ λόγῳ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πράγμασι. Καὶ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου δὲ καὶ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας, πάλιν ἐλθόντες νῦν πρεσβύτεροι μετὰ γραμμάτων, ἀπωδύροντο, ὅτι πολλοὶ ἐπίσκοποι καὶ πρεσβύτεροι, θέλοντες ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὴν σύνοδον, ἐκωλύθησαν. Μέχρι Hist. Ari. 12. γὰρ νῦν καὶ μετὰ τὴν τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Ἀθανασίου ἀποδημίαν, ἔλεγον ἐπισκόπους ὁμολογητὰς κατακόπτεσθαι πληγαῖς, καὶ ἄλλους φυλακίζεσθαι, ἥδη δὲ καὶ ἀρχαίους, πλείστον ὅσον χρόνον ἔχοντας ἐν τῇ ἐπισκοπῇ, εἰς λειτουργίας δημοσίας Cp. c. 54. παραδίδοσθαι, καὶ σχεδὸν πάντας τοὺς τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας κληρικοὺς καὶ λαοὺς ἐπιβουλεύεσθαι καὶ διώκεσθαι. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ τινες ἐπισκόπους, καὶ τινες ἀδελφοὺς ὑπερορίους ἔλεγον γεγενῆσθαι δι' οὐδὲν ἕτερον, ἢ ἵνα καὶ ἄκοντες ἀναγκάζονται κοινωνεῖν Γρηγορίῳ καὶ τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ Ἀρειανοῖς. Καὶ ἐν Ἀγκύρᾳ δὲ τῆς Γαλατίας οὐκ ὀλίγα γεγενῆσθαι, ἀλλὰ τὰ αὐτὰ πάλιν τοῖς κατὰ Ἀλεξάνδρειαν γενομένοις ἠκούσαμεν καὶ παρ' ἐτέρων, καὶ Μάρκελλος δὲ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος διεμαρτύρατο. Πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ τοιαύτας κατηγορίας καὶ οὕτω δεινὰς κατὰ τινων ἐξ ὑμῶν, ἵνα μὴ λέγω τὰ ὀνόματα, οἱ ἀπαντήσαντες

APOL. C. ARI. εἰρήκασιν, ὡς ἐγὼ μὲν γράψαι παρηγησάμην· ἴσως δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς παρ' ἐτέρων ἀκηκόατε. Διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ μάλιστα καὶ ἔγραψα προτρεπόμενος ὑμᾶς ἔλθειν, ἵνα καὶ παρόντες ἀκούσητε, καὶ πάντα διορθωθῆναι καὶ θεραπευθῆναι δυνηθῇ. Ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων προθυμοτέρως ἔδει τοὺς κληθέντας ἀπαντῆσαι καὶ μὴ παραιτήσασθαι, ἵνα μὴ τέως ὑποπτοι περὶ τὰ λεχθέντα, ἐὰν μὴ ἀπαντήσωσι, νομισθῶσιν, ὥς μὴ δυνάμενοι ἐλέγξει ἃ ἔγραψαν.

34. Τούτων τοίνυν οὕτω λεγομένων, καὶ οὕτως τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν πασχουσῶν, καὶ ἐπιβουλευομένων, ὥς οἱ ἀπαγγέλλοντες διεβεβαιοῦντο, τίνες εἰσὶν οἱ 'φλόγα διχονοίας ἀνάψαντες;' ἡμεῖς οἱ λυπούμενοι ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις, καὶ συμπάσχοντες τοῖς πάσχουσιν ἀδελφοῖς, ἢ οἱ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐργασάμενοι; Θανμάζω γὰρ πῶς, τοιαύτης καὶ τοσαύτης ἐκεῖ ἀκαταστασίας καθ' ἑκάστην ἐκκλησίαν οὔσης, δι' ἣν καὶ οἱ ἀπαντήσαντες ἦλθον ἐνταῦθα, γράφετε ὑμεῖς 'ὁμόνοιαν γεγενῆσθαι ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις·' τὰ δὲ τοιαῦτα οὐκ ἐπὶ οἰκοδομῇ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ καθαιρέσει ταύτης γίνεται· καὶ οἱ ἐν τούτοις δὲ χαίροντες οὐκ εἰσὶν εἰρήνης νιώτῃ, ἀλλὰ ἀκαταστασίας· ὁ δὲ Θεὸς 1 Cor. xiv. 33. ἡμῶν 'οὐκ ἔστιν ἀκαταστασίας, ἀλλ' εἰρήνης.' Διόπερ, ὥς οἶδεν ὁ Θεὸς καὶ Πατὴρ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, κηδόμενος μὲν καὶ τῆς ὑμῶν ὑπολήψεως, εὐχόμενος δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐκκλησίας μὴ ἐν ἀκαταστασίᾳ εἶναι, ἀλλὰ διαμένειν ὥσπερ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐκανονίσθη, γράψαι ὑμῖν ταῦτα ἀναγκαῖον ἡγησάμην, ἵνα ἤδη ποτὲ δυσωπήσητε τοὺς διὰ τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀπέχθειαν οὕτω διαθεμένους τὰς ἐκκλησίας. Ἦκουσα γὰρ, ὅτι τινὲς εἰσὶν ὀλίγοι οἱ τούτων πάντων αἴτιοι τυγχάνοντες. Σπουδάσατε ὥς σπλάγχνα ἔχοντες οἰκτιρμοῦ διορθωσασθαι, ὥς προεῖπον, τὰ παρὰ κανόνα γενόμενα, ἵνα, εἰ καὶ τι προελήφθη, τοῦτο τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ σπουδῇ θεραπευθῇ. Καὶ μὴ γράφητε, ὅτι 'τὴν Μαρκέλλου καὶ Ἀθανασίου, ἢ τὴν ἡμῶν ἐλοῦ κοιωνίαν·' οὐ γὰρ εἰρήνης, ἀλλὰ φιλονεικίας καὶ μισαδελφίας, τὰ τοιαῦτα γνωρίσματα. Διὰ τοῦτο οὖν καὶ γὰρ τὰ προειρημένα ἔγραψα, ἵνα, μαθόντες ὅτι οὐκ ἀδίκως ἐδεξάμεθα αὐτοὺς, παύσησθε τῆς τοιαύτης ἐριδος. Εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐλθόντων ὑμῶν ἦσαν καταγνωσθέντες, εἰ μὴ εὐλόγους ἀποδείξεις ἔχειν ἐφαίνοντο ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν, καλῶς ἂν τὰ τοιαῦτα γεγραφήκετε·

ἐπειδὴ δὲ, ὡς προείπον, κανονικῶς καὶ οὐκ ἀδίκως τὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔσχομεν κοινωνίαν, παρακαλῶ ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ, μὴ ἐπιτρέψητε διασχισθῆναι τὰ μέλη τοῦ Χριστοῦ, μηδὲ τοῖς προλήμμασι πιστεύσητε, ἀλλὰ τὴν τοῦ Κυρίου εἰρήνην προτιμήσατε· οὐ γὰρ ὅσιον οὐδὲ δίκαιον δι' ὀλίγων μικροψυχίαν τοὺς μὴ καταγνωσθέντας ἀπορρίπτειν, καὶ 'λυπεῖν ἐν τούτῳ τὸ Eph. iv. 30. Πνεῦμα.' Εἰ δὲ νομίζετε δύνασθαι τινα κατ' αὐτῶν ἀποδείξαι, καὶ εἰς πρόσωπον αὐτοὺς ἐλέγχειν, ἐλθέτωσαν οἱ βουλόμενοι. 'Ετοιμοὺς γὰρ ἑαυτοὺς καὶ αὐτοὶ εἶναι ἐπηγγέλαντο, ὥστε καὶ ἀποδείξαι καὶ διελέγχειν, περὶ ὧν ἡμῖν ἀπήγγειλαν.

35. Σημάνετε οὖν ἡμῖν, ἀγαπητοί, περὶ τούτου, ἵνα κακένοῖς γράψωμεν, καὶ τοῖς ὀφείλουσι πάλιν συνελθεῖν ἐπισκόποις, πρὸς τὸ πάντων παρόντων τοὺς ὑπευθύνους καταγνωσθῆναι, καὶ μηκέτι ἀκαταστασίαν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις γενέσθαι. 'Ἀρκεῖ γὰρ τὰ γενόμενα' ἀρκεῖ, ὅτι παρόντων ἐπισκόπων ἐπίσκοποι ἐξωρίζοντο. Περὶ οὗ οὐδὲ μακρηγορεῖν δεῖ, ἵνα μὴ βαρεῖσθαι οἱ παρόντες τότε δοκῶσιν. Εἰ γὰρ δεῖ τάληθες εἰπεῖν, οὐκ ἔδει μέχρι τούτων φθάσαι, οὐδὲ εἰς τοσοῦτον ἐλθεῖν τὰς μικροψυχίας. 'Ἔστω δὲ 'Αθανάσιος καὶ Μάρκελλος, ὡς γράφετε, 'μετετέθησαν ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων τόπων,' τί καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἂν τις εἴποι τῶν ἐκ διαφόρων τόπων, ὡς προείπον, ἐλθόντων ἐνταῦθα ἐπισκόπων καὶ πρεσβυτέρων; Καὶ αὐτοὶ γὰρ πάλιν ἠρπάσθαι ἑαυτοὺς καὶ τοιαῦτα πεπονθέναι ἔλεγον. 'Ὡ ἀγαπητοί, οὐκέτι κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, ἀλλὰ λοιπὸν ἐπὶ ἐξορισμῷ καὶ θανάτῳ αἱ κρίσεις τῆς ἐκκλησίας εἰσὶν. Εἰ γὰρ καὶ ὅλως, ὡς φατέ, γέγονέ τι εἰς αὐτοὺς ἁμάρτημα, ἔδει κατὰ τὸν ἐκκλησιαστικὸν κανόνα, καὶ μὴ οὕτως γεγενῆσθαι τὴν κρίσιν· ἔδει γραφῆναι πᾶσιν ἡμῖν, ἵνα οὕτως παρὰ πάντων ὀρισθῇ τὸ δίκαιον. 'Επίσκοποι γὰρ ἦσαν οἱ πάσχοντες, καὶ οὐχ αἱ τυχοῦσαι ἐκκλησίαι αἱ πάσχουσαι, ἀλλ' ὧν αὐτοὶ οἱ ἀπόστολοι δι' ἑαυτῶν καθηγήσαντο. Διὰ τί δὲ περὶ τῆς 'Αλεξανδρέων ἐκκλησίας μάλιστα οὐκ ἐγράφετο ἡμῖν; *Ἡ ἀγνοεῖτε, ὅτι τοῦτο ἔθος ἦν, πρότερον γράφεσθαι ἡμῖν, καὶ οὕτως ἐνθεν ὀρίζεσθαι τὰ δίκαια; Εἰ μὲν οὖν τι τοιοῦτον ἦν ὑποπτευθὲν εἰς τὸν ἐπίσκοπον τὸν ἐκεῖ, ἔδει πρὸς τὴν ἐνταῦθα ἐκκλησίαν γραφῆναι· νῦν δὲ οἱ ἡμᾶς μὴ πληροφορήσαντες,

APOL. C. ARI.
(Letter of
Julius.)

πράξαντες δὲ αὐτοὶ ὡς ἠθέλησαν, λοιπὸν καὶ ἡμᾶς οὐ κατα-
γνόντας βούλονται συμψήφους εἶναι. Οὐχ οὕτως αἱ Παύλου
διατάξεις, οὐχ οὕτως οἱ πατέρες παραδεδώκασιν· ἄλλος τύπος
ἐστὶν οὗτος, καὶ καινὸν τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα. Παρακαλῶ, μετὰ
προθυμίας ἐνέγκατε· ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινῇ συμφέροντός ἐστιν ἃ
γράφω· ἃ γὰρ παρειλήφαμεν παρὰ τοῦ μακαρίου Πέτρου τοῦ
ἀποστόλου, ταῦτα καὶ ὑμῖν δηλῶ· καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἔγραψα, φανερά
ἡγούμενος εἶναι ταῦτα παρὰ πᾶσιν, εἰ μὴ τὰ γενόμενα ἡμᾶς
ἐτάραξεν. Ἐπίσκοποι ἀρπάζονται καὶ ἐκτοπίζονται· ἄλλοι δὲ
ἀλλαχόθεν ἀντιτίθενται, καὶ ἄλλοι ἐπιβουλεύονται· ὥστε ἐπὶ
μὲν τοῖς ἀρπασθεῖσιν αὐτοὺς πενθεῖν, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς πεμπομένοις
ἀναγκάζεσθαι, ἵνα οὓς μὲν θέλουσι μὴ ἐπιζητῶσιν, οὓς δὲ μὴ
βούλονται δέχωνται. Ἀξιῶ ὑμᾶς μηκέτι τοιαῦτα γίνεσθαι,
γράψατε δὲ μᾶλλον κατὰ τῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐπιχειρούντων, ἵνα
μηκέτι τοιαῦτα πάσχωσιν αἱ ἐκκλησίαι, μηδὲ τις ἐπίσκοπος ἢ
πρεσβύτερος ὕβριν πάσχη, ἢ παρὰ γνώμην, ὥσπερ ἐδήλωσαν
ἡμῖν, ἀναγκάζηται τις ποιεῖν· ἵνα μὴ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἔθνεσι
γέλωτα ὀφλήσωμεν, καὶ πρό γε πάντων, ἵνα μὴ τὸν Θεὸν
παροξύνωμεν. Ἐκαστος γὰρ ἡμῶν ‘ἀποδώσει λόγον ἐν ἡμέρᾳ
κρίσεως’ περὶ ὧν ἐνταῦθα ἔπραξε. Γένοιτο δὲ πάντας κατὰ
Θεὸν φρονῆσαι, ἵνα καὶ αἱ ἐκκλησίαι, τοὺς ἐπισκόπους αὐτῶν
ἀπολαβοῦσαι, χαίρωσι διὰ παντός ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ Κυρίῳ
ἡμῶν, δι’ οὗ τῷ Πατρὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.
Ἀμήν. Ἐρρῶσθαι ὑμᾶς ἐν Κυρίῳ εὐχομαι, ἀγαπητοὶ καὶ
ποθεινότατοι ἀδελφοί.

Matt. xii. 36.

36. Ταῦτα τῆς ἐν Ῥώμῃ συνόδου γραφάσης διὰ Ἰουλίου
τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Ῥώμης, ἐπειδὴ πάλιν ἡναισχύντουν οἱ περὶ
Εὐσέβιον, τὰς τε ἐκκλησίας ἐτάραττον, καὶ πολλοῖς ἐπεβού-
λευον, μαθόντες οἱ θεοφιλέστατοι βασιλεῖς Κωνστάντιος καὶ
Κώνσταντος, ἐκέλευσαν τοὺς τε ἀπὸ τῆς δύσεως καὶ τῆς ἀνα-
τολῆς ἐπισκόπους συνελθεῖν εἰς τὴν Σαρδῶν πόλιν. Ὁ μὲν
οὖν Εὐσέβιος ἐν τῷ μεταξύ τετελεύτηκε· πλείστων δὲ παντα-
χόθεν συνελθόντων, ἡμεῖς μὲν προεκαλούμεθα τοὺς κοινωνοὺς
τῶν περὶ Εὐσέβιον εἰς κρίσιν. Ἐκεῖνοι δὲ πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν
ἔχοντες ἃ ἔπραξαν, καὶ βλέποντες τοὺς ἀνελθόντας κατηγοροῦς

A.D. 342.

[At the end
of 343.]

αὐτῶν, ἐφοβοῦντο τὴν κρίσιν· καὶ γὰρ πάντων καθαρῶς ἀπατησάντων, αὐτοὶ πάλιν ἐπήγουντο μεθ' ἑαυτῶν κόμητας, Μουσωνιανὸν, καὶ Ἡσύχιον τὸν Καστρήσιον, Ἰν', ὥσπερ Hist. Ari. 15.
 εἰώθεισαν, τῇ ἐκείνων ἐξουσίᾳ, ταῦθ' ἅπερ ἐβούλουντο πράξω-
 σιν. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ χωρὶς κομήτων ἡ σύνοδος ἦν, καὶ στρατιώτης Cp. c. 8.
 οὐδεὶς ἐγίνετο μέσος, ἐταράχθησαν πληγέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ συνει- Hist. Ari. 44.
 δότος. Οὐκέτι γὰρ ὥς ἤθελον ἐκρίνουντο, ἀλλ' ὥς ὁ τῆς
 ἀληθείας ἀπῆται λόγος. Ἐπὶ πολὺ τοίνυν ἡμῶν προκαλου-
 μένων, καὶ τῆς συνόδου τῶν ἐπισκόπων προκαλούσης αὐτοὺς,
 καὶ λεγούσης· Ἡλθετε κριθῆναι, διὰ τί τοίνυν ἐλθόντες
 ὑποποδίζετε; Ἐχρῆν γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἢ μὴ ἐλθεῖν, ἢ ἐλθόντας μὴ
 κρύπτεσθαι· τοῦτο γὰρ ὑμῖν φέρει μεγίστην κατὰγνωσιν.
 Ἰδοὺ, πάρεσιν οἱ περὶ Ἀθανάσιον, οὓς ἀπόντας διεβάλλετε,
 Ἰν', εἴ τι νομίζετε ἔχειν, διελέγξητε τούτους παρόντας· εἰ δὲ
 μὴ δύνασθε, προσποιεῖσθε δὲ μὴ βούλεσθαι, δῆλοί ἐστε συκο-
 φάνται, καὶ ταύτην ὑμῖν ἡ σύνοδος δώσει τὴν κρίσιν.' Οἱ δὲ
 ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες, καὶ καταγινώσκοντες ἑαυτῶν (ἦδεισαν γὰρ
 ἃ ἔπραξαν, καὶ ἐπλάσαντο καθ' ἡμῶν), ἡσχύνθησαν ἀπαντῆσαι,
 πολλὴν καὶ ἀπρεπὴ καθ' ἑαυτῶν τὴν συκοφαντίαν ἐλέγξαντες.
 Ἡ τοίνυν ἀγία σύνοδος, καταγνοῦσα τῆς ἀπρεποῦς καὶ ὑπόπτου
 φυγῆς ἐκείνων, ἐδέξατο ἡμᾶς εἰς ἀπολογίαν. Διηγησαμένων
 δὲ ἡμῶν διὰ μαρτύρων καὶ ἀποδείξεων τὰ πραχθέντα καθ' ἡμῶν,
 ἐθαύμασαν· καὶ ἅπαντες ἐπέγνωσαν, ὅτι διὰ τοῦτο εἰκότως
 ἐφοβήθησαν τὴν σύνοδον, ἵνα μὴ εἰς πρόσωπον ἐλεγχθῶσιν·
 ἐλεγόν τε· Ἴσως νομίζοντες μὴ παραγίνεσθαι τοὺς περὶ Ἀθα-
 νάσιον ἀπῆντησαν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνατολῆς, ὅπου γε ἰδόντες αὐτοὺς
 παρρησιαζομένους, καὶ προκαλουμένους τὴν κρίσιν, φεύγουσιν.
 Ἡμᾶς μὲν οὖν ἀπεδέξαντο ὥς ἀδικηθέντας καὶ μάτην διαβλη-
 θέντας, καὶ ἐκύρωσαν ἔτι μᾶλλον εἰς ἡμᾶς τὴν τε κοινωνίαν
 καὶ ἀγάπην· τοὺς δὲ κοινωνοὺς καὶ ἀναιδεστέρους γενομένους
 τῆς Εὐσεβίου κακουργίας καθεῖλον, Θεόδωρον ἀπὸ Ἡρακλείας,
 Νάρκισσον ἀπὸ Νερωνιάδος, Ἀκάκιον ἀπὸ Καισαρείας, Στέφα-
 νον ἀπὸ Ἀντιοχείας, καὶ Οὐρσάκιον καὶ Οὐάλεντα ἀπὸ Παν-
 νονίας, καὶ Μηνόφαντον ἀπὸ Ἐφέσου, καὶ Γεώργιον ἀπὸ
 Λαοδικείας. Καὶ ἔγραψαν τοῖς ἀπανταχοῦ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐπι-
 σκόποις, καὶ τῇ ἐκάστου τῶν ἀδικηθέντων παροικίᾳ, ταῦτα.

APOL. C. ARI.
(*Letter I. of
Sardican
Council.*)

Cp. Hist. Ari.
17.

ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ ΤΗΣ ΕΝ ΣΑΡΔΙΚΗΙ ΣΥΝΑΧΘΕΙΣΗΣ ΣΥΝΟΔΟΥ.

Ἡ ἅγια σύνοδος ἡ κατὰ Θεοῦ χάριν ἐν Σαρδικῇ συναχθεῖσα ἀπὸ Ῥώμης, καὶ Σπανίων, Γαλλίων, Ἰταλίας, Καμπανίας, Καλαβρίας, Ἀπουλίας, Ἀφρικῆς, Σαρδινίας, Παννονίων, Μυσίων, Δακίας, Νωρίκου, Σισκίας, Δαρδανίας, ἄλλης Δακίας, Μακεδονίας, Θεσσαλίας, Ἀχαΐας, Ἠπείρων, Θράκης καὶ Ῥοδόπης, καὶ Παλαιστίνης, καὶ Ἀραβίας, καὶ Κρήτης, καὶ Αἰγύπτου· πρεσβυτέροις, καὶ διακόνοις, καὶ πάσῃ τῇ ἀγά ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ τῇ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ παροικούσῃ, ἀγαπητοῖς ἀδελφοῖς, ἐν Κυρίῳ χαίρειν.

37. Καὶ πρὶν μὲν λαβεῖν ἡμᾶς τὰ γράμματα τῆς εὐλαβείας ὑμῶν, οὐκ ἡγνοοῦμεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ φανερὸν ἡμῖν ἦν, ὥς ὅτι οἱ τῆς δυσωνύμου τῶν Ἀρειανῶν αἵρέσεως προστάται πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ τῆς ἑαυτῶν ψυχῆς ἢ κατὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐμηχανῶντο. Αὕτη γὰρ ἦν αὐτῶν τέχνη καὶ πανουργία, ταύτης αἰετῆς θανατηφόρου γεγόνασι προθέσεως, ὅπως πάντας τοὺς ὁποιδῆποτε τυγχάνοντας τῆς ὀρθῆς δόξης, καὶ τὴν τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας διδασκαλίαν κατέχοντας, τὴν παρὰ τῶν πατέρων αὐτοῖς παραδοθείσαν, σπουδάζειν ἐλαύνειν καὶ διώκειν. Τοὺς μὲν γὰρ πλαστοῖς ἐγκλήμασιν ὑπέβαλλον, ἄλλους εἰς ἐξορισμὸν ἀπέστελλον, ἄλλους ἐν αὐταῖς ταῖς τιμωρίαις κατεπόνουν. Ἀμέλει καὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ καὶ συνεπισκόπου ἡμῶν Ἀθανασίου τὴν καθαρότητα βίᾳ καὶ τυραννίδι συλλαβέσθαι ἐσπούδασαν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὔτε ἐπιμελῆς, οὔτε μετὰ πίστεως, οὔθ' ὅλως δικαία γέγονεν ἡ παρ' ἐκείνων κρίσις. Διόπερ οὐδὲ θαρροῦντες, οἷς ἐδραματούργησαν, οὐδὲ οἷς ἐθρύλησαν κατ' αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ θεωροῦντες, ὥς οὐ δύνανται περὶ τούτων ἀποδείξεις ἔχειν ἀληθεῖς, παρόντες εἰς τὴν Σαρδῶν πόλιν, οὐκ ἠθέλησαν εἰς τὴν σύνοδον πάντων τῶν ἁγίων ἐπισκόπων ἀπαντήσαι. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου φανερὰ καὶ δικαία καθέστηκεν ἡ κρίσις τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ καὶ συνεπισκόπου ἡμῶν Ἰουλίου· οὐ γὰρ ἀσκεπτὶ βεβούλευται, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετ' ἐπιμελείας ὥρισεν, ὥστε μηδὲ ὅλως διστάσαι περὶ τῆς κοινωνίας τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ἡμῶν Ἀθανασίου. Εἶχε γὰρ ἐπισκόπων ὀγδοήκοντα ἀληθεῖς μάρτυρας· εἶχε καὶ τοῦτο δίκαιον, ὅτι διὰ

τῶν ἀγαπητῶν ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἑαυτοῦ καὶ διὰ
 γραμμάτων μεθώδευσε τοὺς περὶ Εὐσέβιον, τοὺς οὐκ ἐπὶ κρίσει,
 ἀλλ' ἐπὶ βίᾳ μᾶλλον ἐπερειδομένους. Ὅθεν οἱ πανταχοῦ
 πάντες ἐπίσκοποι τὴν κοινῶν Ἀθανασίου ἐβεβαίωσαν διὰ
 τὴν καθαρότητα αὐτοῦ. Κακεῖνο δὲ ὑμῶν ἡ ἀγάπη συνοράτω·
 ἐπειδὴ εἰς τὴν ἀγίαν σύνοδον τὴν ἐν Σαρδικῇ συναχθεῖσαν
 παρεγένετο, τότε δὴ, καθὰ προείπομεν, καὶ διὰ γραμμάτων καὶ
 δι' ἀγράφων ἐντολῶν ὑπεμνήσθησαν οἱ τῆς ἐφ' ἡμῶν, καὶ ἐκλήθη-
 σαν παρ' ἡμῶν ὥστε παρῆναι. Ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνοι, ὑπὸ τῆς συνει- c. 13.
 δήσεως καταγινωσκόμενοι, ἀπρεπέσι χρώμενοι προφάσεσι,
 φυγοδικεῖν ἤρξαντο. Ἡξίου γὰρ τὸν ἀθῶον, ὡς ὑπεύθυνον,
 ἀπὸ τῆς ἡμετέρας κοινῶν ἐκβάλλεσθαι, οὐ συνορῶντες ὡς
 ἀπρεπὲς, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀδύνατον ἦν τοῦτο. Καὶ τὰ ὑπομνήματα
 δὲ τὰ ἐν τῷ Μαρῳτῇ γενόμενα ὑπὸ παμπονήρων καὶ ἐξωλε-
 στάτων τιμῶν νεωτέρων, οἷς οὐκ ἂν τις ἐπίστευσεν οὐδὲ τὸν
 τυχόντα βαθμὸν τοῦ κλήρου, συνέστηκε κατὰ μονομέρειαν c. 27, etc.
 πεπράχθαι. Οὔτε γὰρ ὁ ἀδελφὸς ἡμῶν Ἀθανάσιος ὁ ἐπί-
 σκοπος, οὔτε Μακάριος ὁ πρεσβύτερος ὁ κατηγορούμενος ὑπ'
 αὐτῶν παρῆν. Καὶ ὅμως ἡ παρ' αὐτῶν ἐρώτησις, μᾶλλον δὲ
 ὑποβολὴ ἡ γενομένη, πάσης αἰσχύνης ἦν μεστή· πῇ μὲν γὰρ
 ἔθνικοι, πῇ δὲ κατηχούμενοι ἠρωτῶντο, οὐχ ἵνα ἄπερ ἴσασι c. 83.
 εἴπωσιν, ἀλλ' ἵνα ἄπερ παρ' αὐτῶν μεμαθήκασιν ψεύσωνται.
 Καὶ γὰρ καὶ ὑμῶν τῶν πρεσβυτέρων φροντιζόντων ἐπὶ τῇ c. 73.
 ἀπουσίᾳ τοῦ ὑμετέρου ἐπισκόπου, καὶ βουλομένων παρῆναι
 ἐπὶ τῇ ἐξετάσει, καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν δεῖξαι, καὶ τὰ ψευδῆ
 διελέγξαι, οὐδεὶς λόγος γέγονεν· οὐκ ἐπέτρεψαν γὰρ ὑμᾶς
 παρῆναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ μεθ' ὕβρεως ἐξέβαλον. Καὶ εἰ καὶ τὰ
 μάλιστα φανερά πᾶσι καθέστηκε καὶ ἐκ τούτων ἡ συκοφαντία,
 ὅμως, ἀναγινωσκομένων τῶν ὑπομνημάτων, εὖρομεν αὐτὸν τὸν
 παμπόνηρον Ἰσχύραν, τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ συκοφαντίᾳ μισθὸν παρ' αὐτῶν
 λαβόντα τὸ δοκοῦν ὄνομα τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς, διελέγχοντα ἑαυτοῦ τὴν c. 12.
 συκοφαντίαν. Αὐτὸς γὰρ ὁ Ἰσχύρας ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς ὑπομνήμασι
 διελάλησε, κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν ὥραν, ἐν ᾗ Μακάριον ἐληλυθέναι εἰς
 τὸ κελλίον ἑαυτοῦ διεβεβαίωτο, νοσοῦντα τότε κατακεῖσθαι ἑαν-
 τόν· καίτοι τῶν περὶ Εὐσέβιον γράψαι τολμησάντων ἐστάναι
 τότε τὸν Ἰσχύραν καὶ προσφέρειν, ὅτε Μακάριος ἐπέστη.

Cp. c. 28.

APOL. C. ARI.
(Letter I. of
Sardican
Council.)

c. 8, 29.

c. 8.

Matt. x. 23.

38. Κακείνη δὲ πᾶσι φανερὰ καθέστηκεν ἡ συκοφαντία καὶ διαβολή, ἣν ἤτιάσαντο μετὰ ταῦτα. Ἐφασαν γὰρ καὶ κατέβόησαν, φόνον δεδρακέναι τὸν Ἀθανάσιον, καὶ ὡς Ἀρσένιον τινα Μελιτιανὸν ἐπίσκοπον ἀνῆρξέναι, ἐφ' ᾧ προσποιητῶ στεναγμῷ καὶ πεπλασμένοις δάκρυσιν ὑπεκρίνοντο, καὶ ἤξιουν τοῦ ζῶντος ὡς τεθνηκός τὸ σῶμα ἀποδοθῆναι. Ἄλλ' οὐκ ἄγνωστα γέγονε τὰ σοφίσματα τούτων. Ἐγνώσαν γὰρ ἅπαντες ᾧ τὸν ἀνθρωπον, καὶ ἐν τοῖς ζῶσιν ἐξετάζεσθαι· καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἑώρων ἑαυτοὺς οἱ πρὸς πάντα εὐχερεῖς διελεγχομένους ἐπὶ τοῖς ψεύσμασι τούτοις (αὐτὸς γὰρ ζῶν ὁ Ἀρσένιος ἐδείκνυνεν ἑαυτὸν μὴ ἀνῆρξῃσθαι μηδὲ τεθνηκέναι), ὅμως οὐχ ἡσύχασαν, ἀλλ' ἐτέρας συκοφαντίας πρὸς ταῖς προτέραις συκοφανταῖς ἐπέζητουν, ἵνα πάλιν μηχανησάμενοι, διαβάλλωσι τὸν ἀνθρωπον. Τί οὖν, ἀγαπητοί; Οὐκ ἐταράχθη ὁ ἀδελφὸς ἡμῶν Ἀθανάσιος, ἀλλὰ πάλιν πολλῇ παρῆρσις αὐτοῦ χρώμενος, προεκαλείτο καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις αὐτοὺς· καὶ ἡμεῖς δὲ ἠγούμεθα καὶ προετρεπόμεθα ἐλθεῖν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν κρίσιν, καὶ, εἴπερ δύνανται, διελέγξαι. Ὡς τῆς πολλῆς πλεονεξίας· ὡς τῆς δεινῆς ὑπερηφανίας· μᾶλλον δὲ, εἰ δεῖ τάληθες εἰπεῖν, ὡς κακῆς καὶ ὑπευθύνου συνειδήσεως· τοῦτο γὰρ πᾶσι πεφανέρωται. Ὅθεν, ἀγαπητοὶ ἀδελφοί, ὑπομνησκομεν καὶ προτρεπόμεθα ὑμᾶς πρὸ πάντων τὴν ὀρθὴν πίστιν τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας κατέχειν. Πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ καὶ δεινὰ καὶ χαλεπὰ πεπόνθατε, πολλὰς δὲ ὕβρεις καὶ ἀδίκας ὑπέμεινεν ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία· ἀλλ' ὁ ὑπομείνας εἰς τέλος, οὗτος σωθήσεται. Διόπερ καὶ ἔτι ποιεῖν τολμήσωσι καθ' ὑμῶν, ἡ θλίψις ἀντὶ χαρᾶς ὑμῖν ἔστω· τὰ γὰρ τοιαῦτα παθήματα μέρος ἐστὶ μαρτυρίου, καὶ αἱ τοιαῦται ὑμῶν ὁμολογίαι καὶ αἱ βάσανοι οὐκ ἄμισθοι τυγχάνουσιν, ἀλλ' ἀπολήψεσθε παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ τὰ ἔπαθλα. Διότι μάλιστα ἀγωνίζεσθε ὑπὲρ τῆς ὑγιαίνουσας πίστεως, καὶ τῆς καθαρότητος τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ὑμῶν Ἀθανασίου τοῦ συλλειτουργοῦ ἡμῶν. Καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἡμεῖς παρεσιωπήσαμεν, οὐδὲ ἡμελήσαμεν τῆς ὑμῶν ἀμεριμνίας χάριν· ἀλλ' ἐφροντίσαμεν καὶ πεποιήκαμεν, ἅπερ ὁ τῆς ἀγάπης λόγος ἀπαιτεῖ. Συμπάσχομεν γὰρ τοῖς πάσχουσιν ἀδελφοῖς ἡμῶν, καὶ τὰ ἐκείνων παθήματα ἴδια ἡγούμεθα.

39. Διόπερ ἀνηγέκαμεν, καὶ ἡξιώσαμεν τοὺς εὐσεβεστάτους καὶ θεοφιλεστάτους βασιλέας, ὅπως ἡ φιλανθρωπία αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς ἔτι κάμνοντας καὶ πιεζομένους ἀνεθῆναι κελεύσῃ, καὶ προστάξωσι μηδένα τῶν δικαστῶν, οἷς περὶ μόνων τῶν δημοσίων μέλειν προσήκει, μήτε κρίνειν κληρικούς, μήτε ὅλως τοῦ λοιποῦ, προφάσει τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, ἐπιχειρεῖν τι κατὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν, ἀλλ' ἵνα ἕκαστος χωρὶς τινος διωγμοῦ, χωρὶς τινος βίας καὶ πλεονεξίας, ὡς εὐχεται καὶ βούλεται, ζῇ, καὶ μεθ' ἡσυχίας καὶ εἰρήνης τὴν καθολικὴν καὶ ἀποστολικὴν πίστιν μετέρχεται. Γρηγόριος μέντοι ὁ παρανόμως παρὰ τῶν αἰρετικῶν λεγόμενος κατασταθῆναι, καὶ εἰς τὴν ὑμετέραν πόλιν παρ' αὐτῶν ἀποσταλεῖς, καὶ τοῦτο γὰρ γινωσκέτω ὑμῶν ἡ ὁμοψυχία, ὅτι κρίσει τῆς ἱερᾶς πάσης συνόδου καθηρέθη, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα οὐδὲ πώποτε οὐδὲ ὡς ἐπίσκοπος ὅλως γενόμενος ἐνομόσθη. Χαίρετε τοίνυν ἀπολαμβάνοντες ἑαυτῶν τὸν ἐπίσκοπον Ἀθανάσιον· διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ μετ' εἰρήνης αὐτὸν ἀπελύσαμεν. Ὅθεν καὶ παραινοῦμεν πᾶσι τοῖς ἡ διὰ φόβον ἢ διὰ περιδρομὴν τινων κοινωνήσασι Γρηγορίῳ, ἵνα νῦν, ὑπομνησθέντες καὶ προτραπέντες καὶ ἀναπεισθέντες παρ' ἡμῶν, παύσωνται τῆς πρὸς ἐκείνον μυσαρᾶς κοινωνίας, καὶ λοιπὸν ἑαυτοὺς συνάψωσι τῇ καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ.

40. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἔγνωμεν, ὅτι καὶ Ἀφθόνιος, καὶ Ἀθανάσιος c. 17.
ὁ Καπίτωνος, καὶ Παῦλος, καὶ Πλουτίων, οἱ συμπρεσβύτεροι ἡμῶν, συσκευὴν καὶ αὐτοὶ πεπόνθασιν ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ Εὐσέβιον, ὥστε τοὺς μὲν ἐξορισμοῦ πειραθῆναι, τοὺς δὲ καὶ θανάτων ἀπειλὰς διαπεφευγῆναι· τούτου ἕνεκεν καὶ περὶ τούτου δηλώσαι ὑμῖν ἀναγκαῖον ἡγησάμεθα, καὶ ἀθῶους ἀπελύσαμεν, εἰδότες ὅτι πάντα τὰ παρὰ τῶν περὶ Εὐσέβιον κατὰ τῶν ὀρθοδόξων γενόμενα ἐπὶ δόξῃ καὶ συστάσει τῶν συσκευασθέντων ὑπ' αὐτῶν γέγονεν. Ἐπρεπε μὲν οὖν τὸν ὑμέτερον ἐπίσκοπον, τὸν συλλειτουργὸν ἡμῶν Ἀθανάσιον, περὶ αὐτῶν ὡς περὶ ἰδίου ἰδίοις ὑμῖν δηλῶσαι· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὑπὲρ πλείονος μαρτυρίας καὶ τὴν ἁγίαν σύνοδον ἡθέλησεν ὑμῖν γράψαι, διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἀνεβαλλόμεθα, ἀλλὰ καὶ σημᾶναι ὑμῖν ἐσπουδάσαμεν, ἵν', ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς, οὕτω καὶ ὑμεῖς αὐτοὺς ἀποδέξῃσθε· ἄξιοι γὰρ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπαίνου, ὅτι διὰ τὴν εἰς Χριστὸν εὐσέβειαν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἡξιώθησαν παρὰ τῶν

APOL. C. ARI. αἵρετικῶν ὕβριν ὑπομεῖναι. Τίνα δέ ἐστι τὰ παρὰ τῆς ἁγίας συνόδου δογματισθέντα κατὰ τῶν προΐσταμένων ἢς Ἀρειανῆς αἵρέσεως, καὶ πλημμελησάντων καθ' ὑμῶν καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐκκλησιῶν, γνῶσεσθε ἐκ τῶν ὑποτεταγμένων· ἀπεστείλαμεν γὰρ ὑμῖν, ἵνα καὶ ἐκ τούτων γνῶτε ὅτι ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία οὐ παρορᾷ τοὺς εἰς αὐτὴν πλημμελοῦντας.

(Letter II. of 'H ἁγία Σύνοδος ἡ κατὰ Θεοῦ χάριν ἐν Σαρδικῇ συναχθεῖσα τοῖς κατ' Αἴγυπτον καὶ Λιβύην ἐπισκόποις καὶ συλλειτουργοῖς, ἀγαπητοῖς ἀδελφοῖς, ἐν Κυρίῳ χαίρειν.)

41. Καὶ πρὶν μὲν λαβεῖν ἡμᾶς τὰ γράμματα τῆς εὐλαβείας ὑμῶν, οὐκ ἡγνοοῦμεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ φανερόν ἡμῖν ἦν, ὡς ὅτι οἱ τῆς δυσωνύμου τῶν Ἀρειανῶν αἵρέσεως προστάται πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ τῆς ἑαυτῶν ψυχῆς ἢ κατὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐμηχανῶντο. Αὕτη γὰρ ἦν αὐτῶν τέχνη καὶ πανουργία, ταύτης ἀεὶ τῆς θανατηφόρου γεγόνاسι προθέσεως, ὅπως πάντας τοὺς ὁποιδήποτε τυγχάνοντας τῆς ὀρθῆς δόξης, καὶ τὴν τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας διδασκαλίαν κατέχοντας, τὴν παρὰ τῶν πατέρων παραδοθεῖσαν, σπουδάζειν ἐλαύνειν καὶ διώκειν. Τοὺς μὲν γὰρ πλαστοῖς ἐγκλήμασιν ὑπέβαλλον, ἄλλους εἰς ἐξορισμὸν ἀπέστελλον, ἄλλους ἐν αὐταῖς ταῖς τιμωρίαις κατεπόνουν. Ἀμέλει καὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ καὶ συνεπισκόπου ἡμῶν Ἀθανασίου τὴν καθαρότητα βίᾳ καὶ τυραννίδι συλλαβέσθαι ἐσπούδασαν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὔτε μετὰ πίστεως, οὔθ' ὅλως δικαία γέγονεν ἡ παρ' ἐκείνων κρίσις· διόπερ οὐδὲ θαρρόυντες οἷς ἐδραματούργησαν, οὐδὲ οἷς ἐθρύλησαν κατ' αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ θεωροῦντες ὡς οὐ δύνανται περὶ τούτων ἀποδείξεις ἔχειν ἀληθεῖς, παρόντες εἰς τὴν Σαρδῶν πόλιν, οὐκ ἠθέλησαν εἰς τὴν σύνοδον πάντων τῶν ἁγίων ἐπισκόπων ἀπαντῆσαι· ἐκ δὲ τούτου φανερὰ καὶ δικαία καθέστηκεν ἡ κρίσις τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ καὶ συνεπισκόπου ἡμῶν Ἰουλίου· οὐ γὰρ ἀσκεπτὶ βεβούλευται, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετ' ἐπιμελείας ὥρισεν, ὥστε μηδὲ ὅλως διστάσαι περὶ τῆς κοινωνίας τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ἡμῶν Ἀθανασίου. Εἶχε γὰρ ἐπισκόπων ὀγδοήκοντα ἀληθεῖς μάρτυρας· εἶχε καὶ τοῦτο δίκαιον, ὅτι διὰ τῶν ἀγαπητῶν ἀδελφῶν

ἡμῶν τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ διὰ γραμμάτων μεθώδευσε
 τοὺς περὶ Εὐσέβιον, τοὺς οὐκ ἐπὶ κρίσει, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ βίᾳ μᾶλλον
 ἐπερειδομένους. Ὅθεν οἱ πανταχοῦ πάντες ἐπίσκοποι τὴν
 κοινωνίαν Ἀθανασίου ἐβεβαίωσαν διὰ τὴν καθαρότητα αὐτοῦ.
 Κάκεινο δὲ ὑμῶν ἡ ἀγάπη συνοράτω· ἐπειδὴ εἰς τὴν ἀγίαν
 σύνοδον τὴν ἐν Σαρδικῇ συναχθεῖσαν παρεγένετο, τότε δὴ, καθὰ
 προείπομεν, καὶ διὰ γραμμάτων καὶ δι' ἀγράφων ἐντολῶν
 ὑπεμνήσθησαν οἱ τῆς ἐφ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐκλήθησαν παρ' ἡμῶν ὥστε
 παρῆναι. Ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνοι, ὑπὸ τῆς συνειδήσεως καταγινω-
 σκόμενοι, ἀπρεπέσι χρώμενοι προφάσεσι, φυγοδικεῖν ἤρξαντο.
 Ἡξίου γὰρ τὸν ἀθῶον, ὡς ὑπεύθυνον, ἀπὸ τῆς ἡμετέρας
 κοινωνίας ἐκβάλλεσθαι, οὐ συνορῶντες ὡς ἀπρεπὲς, μᾶλλον
 δὲ ἀδύνατον ἦν τοῦτο. Καὶ τὰ ὑπομνήματα δὲ τὰ ἐν τῇ
 Μαρῳτῇ γενόμενα ὑπὸ παμπονήρων καὶ ἐξωλεστάτων τινῶν
 νεωτέρων, οἷς οὐκ ἂν τις ἐπίστευσεν οὐδὲ τὸν τυχόντα βαθμὸν
 τοῦ κλήρου, συνέστηκε κατὰ μονομέρειαν πεπράχθαι. Οὐτε
 γὰρ ὁ ἀδελφὸς ἡμῶν Ἀθανάσιος ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, οὔτε Μακάριος
 ὁ πρεσβύτερος ὁ κατηγορούμενος ὑπ' αὐτῶν παρῆν. Καὶ ὅμως
 ἡ παρ' αὐτῶν ἐρώτησις, μᾶλλον δὲ ὑποβολὴ ἢ γενομένη, πάσης
 αἰσχύνῃς ἦν μεστή· πῇ μὲν γὰρ ἐθνικοὶ, πῇ δὲ κατηχούμενοι
 ἠρωτῶντο, οὐχ ἵνα ἅπερ ἴσασι εἴπωσιν, ἀλλ' ἵνα ἅπερ παρ'
 αὐτῶν μεμαθήκασιν ψεύσωνται. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ ὑμῶν τῶν πρεσ-
 βυτέρων φροντιζόντων ἐπὶ τῇ ἀπουσίᾳ τοῦ ἡμετέρου ἐπισκόπου,
 καὶ βουλομένων παρῆναι ἐπὶ τῇ ἐξετάσει, καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν
 δεῖξαι, καὶ τὰ ψευδῆ διελέγξαι, οὐδεὶς λόγος γέγονεν· οὐκ
 ἐπέτρεψαν γὰρ ὑμᾶς παρῆναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ μεθ' ὕβρεως ἐξέβαλον. [Qu. om.
 ὑμῶν.]
 Καὶ εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα φανερὰ πᾶσι καθέστηκε καὶ ἐκ τούτων
 ἡ συκοφαντία, ὅμως, ἀναγινωσκομένων τῶν ὑπομνημάτων,
 εὗρομεν αὐτὸν τὸν παμπόνηρον Ἰσχύραν, τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ συκο-
 φαντίᾳ μισθὸν παρ' αὐτῶν λαβόντα τὸ δοκοῦν ὄνομα τῆς
 ἐπισκοπῆς, διελέγχοντα ἑαυτοῦ τὴν συκοφαντίαν. Αὐτὸς γὰρ
 ὁ Ἰσχύρας ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς ὑπομνήμασι διελάλησε, κατ' ἐκείνην
 τὴν ὥραν, ἐν ᾗ Μακάριον ἐληλυθέναι εἰς τὸ κελλίον ἑαυτοῦ
 διεβεβαιούτο, νοσοῦντα τότε κατακεῖσθαι ἑαυτόν· καίτοι τῶν
 περὶ Εὐσέβιον γράψαι τολμησάντων, ἐστάναι τότε τὸν Ἰσχύραν
 καὶ προσφέρειν, ὅτε Μακάριος ἐπέστη. [Qu. αὐτούς.]

APOL. C. ARI.
(Letter II. of
Sardican
Council.)

42. Κακείνη δὲ πᾶσι φανερά καθέστηκεν ἡ συκοφαντία καὶ διαβολή, ἣν ἡτιάσαντο μετὰ ταῦτα. Ἐφασαν γὰρ καὶ κατεβόησαν φόνον δεδρακέναι τὸν Ἀθανάσιον, καὶ ὡς Ἀρσένιον τινα, Μελιτιανὸν ἐπίσκοπον, ἀνηρηκέναι, ἐφ' ᾧ προσποιητῶ στεναγμῷ καὶ πεπλασμένοις δάκρυσιν ὑπεκρίνοντο, καὶ ἡξίου τοῦ ζῶντος ὡς τεθυγκότος τὸ σῶμα ἀποδοθῆναι. Ἀλλ' οὐκ ἄγνωστα γέγονε τὰ σοφίσματα τούτων· ἐγνώσαν γὰρ ἅπαντες ᾤοντες τὸν ἄνθρωπον, καὶ ἐν τοῖς ζῶσιν ἐξετάζεσθαι· καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐώρων ἑαυτοὺς οἱ πρὸς πάντα εὐχερεῖς διελεγχόμενους ἐπὶ τοῖς ψεύσμασι τούτοις· αὐτὸς γὰρ ζῶν ὁ Ἀρσένιος ἐδείκνυνεν ἑαυτὸν μὴ ἀνηρῆσθαι μηδὲ τεθυγκέναι· ὅμως οὐχ ἡσύχασαν, ἀλλ' ἐτέρας συκοφαντίας πρὸς ταῖς προτέραις συκοφαντίαις ἐπέζητουν, ἵνα πάλιν, μηχανησάμενοι, διαβάλλωσι τὸν ἄνθρωπον. Τί οὖν, ἀγαπητοί; Οὐκ ἐταράχθη ὁ ἀδελφὸς ἡμῶν Ἀθανάσιος, ἀλλὰ πάλιν πολλῇ παρρησίᾳ χρώμενος προεκαλεῖτο καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις αὐτοὺς. Καὶ ἡμεῖς δὲ ἠυχόμεθα καὶ προετρεπόμεθα ἐλθεῖν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν κρίσιν, καὶ εἴπερ δύνανται, διελέγξαι. Ὡς τῆς πολλῆς πλεονεξίας· ὡς τῆς δεινῆς ὑπερηφανίας· μᾶλλον δὲ, εἰ δεῖ τάληθες εἰπεῖν, ὡς κακῆς καὶ ὑπευθύνου συνειδήσεως· τοῦτο γὰρ πᾶσι πεφανέρωται. Ὅθεν, ἀγαπητοὶ ἀδελφοί, ὑπομιμνήσκομεν καὶ προτρεπόμεθα ὑμᾶς πρὸ πάντων τὴν ὀρθὴν πίστιν τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας κατέχειν. Πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ καὶ δεινὰ καὶ χαλεπὰ πεπόνθατε, πολλὰς δὲ ὕβρεις καὶ ἀδικίας ὑπέμεινεν ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία· ἀλλ' ὁ ὑπομείνας εἰς τέλος, οὗτος σωθήσεται. Διόπερ, κὰν ἔτι ποιεῖν τολμήσωσι καθ' ὑμῶν, ἡ θλίψις ἀντὶ χαρᾶς ὑμῖν ἔστω· τὰ γὰρ τοιαῦτα παθήματα μέρος ἐστὶ μαρτυρίου· καὶ αἱ τοιαῦται ὑμῶν ὁμολογαί καὶ αἱ βάσανοι οὐκ ἄμισθοι τυγχάνουσιν, ἀλλ' ἀπολήψεσθε παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ τὰ ἔπαθλα. Διότι μάλιστα ἀγωνίζεσθε ὑπὲρ τῆς ὑγιαίνουσας πίστεως, καὶ τῆς καθαρότητος τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ὑμῶν Ἀθανασίου τοῦ συλλειτουργοῦ ἡμῶν. Καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἡμεῖς παρεσιωπήσαμεν, οὐδὲ ἡμελήσαμεν τῆς ὑμῶν ἀμεριμνίας χάριν· ἀλλ' ἐφροντίσαμεν καὶ πεποιήκαμεν ἅπερ ὁ τῆς ἀγάπης λόγος ἀπαιτεῖ. Συμπάσχομεν γὰρ τοῖς πάσχουσιν ἀδελφοῖς ἡμῶν, καὶ τὰ ἐκείνων παθήματα ἴδια ἡγούμεθα, καὶ τοῖς δάκρυσιν ὑμῶν τὰ ὑμέτερα δάκρυα συνемίξαμεν. Οὐχ

ὕμεις δὲ μόνοι πεπόνθατε, ἀδελφοί, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλοὶ ἄλλοι συλλειτουργοὶ ἡμῶν ταῦτα ἐλθόντες ἀπωδύρουτο.

43. Διόπερ ἀνηνέγκαμεν καὶ ἡξιώσαμεν τοὺς εὐσεβεστάτους καὶ θεοφιλεστάτους βασιλέας, ὅπως ἡ φιλανθρωπία αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς ἔτι κάμνοντας καὶ πιεζομένους ἀνεθῆναι κελεύσῃ, καὶ προστάξωσι μηδένα τῶν δικαστῶν, οἷς περὶ μόνων τῶν δημοσίων μέλει προσήκει, μήτε κρίνειν κληρικοὺς, μήτε ὅλως τοῦ λοιποῦ προφάσει τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἐπιχειρεῖν τι κατὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν, ἀλλ' ἵνα ἕκαστος χωρὶς τινος διωγμοῦ, χωρὶς τινος βίας καὶ πλεονεξίας, ὡς εὐχεται καὶ βούλεται, ζῇ, καὶ μεθ' ἡσυχίας καὶ εἰρήνης τὴν καθολικὴν καὶ ἀποστολικὴν πίστιν μετέρχεται. Γρηγόριος μέντοι ὁ παρανόμως παρὰ τῶν αἵρετικῶν λεγόμενος κατασταθῆναι, καὶ εἰς τὴν ὑμετέραν πόλιν παρ' αὐτῶν ἀποσταλεῖς, καὶ τοῦτο γὰρ γινωσκέτω ὑμῶν ἡ ὁμοψυχία, ὅτι κρίσει τῆς ἱερᾶς πάσης συνόδου καθηρέθῃ, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα οὐδεπώποτε οὐδὲ ὡς ἐπίσκοπος ὅλως γενόμενος ἐνομίσθῃ. Χαίρετε τοίνυν ἀπολαμβάνοντες ἑαυτῶν τὸν ἐπίσκοπον Ἀθανάσιον· διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ μετ' εἰρήνης αὐτὸν ἀπελύσαμεν. Ὅθεν καὶ παραινοῦμεν πᾶσι τοῖς διὰ φόβον ἢ διὰ περιδρομὴν τινων κοινωνήσασιν Γρηγορίῳ, ἵνα νῦν, ὑπομνησθέντες καὶ προτραπέντες, καὶ ἀναπεισθέντες παρ' ἡμῶν, παύσωνται τῆς πρὸς ἐκείνουν μυσαρᾶς κοινωνίας, καὶ λοιπὸν ἑαυτοὺς συνάψωσι τῇ καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ. Τίνα δέ ἐστι τὰ παρὰ τῆς ἀγίας συνόδου δογματισθέντα κατὰ Θεοδώρου, καὶ Ναρκίσσου, καὶ Στεφάνου, καὶ Ἀκακίου, καὶ Μηνοφάντου, καὶ Οὐρσακίου, καὶ Οὐάλεντος, καὶ Γεωργίου, τῶν προΐσταμένων τῆς Ἀρειανῆς αἵρέσεως, καὶ πλημμελησάντων καθ' ὑμῶν καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐκκλησιῶν, γνῶσεσθε ἐκ τῶν ὑποτεταγμένων· ἀπεστείλαμεν γὰρ ὑμῖν, ἵνα καὶ ἡ ὑμετέρα θεοσέβεια σύμψηφος τοῖς παρ' ἡμῶν ὀρισθεῖσι γένηται, καὶ ἐκ τούτων γνῶτε ὅτι ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία οὐ παρορᾷ τοὺς εἰς αὐτὴν πλημμελούοντας.

Ἡ ἀγία Σύνοδος ἡ κατὰ Θεοῦ χάριν ἐν Σαρδικῇ συναχθεῖσα τοῖς ἀπανταχοῦ ἐπισκόποις καὶ συλλειτουργοῖς τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀγαπητοῖς ἀδελφοῖς, ἐν Κυρίῳ χαίρειν.

44. Πολλὰ μὲν καὶ πολλάκις ἐτόλμησαν οἱ Ἀρειομανῖται

APOL. C. ARI.
(Letter III.
or Encyclical
of Sardican
Council.)

Cp. Hilar.
Fragm. ii.

κατὰ τῶν δούλων τοῦ Θεοῦ τῶν τὴν πίστιν φυλαττόντων τὴν ὀρθήν· νόθον γὰρ ὑποβάλλοντες διδασκαλίαν, τοὺς ὀρθοδόξους ἐλαύνειν ἐπειράθησαν· τοσοῦτον δὲ λοιπὸν κατεπανέστησαν κατὰ τῆς πίστεως, ὥς μηδὲ τὴν εὐσέβειαν τῶν εὐλαβεστάτων βασιλέων λαθεῖν. Τοιγαροῦν τῆς χάριτος τοῦ Θεοῦ συνεργούσης, καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ εὐσεβεστάτοι βασιλεῖς συνήγαγον ἡμᾶς ἐκ διαφόρων ἐπαρχιῶν καὶ πόλεων, καὶ τὴν ἁγίαν ταύτην σύνοδον ἐν τῇ Σαρδῶν πόλει γενέσθαι δεδώκασιν, ἵνα πᾶσα μὲν διχόνοια περιαιρεθῇ, πάσης δὲ κακοπιστίας ἐξελαθείσης, ἢ εἰς Χριστὸν εὐσέβεια μόνῃ παρὰ πάντων φυλάττηται. Ἦλθον γὰρ καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐφ᾽ αὐτῆς ἐπίσκοποι, προτραπέντες καὶ αὐτοὶ παρὰ τῶν εὐσεβεστάτων βασιλέων, μάλιστα δι' ἅπερ ἐθρύλλουν πολλάκις περὶ τῶν ἀγαπητῶν ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν καὶ συλλειτουργῶν, Ἀθανασίου ἐπισκόπου τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας, καὶ Μαρκέλλου ἐπισκόπου τῆς Ἀγκυρογαλατίας. Ἴσως γὰρ καὶ εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐφθασαν αὐτῶν αἱ διαβολαί· καὶ ἴσως καὶ τὰς ὑμετέρας ἀκοὰς ἐπεχείρησαν παρασαλεύσαι, ἵνα κατὰ μὲν τῶν ἀθῶων ἃ λέγουσι πιστεύσητε, τὴν δὲ τῆς μοχθηρᾶς αὐτῶν αἱρέσεως ὑπόνοιαν ἐπικρύψωσιν. Ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐπὶ πολὺ ταῦτα ποιεῖν συνεχωρήθησαν. Ἔστι γὰρ ὁ προϋστάμενος τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν Κύριος, ὃ ὑπὲρ τούτων καὶ πάντων ἡμῶν θάνατον ὑπομείνας, καὶ δι' ἑαυτοῦ τὴν εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀνοδὸν πᾶσιν ἡμῖν δεδωκώς. Πάλαι μὲν οὖν γραψάντων τῶν περὶ Εὐσέβιον Ἰουλίῳ τῷ συλλειτουργῷ ἡμῶν τῷ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας ἐπισκόπῳ κατὰ τῶν προειρημένων συλλειτουργῶν ἡμῶν, λέγομεν δὴ Ἀθανασίου, καὶ Μαρκέλλου, καὶ Ἀσκληπᾶ, ἔγραψαν καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων μερῶν ἐπίσκοποι, μαρτυροῦντες μὲν τῇ καθαρότητι τοῦ συλλειτουργοῦ ἡμῶν Ἀθανασίου, τὰ δὲ παρὰ τῶν περὶ Εὐσέβιον γενόμενα μηδὲν ἕτερον ἢ ψευδῆ καὶ συκοφαντίας εἶναι μεστά· καὶ εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἐκ τοῦ κληθέντας αὐτοὺς παρὰ τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ ἡμῶν καὶ συλλειτουργοῦ Ἰουλίου μὴ ἀπαντήσαι, καὶ ἐκ τῶν γραφέντων παρὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἰουλίου φανερὰ τούτων ἢ συκοφαντία πέφηεν· ἦλθον γὰρ ἂν, εἴπερ ἐθάρρουν οἷς ἔπραξαν καὶ πεποιήκασιν κατὰ τῶν συλλειτουργῶν ἡμῶν· ὅμως καὶ ἐξ ὧν πεποιήκασιν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἀγίᾳ καὶ μεγάλῃ συνόδῳ φανερωτέραν τὴν ἑαυτῶν συσκευὴν ἀπέδειξαν.

c. 20.

c. 25.

Ἀπαντήσαντες γὰρ εἰς τὴν Σαρδῶν πόλιν, ἰδόντες τοὺς ἀδελ-
 φούς ἡμῶν Ἀθανάσιον, καὶ Μάρκελλον, καὶ Ἀσκληπᾶν, καὶ
 τοὺς ἄλλους, ἐφοβήθησαν εἰς κρίσιν. ἔλθεῖν, καὶ οὐχ ἅπαξ, Hist. Ari. 16.
 οὐδὲ δεύτερον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλάκις κληθέντες, οὐκ ἐπήκουσαν
 ταῖς κλήσεσι· καίτοι πάντων ἡμῶν συνελθόντων ἐπισκόπων,
 καὶ μάλιστα τοῦ εὐηροτάτου Ὁσίου, τοῦ καὶ διὰ τὸν χρόνον c. 89.
 καὶ τὴν ὁμολογίαν καὶ διὰ τὸ τοσοῦτον κάματος ὑπομεμενηκένοι Apol. de
 πάσης αἰδοῦς ἀξίου τυγχάνοντος, ἀναμενόντων καὶ προτρεπο- Fuga, 5.
 μένων αὐτοὺς εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν κρίσιν, ἵν' ἅπερ ἀπόντων τῶν Hist. Ari.
 συλλειτουργῶν ἡμῶν ἐθρύλλησαν καὶ ἔγραψαν κατ' αὐτῶν, 42-45.
 ταῦτα παρόντες ἐλέγξαι δυνηθῶσιν· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἦλθον κληθέντες,
 καθάπερ προείπομεν, δεικνύντες καὶ ἐκ τούτων τὴν συκοφαντίαν
 ἑαυτῶν, καὶ μονονουχί τὴν ἐπιβουλήν καὶ συσκευὴν, ἣν πεποιή-
 κασι, βοῶντες διὰ τῆς παραιτήσεως. Οἱ γὰρ θαρρόντες οἷς
 λέγουσι, τούτοις καὶ εἰς πρόσωπον συστήναι δύνανται. Ἐπειδὴ
 δὲ οὐκ ἀπήντησαν, νομίζομεν λοιπὸν μηδὲνα ἀγνοεῖν, κἂν ἐκεῖνοι
 πάλιν κακουργεῖν ἐθέλωσιν, ὅτι μηδὲν ἔχοντες κατὰ τῶν συλλει-
 ουργῶν ἡμῶν ἐλέγξαι, τούτους μὲν διαβάλλουσιν ἀπόντας,
 παρόντας δὲ φεύγουσιν.

45. Ἐφυγον γὰρ, ἀγαπητοὶ ἀδελφοί, οὐ μόνον διὰ τὴν
 τούτων συκοφαντίαν, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ διαφόροις ἐγκα-
 λούντας αὐτοῖς ἐθεώρουν ἀπαντήσαντας· δεσμὰ γὰρ ἦν καὶ
 σιδηρα προφερόμενα, ἀπ' ἐξοριστίας ἐπανελθόντες ἄνθρωποι,
 καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἔτι κατεχομένων εἰς ἐξοριστείαν ἐλθόντες ἦσαν
 συλλειτουργοὶ συγγενεῖς· καὶ φίλοι δὲ τῶν δι' αὐτῶν ἀπο-
 θανόντων παρεγένοντο· καὶ τὸ μέγιστον, ἐπίσκοποι παρήσαν,
 ὧν ὁ μὲν τὰ σιδηρα καὶ τὰς ἀλύσεις προέφερεν, ἃς δι' αὐτοὺς Cp. Apol. de
 ἐφόρεσεν, οἱ δὲ τὸν ἐκ τῆς διαβολῆς αὐτῶν θάνατον ἐμαρτύ- Fuga, 3.
 ρατο. Εἰς τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἐφθασαν ἀπονοίας, ὥς καὶ ἐπισκό-
 πους ἐπιχειρεῖν ἀνελεῖν, καὶ ἀνεῖλον ἂν, εἰ μὴ ἐξέφυγον τὰς
 χεῖρας αὐτῶν· ἀπέθανεν οὖν ὁ συλλειτουργγὸς ἡμῶν ὁ μακαρίτης
 Θεόδουλος φεύγων αὐτῶν τὴν διαβολήν, κεκέλευστο γὰρ ἐκ Cp. Hist. Ari.
 διαβολῆς αὐτῶν ἀποθανεῖν. Ἄλλοι δὲ πληγὰς ξιφῶν ἐπε- 19.
 δεικνυντο· ἄλλοι δὲ λιμὸν ὑπομεμενηκένοι παρ' αὐτῶν
 ἀπωδύροντο· καὶ ταῦτα οὐχ οἱ τυχόντες ἐμαρτύρουν ἄνθρω-
 ποι, ἀλλ' ἐκκλησίαι ὅλαι ἦσαν, ὑπὲρ ὧν οἱ ἀπαντήσαντες

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καὶ πρεσβεύοντες ἐδίδασκον στρατιώτας ξιφήρεις, ὄχλους μετὰ ῥοπάλων, δικαστῶν ἀπειλὰς, πλαστῶν γραμμάτων ὑποβολάς. Ἀνεγνώσθη γὰρ γράμματα τῶν περὶ Θεόγνιου πλαττομένων κατὰ τῶν συλλειτουργῶν ἡμῶν Ἀθανασίου, καὶ Μαρκέλλου, καὶ Ἀσκληπᾶ, ἵνα καὶ βασιλέας κατ' αὐτῶν κινήσωσι· καὶ ταῦτα ἤλεγξαν οἱ γενόμενοι τότε διάκονοι Θεογνίου. Πρὸς τούτων, παρθένων γυμνάσεις, ἐμπρησμοὺς ἐκκλησιῶν, φυλακὰς κατὰ τῶν λειτουργῶν, καὶ ταῦτα πάντα δι' οὐδὲν ἕτερον, ἢ διὰ τὴν δυσώνυμον αἵρεσιν τῶν Ἀρειομανιτῶν· οἱ γὰρ παραιτούμενοι τὴν πρὸς τούτους κοινωνίαν ἀνάγκην εἶχον πειράσθαι τούτων. Ταῦτα τοίνυν συνορῶντες, εἰς στενὸν εἶχον τὰ τῆς προαιρέσεως· ἡσυχύνοντο μὲν γὰρ ὁμολογεῖν ἃ δεδράκασι. Διὰ δὲ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι λοιπὸν ἔτι ταῦτα κρύπτεσθαι, ἀπήντησαν εἰς τὴν Σαρδῶν πόλιν, ἵνα διὰ τῆς ἀφίξεως ὑπόνοιαν ὥς μὴ πλημμελήσαντες δόξωσιν ἀποφέρεσθαι. Ἰδόντες δὲ τοὺς παρ' αὐτῶν συκοφαντηθέντας, καὶ τοὺς παρ' αὐτῶν παθόντας, τοὺς κατηγοροὺς, τοὺς ἐλέγχους πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ἔχοντες, ἐλθεῖν οὐκ ἐβούλοντο κληθέντες, καίτοι τῶν συλλειτουργῶν ἡμῶν Ἀθανασίου, καὶ Μαρκέλλου, καὶ Ἀσκληπᾶ, πολλῇ τῇ παρῴρησίᾳ χρωμένων, ἀποδουρομένων, καὶ ἐπικειμένων, καὶ προκαλουμένων αὐτοὺς, καὶ ἐπαγγελιομένων μὴ μόνον ἐλέγχειν τὴν συκοφαντίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ δεικνύναι ὅσα κατὰ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν αὐτῶν ἐπλημμέλησαν. Οἱ δὲ τοσούτῳ φόβῳ τοῦ συνειδότης κατεσχέθησαν, ὥς φυγεῖν αὐτοὺς, καὶ διὰ τῆς φυγῆς τὴν συκοφαντίαν αὐτῶν ἐλέγξαι, καὶ ἅπερ ἐπλημμέλησαν, διὰ τὸν δρασμὸν ὁμολογῆσαι.

46. Εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα τοίνυν οὐ μόνον ἐκ τῶν προτέρων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τούτων, αὐτῶν ἢ κακοτροπία δέικνυται καὶ συκοφαντία, ὅμως ἵνα μηδὲ ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς πρόφασιν τινα ἑτέρας κακουργίας πορίσασθαι δυνηθῶσιν, ἐσκεψάμεθα κατὰ τὸν τῆς ἀληθείας λόγον τὰ παρ' ἐκείνων δραματουργηθέντα ἐξετάσαι· καὶ τοῦτο προθέμενοι, εὖρομεν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐκ τῶν πραχθέντων συκοφάντας, καὶ μηδὲν ἕτερον ἢ ἐπιβουλήν κατὰ τῶν συλλειτουργῶν ἡμῶν πεποιηκότας· ὃν γὰρ ἔλεγον παρὰ Ἀθανασίου πεφονεῦσθαι Ἀρσένιον, οὗτος ζῇ, καὶ ἐν τοῖς

ζῶσιν ἐξετάζεται. Ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου καὶ τὰ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων
 θρυλληθέντα παρ' αὐτῶν φαίνεται πλάσματα. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ
 καὶ περὶ ποτηρίου ἐθρύλλουν, ὥς κλασθέντος παρὰ Μακαρίου
 τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου Ἀθανασίου, ἐμαρτύρησαν μὲν οἱ παραγενό-
 μενοι ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας, καὶ Μαρεώτου καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν
 τόπων, ὅτι μὴδὲν τούτων πέπρακται· καὶ οἱ ἐπίσκοποι δὲ
 γράφοντες οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Αἰγύπτου πρὸς Ἰούλιον τὸν συλλει-
 τουργὸν ἡμῶν ἱκανῶς διεβεβαίουτο μὴδὲ ὑπόνοιαν ὅλως c. 11.
 τοιαύτην ἐκεῖ γεγενῆσθαι. Ἄλλως τε ἂν λέγουσιν ὑπομνή-
 ματα ἔχειν κατ' αὐτοῦ κατὰ μονομέρειαν συνέστηκε γεγε-
 νῆσθαι· καὶ ὅμως καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασι τούτοις, ἐθνικοὶ
 καὶ κατηχούμενοι ἠρωτῶντο· ἐξ ὧν εἰς κατηχούμενος ἐρωτῶ- c. 28, 83.
 μενος ἔφασκεν ἔνδον εἶναι, ὅτε ὁ Μακάριος ἐπέστη τῷ τόπῳ·
 καὶ ἕτερος ἐρωτῶμενος ἔλεγε τὸν θρυλλούμενον παρ' αὐτῶν
 Ἰσχύραν νοσοῦντα τότε κατακεῖσθαι ἐν κελλίῳ· ὥς ἀπὸ τού-
 του φαίνεσθαι μὴδὲ ὅλως γεγενῆσθαι τι τῶν μυστηρίων, διὰ τὸ
 τοὺς κατηχουμένους ἔνδον εἶναι, καὶ τὸν Ἰσχύραν μὴ παρῆναι,
 ἀλλὰ νοσοῦντα κατακεῖσθαι. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ παμπό-
 νηρος Ἰσχύρας, ψευδόμενος ἐπὶ τῷ εἰρηκέναι κεκαυκέναι τὸν
 Ἀθανασίον τινα τῶν θείων βιβλίων καὶ διηλέγχθαι, ὡμολό-
 γησε κατ' ἐκείνο καιροῦ νοσεῖν ὅτε Μακάριος παρῆν, καὶ
 κατακεῖσθαι, ὥς καὶ ἐκ τούτου συκοφαντήν αὐτὸν εἶναι.
 Ἀμέλει τῆς συκοφαντίας ταύτης μισθὸν αὐτῷ τῷ Ἰσχύρῳ
 δεδώκασιν ἐπισκοπῆς ὄνομα, τῷ μὴδὲ πρεσβυτέρῳ τυγχά-
 νοντι. Ἀπαντήσαντες γὰρ δύο πρεσβύτεροι σὺν Μελιτίῳ c. 11, 28, 63,
 ποτὲ γενόμενοι, ὕστερον δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ μακαρίτου Ἀλεξάνδρου 72, 74.
 τοῦ γενομένου ἐπισκόπου Ἀλεξανδρείας δεχθέντες, καὶ νῦν
 σὺν Ἀθανασίῳ ὄντες, ἐμαρτύρησαν μὴδεπώποτε τοῦτον πρε-
 σβύτερον Μελιτίου γεγενῆσθαι, μὴδὲ ὅλως ἐσχηκέναι Μελί-
 τιον εἰς τὸν Μαρεώτην ἐκκλησίαν ἢ λειτουργόν· καὶ ὅμως
 τὸν μὴδὲ πρεσβύτερον τυγχάνοντα νῦν ὥς ἐπίσκοπον ἡγαγον, c. 41.
 ἵνα τῷ ὀνόματι τούτῳ δόξῃσι τῇ συκοφαντίᾳ καταπλήττειν
 τοὺς ἀκούοντας.

47. Ἀνεγνώσθη δὲ καὶ τὸ σύγγραμμα τοῦ συλλειτουργοῦ
 Μαρκέλλου, καὶ εὐρέθη τῶν περὶ Εὐσέβιον ἢ κακοτεχνία. Ἄ c. 32.
 γὰρ ὥς ζητῶν ὁ Μάρκελλος εἶρηκε, ταῦτα ὥς ὁμολογούμενα

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διαβεβλήκασιν. Ἀνεγνώσθη γοῦν τὰ ἐξῆς, καὶ τὰ πρὸ αὐτῶν τῶν ζητημάτων, καὶ ὀρθή ἢ πίστις τοῦ ἀνδρὸς εὐρέθη· οὔτε γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς ἁγίας Μαρίας, ὥς αὐτοὶ διεβεβαιώσαντο, ἀρχὴν ἐδίδου τῷ Θεοῦ Λόγῳ, οὔτε τέλος ἔχειν τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀναρχον καὶ ἀτελεύτητον εἶναι τὴν τούτου ἔγραψε. Καὶ Ἀσκληπᾶς δὲ ὁ συλλειτουργὸς προήνεγκεν ὑπομνήματα γενόμενα ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ, παρόντων τῶν κατηγορῶν, καὶ Εὐσεβίου τοῦ ἀπὸ Καισαρείας· καὶ ἐκ τῶν αποφάσεων τῶν δικασάντων ἐπισκόπων ἔδειξεν ἑαυτὸν ἀθῶον εἶναι. Εἰκότως οὖν, ἀγαπητοὶ ἀδελφοί, καλούμενοι πολλάκις οὐχ ὑπήκουσαν, εἰκότως ἔφυγον. Ὑπὸ γὰρ τοῦ συνειδότης ἔλαυνόμενοι, φυγῇ τὰς συκοφαντίας ἑαυτῶν ἐβεβαίωσαν, καὶ πιστευθῆναι κατ' αὐτῶν πεποιήκασιν, ἃ παρόντες οἱ κατηγοροῦντες ἔλεγον καὶ ἐπεδείκνυν. Ἐπεὶ τοίνυν πρὸς τούτοις πᾶσι καὶ τοὺς πάλαι καθαιρεθέντας καὶ ἐκβληθέντας διὰ τὴν Ἀρείου αἵρεσιν οὐ μόνον ἐδέξαντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς μείζονα βαθμὸν προήγαγον, διακόνους μὲν εἰς πρεσβυτέριον, ἀπὸ δὲ πρεσβυτέρων εἰς ἐπισκόπους, δι' οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἢ ἵνα τὴν ἀσέβειαν διασπείραι καὶ πλατῦναι δυνηθῶσι, καὶ τὴν εὐσεβῇ διαφθείρωσι πίστιν.

Apol. de
Fuga, 3.

48. Εἰσὶ δὲ τούτων μετὰ τοὺς περὶ Εὐσέβιον νῦν ἑξαρχοὶ Θεόδωρος ὁ ἀπὸ Ἡρακλείας, Νάρκισσος ὁ ἀπὸ Νερωνιάδος τῆς Κιλικίας, Στέφανος ὁ ἀπὸ Ἀντιοχείας, Γεώργιος ὁ ἀπὸ Λαοδικείας, Ἀκάκιος ὁ ἀπὸ Καισαρείας τῆς Παλαιστίνης, Μηνόφαντος ἀπὸ Ἐφέσου τῆς Ἀσίας, Οὐρσάκιος ὁ ἀπὸ Σιγγιδίου τῆς Μυσίας, Οὐάλης ἀπὸ Μουρσῶν τῆς Παννουρίας· καὶ γὰρ οὗτοι τοὺς σὺν αὐτοῖς ἐλθόντας ἀπὸ τῆς ἐφ᾽ οὐκ ἐπέτρεπον οὔτε εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν σύνοδον εἰσελθεῖν, οὔτε ὅλως εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ παραβάλλειν. Καὶ ἐρχόμενοι δὲ εἰς τὴν Σαρδικὴν, κατὰ τόπους συνόδους ἐποιοῦντο πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς, καὶ συνθήκας μετὰ ἀπειλῶν· ὥστε ἐλθόντας αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν Σαρδικὴν, μηδὲ ὅλως εἰς τὴν κρίσιν ἐλθεῖν, μηδ' ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συνελθεῖν τῇ ἁγίᾳ συνόδῳ, ἀλλὰ μόνον ἐλθόντας, καὶ ἀφοσιώσει τὴν ἐπιδημίαν ἑαυτῶν ἐπιδειξαμένους, ταχέως φυγεῖν. Ταῦτα γὰρ γινῶναι δεδυνήμεθα παρὰ τῶν συλλειτουργῶν ἡμῶν Μακαρίου ἀπὸ Παλαιστίνης καὶ Ἀστερίου ἀπὸ Ἀραβίας, τῶν ἐλθόντων σὺν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἀναχωρησάντων ἀπὸ τῆς ἀπιστίας αὐτῶν. Οὗτοι

Hist. Ari. 15,
18.

γὰρ, ἐλθόντες εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν σύνοδον, τὴν μὲν βίαν ἣν ἐπαθον ἀπωδύροντο, οὐδὲν δὲ παρ' αὐτοῖς ὀρθὸν ἔλεγον πράττεσθαι, προστιθέντες καὶ τοῦτο, ὥς ἄρα εἶεν ἐκεῖ πολλοὶ τῆς ὀρθῆς ἀντιποιούμενοι δόξης, καὶ κωλνόμενοι παρ' αὐτῶν ἔλθειν ἐνταῦθα, διὰ τὸ ἀπειλεῖν καὶ ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι κατὰ τῶν βουλομένων ἀναχωρεῖν ἀπ' αὐτῶν. Τούτου γοῦν ἕνεκα καὶ ἐν ἐνὶ οἴκῳ πάντας μέιναι ἐσπούδασαν, μηδὲ τὸ βραχύτατον ἰδιάζειν αὐτοὺς ἐπιτρέψαντες.

49. Ἐπεὶ οὖν οὐκ ἔδει παρασιωπῆσαι, οὐδὲ ἀνεκδιηγῆτους εἶσαι τὰς συκοφαντίας, τὰ δεσμὰ, τοὺς φόβους, τὰς πληγὰς, τὰς περὶ τῶν πλαστῶν ἐπιστολῶν συσκευὰς, τὰς αἰκίας, τὰς γυμνώσεις τῶν παρθένων, τὰς ἐξοριστίας, τὰς καταλύσεις τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, τοὺς ἐμπρησμοὺς, τὰς μεταθέσεις ἀπὸ μικρῶν Cp. c. 6. πόλεων εἰς μέζοντας παροικίας, καὶ πρό γε πάντων, τὴν κατὰ τῆς ὀρθῆς πίστεως ἐπαναστάσαν δυσώνυμον Ἀρειανὴν αἵρεσιν δι' αὐτῶν· τούτου ἕνεκεν, τοὺς μὲν ἀγαπητοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ἡμῶν καὶ συλλειτουργοὺς Ἀθανάσιον, καὶ Μάρκελλον, καὶ Ἀσκληπᾶν, καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτοῖς συλλειτουργοῦντας τῷ Κυρίῳ, ἀθώους καὶ καθαροὺς εἶναι ἀπεφηνάμεθα, γράψαντες καὶ εἰς τὴν ἐκάστου παροικίαν, ὥστε γινώσκειν ἐκάστης ἐκκλησίας τοὺς λαοὺς τοῦ ἰδίου ἐπισκόπου τὴν καθαρότητα, καὶ τοῦτον μὲν ἔχειν ἐπίσκοπον καὶ προσδοκᾶν· τοὺς δὲ εἰς τὰς ἐκκλησίας Hist. Ari. 17. αὐτῶν ἐπελθόντας δίκην λύκων, Γρηγόριον τὸν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, Cp. Acts xx. 29. Βασιλείον τὸν ἐν Ἀγκύρᾳ, καὶ Κυνντιανὸν τὸν ἐν Γάζῃ, τούτους μηδὲ ἐπισκόπους ὀνομάζειν, μηδὲ ὅλως κοινωνίαν τινὰ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔχειν, μηδὲ δέχεσθαι τινα παρὰ τούτων γράμματα, μηδὲ γράφειν πρὸς αὐτούς· τοὺς δὲ γε περὶ Θεόδωρον, καὶ Νάρκισσον, καὶ Ἀκάκιον, καὶ Στέφανον, καὶ Οὐρσάκιον, καὶ Οὐάλεντᾶ, καὶ Μηνόφαντον, καὶ Γεώργιον, εἰ καὶ φοβηθεῖς μὴ Cp. c. 8, De Synod. 17. παρεγένετο ἀπὸ τῆς ἐφ᾽ αὐτοὺς, ὅμως διὰ τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ μακαρίτου Ἀλεξάνδρου καθηρῆσθαι αὐτὸν, καὶ διὰ τὸ εἶναι καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ τούτους τῆς Ἀρείου μανίας, καὶ διὰ τὰ ἐπενεχθέντα αὐτοῖς ἐγκλήματα, τούτους παμψηφὶ καθεῖλεν ἡ ἁγία σύνοδος ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς· καὶ ἐκρίναμεν μὴ μόνον αὐτοὺς ἐπισκόπους μὴ εἶναι, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ κοινωνίας μετὰ τῶν πιστῶν αὐτοὺς καταξιῶσθαι. Τοὺς γὰρ χωρίζοντας τὸν ὕδιν, καὶ ἀπαλλοτριούντας

- APOL. C. ARI. τὸν Λόγον ἀπὸ τοῦ Πατρὸς, χωρίζεσθαι τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλη-
 (Letter III. σίας προσήκει, καὶ ἁλλοτρίους εἶναι τοῦ Χριστιανῶν ὀνόματος.
 of Sardican
 Council.) "Εστῶσαν τοίνυν ὑμῖν ἀνάθεμα, διὰ τὸ 'κεκαπηλευκέναι τὸν
 2 Cor. ii. 17. λόγον' τῆς ἀληθείας· ἀποστολικόν ἐστι τὸ παράγγελμα· 'Εἴ τις
 Gal. i. 9. ὑμᾶς εὐαγγελίζεται παρ' ὃ παρελάβετε, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.' Τού-
 2 Cor. vi. 14, τοις μηδένα κοινωνεῖν παραγγείλατε· 'οὐδεμία γὰρ κοινωνία
 15. φωτὶ πρὸς σκότος'· τούτους πάντας μακρὰν ποιεῖτε· 'οὐδεμία γὰρ
 συμφωνία Χριστῷ πρὸς Βελίαρ.' Καὶ φυλάσασθε, ἀγαπητοί,
 μήτε γράφειν πρὸς αὐτοὺς, μήτε γράμματα παρ' αὐτῶν δέχε-
 σθαι. Σπουδάσατε δὲ μᾶλλον καὶ ὑμεῖς, ἀδελφοί καὶ συλλει-
 1 Cor. v. 3. τουργοί, 'ὡς τῷ πνεύματι παρόντες' τῇ συνόδῳ ἡμῶν, συνεπιψη-
 φίσασθαι δι' ὑπογραφῆς ἡμετέρας, ὑπὲρ τοῦ παρὰ πάντων τῶν
 πανταχοῦ συλλειτουργῶν τὴν ὁμοφωνίαν διασώζεσθαι. 'Ἡ θεία
 πρόνοια καθωσιωμένους ὑμᾶς καὶ εὐθυμοῦντας διαφυλάττοι, ἀγα-
 πητοί ἀδελφοί. "Οσιος ἐπίσκοπος ὑπέγραψα, καὶ οὕτω πάντες.

Ταῦτα γράψασα ἡ ἐν Σαρδικῇ σύνοδος ἀπέστειλε καὶ πρὸς
 τοὺς μὴ δυνηθέντας ἀπαντῆσαι· καὶ γεγόνασι καὶ αὐτοὶ σύμφη-
 φοι τοῖς κριθεῖσι. Τῶν δὲ ἐν τῇ συνόδῳ γραψάντων καὶ τῶν
 ἄλλων ἐπισκόπων τὰ ὀνόματά ἐστι τάδε·

50. "Οσιος ἀπὸ Σπανίας, 'Ιούλιος 'Ρώμης δι' 'Αρχιδάμου
 καὶ Φιλοξένου πρεσβυτέρων, Πρωτογένης Σαρδικῆς, Γανδέν-
 τιος, Μακεδόνιος, Σευῆρος, Πραιτέξτατος, Οὐρσίκιος, Λού-
 κιλλος, Εὐγένιος, Βιτάλιος, Καλεπόδιος, Φλωρέντιος, Βάσσος,
 Οὐῖνκέντιος, Στερκόριος, Παλλάδιος, Δομιτιανὸς, Χαλβίς,
 Γερόντιος, Προτάσιος, Εὐλογος, Πορφύριος, Διόσκορος, Ζώ-
 σιμος, 'Ιανουάριος, Ζώσιμος, 'Αλέξανδρος, Εὐτύχιος, Σωκράτης,
 Διδώωρος, Μαρτύριος, Εὐθήριος, Εὐκαρπος, 'Αθηνόωρος, Εἰρη-
 ναῖος, 'Ιουλιανὸς, 'Αλύπιος, 'Ιωνᾶς, 'Αέτιος, 'Ρεστιτούτος, Μαρ-
 κελλῖνος, 'Απριανὸς, Βιτάλιος, Οὐάλης, 'Ερμογένης, Κάστος,
 Δομετιανὸς, Φορτουνάτιος, Μάρκος, 'Αννιανὸς, 'Ηλιόδωρος,
 Μουσαῖος, 'Αστέριος, Παρηγόριος, Πλούταρχος, 'Υμέναιος,
 'Αθανάσιος, Λούκιος, 'Αμάντιος, 'Αρειος, 'Ασκληπιὸς, Διονύ-
 σιος, Μάξιμος, Τρύφων, 'Αλέξανδρος, 'Αντίγονος, Αἰλιανὸς,
 Πέτρος, Σύμφωρος, Μουσώνιος, Εὐτυχος, Φιλολόγιος, Σπουδά-
 σιος, Ζώσιμος, Πατρικίος, 'Αδόλιος, Σαπρίκιος·

Γαλλίας, Μαξιμιανός, Βηρίσιμος, Βήκτουρος, Βαλεντίνος, Δισιδέριος, Εὐλόγιος, Σαρβάτιος, Δυσκόλιος, Σουπερίωρ, Μερκούριος, Δηκλοπετὸς, Εὐσέβιος, Σεβηρίνος, Σάτυρος, Μαρτίνος, Παῦλος, Ὀπτατιανός, Νικάσιος, Βίκτωρ, Σεμπρόνιος, Βαλερίνος, Πακάτος, Ἰεσσῆς, Ἀρίστων, Σιμπλίκιος, Μετιανός, Ἀμαντος, Ἀμιλλιανός, Ἰουστινιανός, Βικτωρίνος, Σατορνίλος, Ἀβουνδάντιος, Δωνατιανός, Μάξιμος·

Ἀφρικῆς, Νέσσος, Γράτος, Μεγάσιος, Κολδαῖος, Ῥογατιανός, Κονσόρτιος, Ῥουφίνος, Μαννίνος, Κεσσιλιανός, Ἐρεννιανός, Μαρριανός, Οὐαλέριος, Δυνάμιος, Μιζόνιος, Ἰούστος, Κελεστίνος, Κυπριανός, Βίκτωρ, Ὀνοράτος, Μαρῖνος, Παντάγαθος, Φήλιξ, Βαῦδιος, Λίβερ, Καπίτων, Μινερβάλις, Κόσμος, Βίκτωρ, Ἐσπερίων, Φήλιξ, Σεβηριανός, Ὀπτάντιος, Ἐσπερος, Φιδέντιος, Σαλούστιος, Πασχάσιος·

Αἰγύπτου, Λιβούρνιος, Ἀμάντιος, Φήλιξ, Ἰσχυράμμων, Ῥωμῦλος, Τιβερίνος, Κονσόρτιος, Ἡρακλείδης, Φορτουνάτιος, Διόσκορος, Φορτουνатиανός, Βαστάμων, Δάτυλλος, Ἀνδρέας, Σερῆνος, Ἀρείος, Θεόδωρος, Εὐαγόρας, Ἡλίας, Τιμόθεος, Ὠρίων, Ἀνδρόνικος, Παφνούτιος, Ἑρμείας, Ἀραβίων, Ψενόσιρις, Ἀπολλώνιος, Μοῦϊς, Σαραπάμπων, Φίλων, Φίλιππος, Ἀπολλώνιος, Παφνούτιος, Παῦλος, Διόσκορος, Νειλάμμων, Σερῆνος, Ἀκύλας, Ἀωτᾶς, Ἀρποκρατῶν, Ἰσάκ, Θεόδωρος, Ἀπολλῶς, Ἀμμωνιανός, Νεῖλος, Ἡράκλειος, Ἀρείων, Ἀθὰς, Ἀρσένιος, Ἀγαθάμμων, Θέων, Ἀπολλώνιος, Ἡλίας, Πανινούθιος, Ἀνδραγάθιος, Νεμεσίων, Σαραπίων, Ἀμμώνιος, Ἀμμώνιος, Ξένων, Γερόντιος, Κύντος, Λεωνίδης, Σεμπρωνιανός, Φίλων, Ἡρακλείδης, Ἰέρακς, Ῥούφος, Πασόφιος, Μακεδόνιος, Ἀπολλόδωρος, Φλαβιανός, Ψάης, Σύρους, Ἀπφοῦς, Σαραπίων, Ἡσαίας, Παφνούτιος, Τιμόθεος, Ἐλουρίων, Γάιος, Μουσαῖος, Πιστὸς, Ἡρακλάμμων, Ἡρων, Ἡλίας, Ἀντάγαμφος, Ἀπολλώνιος, Γάιος, Φιλωτᾶς, Παῦλος, Τιθόης, Εὐδαίμων, Ἰούλιος·

Οἱ ἐν τῇ καναλίῳ τῆς Ἰταλίας, Προβάτιος, Βιάτωρ, Φακουνδίνος, Ἰωσῆς, Νουμήδιος, Σπηράντιος, Σεβήρος, Ἡρακλειανός, Φαυστίνος, Ἀντωνίνος, Ἡράκλειος, Οὐϊτάλιος, Φήλιξ, Κρησπίνος, Παυλιανός·

APOL. C. ARI. Κύπρου, Αὐξίβιος, Φώτιος, Γηράσιος, Ἀφροδίσιος, Εἰρη-
νικός, Νουνέχιος, Ἀθανάσιος, Μακεδόنيος, Τριφύλλιος,
Σπυρίδων, Νορβανός, Σωσικράτης·

Παλαιστίνης, Μάξιμος, Ἀέτιος, Ἀρείος, Θεοδόσιος, Γερ-
μανός, Σιλουανός, Παῦλος, Κλαύδιος, Πατρίκιος, Ἑλπίδιος,
Γερμανός, Εὐσέβιος, Ζηνοβίος, Παῦλος, Πέτρος.

Οἱ μὲν οὖν τοῖς ὑπὸ τῆς συνόδου γραφεῖσιν ὑπογράψαντες
οὗτοι· ἕτεροι δὲ πλείστοι εἰσιν, οἱ καὶ πρὸ ταύτης τῆς συνόδου
γράψαντες ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, ἀπὸ τε τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ Φρυγίας, καὶ
Ἰσαυρίας, καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα αὐτῶν ἐν ταῖς ἰδίαις ἐπιστολαῖς
ἐμφέρεται, ἐγγὺς ξγ', ὁμοῦ τμδ'.

51. Ταῦτα μαθὼν ὁ θεοφιλέστατος βασιλεὺς Κωνσταντίος
μετεπέμψατο ἡμᾶς, γράψας ἰδίᾳ πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἑαυτοῦ τὸν
μακαρίτην Κώνσταντα, πρὸς δὲ ἡμᾶς καὶ ἀπαξ καὶ δεῦτερον
καὶ τρίτον, ταῦτα.

Κωνσταντίος νικητῆς Αὐγουστος Ἀθανασίῳ.

(Letter I. of
Constantius
to Athana-
sius.)

Ap. 345.

Cp. Soc. ii.

23.

Ἐπὶ πολὺ σε κλυδωνίζεσθαι καὶ χειμάζεσθαι τοῖς τῆς
θαλάττης ἀγρίοις κύμασιν οὐκ ἀφῆκεν ἡ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἡμε-
ρότητος φιланθρωπία· γυμνωθέντα σε τῆς πατρῴας ἐστίας,
καὶ στερηθέντα τῶν ἰδίων, καὶ πλανώμενον ἐν θηριώδεσιν
ἀνοδίοις οὐ παρείδεν ἡ ἀκάματος ἡμῶν εὐσέβεια. Καὶ εἰ
καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἐπιπολὺν ὑπερεθέμην γράψαι τὴν πρόθεσιν
τῆς ἐμῆς διανοίας, προσδοκῶν ἀνθαίρετόν σε παραγενέσθαι
πρὸς ἡμᾶς, καὶ τῶν καμάτων αἰτεῖν θεραπείαν· ὅμως, ἐπειδὴ
ἴσως ὁ φόβος τὴν προαίρεσιν τῆς προθέσεως ἐνεπόδισε, διὰ
τοῦτο δωρεᾶς πληρέστατα γράμματα πρὸς τὴν σὴν στερβρότητα
διεπεμψάμεθα, ἵνα ἀφόβως ταῖς ἡμετέραις προσόψεσι ταχέϊαν
τὴν σαυτοῦ παρουσίαν παρασχέιν σπουδάσης, ὑπὲρ τοῦ τῆς
σαυτοῦ ἐπιθυμίας ἀπολαύσας, καὶ πειραθεὶς ἡμῶν τῆς φιλαν-
θρωπίας, τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀποκατασταθῆς· τούτου γὰρ ἕνεκα καὶ
τὸν δεσπότην μου καὶ ἀδελφόν μου Κώνσταντα τὸν νικητὴν
Αὐγουστον ὑπὲρ σοῦ παρεκάλεσα, ἵνα τοῦ ἐλθεῖν ἐξουσίαν σοι
δῶ, ἐπὶ τῷ, ἀμφοτέρων ἡμῶν ἐπινευόντων, τῇ πατρίδι ἀπο-
κατασταθῆς, ἔχων τοῦτο τῆς ἡμῶν χάριτος ἐνέχυρον.

Ἐπιστολὴ δευτέρα.

Εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα διὰ προτέρων γραμμάτων ἐδηλώσαμεν, (Letter II of Constantius to Athanasius.)
ὅπως ἀμερίμνως εἰς τὸ ἡμέτερον κομιτᾶτον παραγένῃ, διὰ τὸ
μάλιστα βούλεσθαι ἡμᾶς ἀποστεῖλαι σε εἰς τὰ ἴδια· ὅμως καὶ
νῦν καὶ ταῦτα τὰ γράμματα πρὸς τὴν σὴν στερρότητα δεδώ-
καμεν, δι' ὧν προτρεπόμεθα, χωρὶς τινος ἀπιστίας καὶ φόβου,
ἐπιβῆναι σε δημοσίοις ὀχήμασι, καὶ σπουδάσαι πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ἵνα
ὧν ἐπιθυμεῖς ἀπολαύσαι δυνήθῃς.

Ἐπιστολὴ τρίτη.

Ἡνῖκα ἐν τῇ Ἑδέσσει διετρίβομεν, παρόντων τῶν σῶν (Letter III of Constantius to Athanasius.)
πρεσβυτέρων, ἤρρεσεν ὅπως, ἀποσταλέντος πρεσβυτέρου πρὸς
σέ, ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὸ ἡμέτερον κομιτᾶτον σπουδάσης, ἐπὶ τῷ,
ιδόντα σε τὴν ἡμετέραν πρόσοψιν, εὐθέως εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάν-
δρειαν ὁδεύσης. Ἄλλ' ἐπειδὴ πλείστος χρόνος παρήλθεν, [Qu. ὁδεύσαι.]
ἀφ' οὗ γράμματα δεξάμενος παρ' ἡμῶν οὐκ ἀπήντησας, διὰ
τοῦτο καὶ νῦν ὑπομνήσαι σε ἐσπουδάσαμεν, ἵνα καὶ νῦν τὴν
σὴν παρουσίαν ταχείαν ποιῆσαι πρὸς ἡμᾶς σπουδάσης, καὶ
οὕτω δυνήθῃς τῇ τε πατρίδι σου ἀποκατασταθῆναι, καὶ τῆς
εὐχῆς σου ἐπιτυχεῖν· πρὸς δὲ πληρεστέραν διήγησιν, Ἀχιτᾶν
τὸν διάκονον ἀπεστείλαμεν, παρ' οὗ δυνήσῃ μαθεῖν τῆς τε
ἡμετέρας ψυχῆς τὴν προαίρεσιν, καὶ ὅτι τούτων ὧν εὐχῇ
τυχεῖν δυνήσῃ.

Ὁ μὲν οὖν βασιλεὺς τοιαῦτα γράφει· ἐγὼ δὲ δεξάμενος
ἀνῆλθον εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην συντάξασθαι τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ τῷ
ἐπισκόπῳ· ἐν τῇ Ἀκυληΐᾳ γὰρ ἦμην, ὅτε ταῦτα ἐγράφη. Καὶ
ἡ μὲν ἐκκλησία πάσης χαρᾶς πεπλήρωτο· ὁ δὲ ἐπίσκοπος·
Ἰούλιος, συγχαίρων τῇ ἐπανόδῳ, γράφει πρὸς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. [Apol. ad Const. 3, 15. A.D. 346.]
Καὶ διερχομένους ἡμᾶς οἱ ἐπίσκοποι καθεξῆς μετ' εἰρήνης
προέπεμψαν. Καὶ ἔστι τὰ γραφέντα ταῦτα.

Ἰούλιος πρεσβυτέροις, καὶ διακόνοις, καὶ λαῷ παροικοῦντι Ἀλεξάνδρειαν. (Letter of Julius to Alexandrians.)

52. Συγχαίρω καὶ γὰρ ὑμῖν, ἀγαπητοὶ ἀδελφοί, ὅτι τὸν καρπὸν
τῆς ἑαυτῶν πίστεως ἐπ' ὀφθαλμῶν λοιπὸν ὁράτε· τοῦτο γὰρ
καὶ ἀληθῶς ἂν τις ἴδοι γενόμενον ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ καὶ συνε-

APOL. C. ARI.
(Letter of
Julius to
Alexan-
drians.)

πισκόπου μου Ἀθανασίου, ὃν διὰ τὴν καθαρότητα τοῦ βίου, καὶ διὰ τὰς ὑμετέρας εὐχὰς, Θεὸς ὑμῖν ἀποδίδωσιν. Ἐκ δὴ τούτου συνορᾶν ἔστι καθαρὰς ὑμᾶς καὶ μεστὰς ἀγάπης ἀεὶ τὰς εὐχὰς ἀνενηνοχέειν πρὸς τὸν Θεόν. Μνήμονες γὰρ ὄντες τῶν οὐρανίων ἐπαγγελιῶν καὶ τῆς πρὸς αὐτὰς ἀγωγῆς, ἣν ἐκ τῆς διδασκαλίας τοῦ προειρημένου ἀδελφοῦ μου ἐπαιδεύθητε, ἔγνωτε ἀληθῶς καὶ κατὰ τὴν προσοῦσαν ὑμῖν ὁρθὴν πίστιν κατελήφατε, ὥς οὐκ ἂν εἰς τέλος ἀφ' ὑμῶν ἀποσχοινοισθῇσεται οὗτος, ὃν ταῖς θεοσεβεστάταις ὑμῶν ψυχαῖς ἀεὶ ὥς παρόντα ἐσχήκατε. Οὐκοῦν οὐ πολλῶν μοι χρεῖα λόγων πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐπιστέλλονται. Ὅσα γὰρ ὑμῖν ἂν λεχθῇ παρ' ἐμοῦ, ταῦτα ἢ ὑμετέρα πίστις προῦλαβε, καὶ πεπλήρωκε κατὰ Θεοῦ χάριν τὰ τῆς κοινῆς πάντων ἡμῶν εὐχῆς. Συγχαίρω τοίνυν ὑμῖν, πάλιν γὰρ ἔρῳ, ὅτι τὰς ψυχὰς ἀκαταμαχίτους ἐν τῇ πίστει τετηρήκατε, καὶ αὐτῷ δὲ τῷ ἀδελφῷ μου Ἀθανασίῳ οὐκ ἔλαττον συγχαίρω, ὅτι, καίπερ πολλὰ πάσχων λυπηρὰ, οὐδεμίαν ὥραν ἐπιλήσμων γέγονε τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀγάπης καὶ τοῦ ὑμετέρου πόθου. Εἰ γὰρ καὶ τῷ σώματι πρὸς καιρὸν ἔδοξεν ἀφ' ὑμῶν ἀφελκυσθῆναι, ἀλλὰ τῷ πνεύματι διαπαντὸς ὥς συνὼν ὑμῖν διήγεν.

[See a pas-
sage supplied
in Soc. II.
23.]

53. Ἐπανέρχεται τοίνυν πρὸς ὑμᾶς λαμπρότερος νῦν, ἢ ὅτε παρ' ὑμῶν ἀπεδήμησεν. Εἰ γὰρ καὶ τὰς τιμίας ὕλας, χρυσὸν δὴ καὶ ἄργυρον, εἰς καθαρότητα τὸ πῦρ δοκιμάζει, τί ἂν τις εἴποι κατ' ἀξίαν τοῦ τοσούτου ἀνδρὸς, ὃς, κινδύνους τοσούτων θλίψεων νικήσας, ἀποδίδονται ὑμῖν ἀθῶος οὐ παρ' ἡμῶν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ πάσης τῆς συνόδου ἀποδειχθεῖς; Ὑποδέξασθε τοίνυν, ἀγαπητοὶ ἀδελφοί, μετὰ πάσης τῆς κατὰ Θεὸν δόξης καὶ χαρᾶς τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ὑμῶν Ἀθανάσιον μετὰ τούτων οἰτινες αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν τοσούτων καμάτων κοινωνοὶ γεγόνασι· καὶ χαίρετε τῶν εὐχῶν ἑαυτῶν ἀπολαύοντες, οἱ τὸν ποιμένα τὸν ὑμέτερον, ἵν' οὕτως εἴπω, ποθοῦντα καὶ διψῶντα τὴν ὑμετέραν θεοσέβειαν, σωτηρίοις γραφαῖς ἐθρέψατε καὶ ἐποτίσατε. Καὶ γὰρ τῆς ἐπὶ ξένης αὐτοῦ διατριβῆς ὑμεῖς παραμυθία γεγόνατε, καὶ διωκόμενον ἐθάλψατε ταῖς πιστοτάταις ἑαυτῶν ψυχαῖς καὶ διανοαῖς. Ἐμὲ δὲ ἤδη εὐφραίνει ἐννοούμενον καὶ προορώντα τῷ λογισμῷ τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ ἐπανόδῳ ἐκάστου ὑμῶν χαρὰν, καὶ τοῦ

πλήθους τὰς θεοσεβεστάτας ἀπαντήσεις, καὶ τὸ ἐνδοξον τῆς τῶν συντρεχόντων ἐορτῆς. Καὶ τίς ἐκεῖνη ἡ ἡμέρα ὑμῖν καὶ ποία ἔσται, ἐπανερχομένου μὲν τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ μου, πανομένων δὲ τῶν προγενομένων, καὶ τῆς πολυτιμήτου καὶ κατ' εὐχὴν ἐπανόδου εἰς εὐφροσύνην τινὰ πληρεστάτης χαρᾶς συναπτούσης τοὺς πάντας ; Ἡ τοιαύτη δὲ χαρὰ κατὰ τὸ μέγιστον μέχρις ἡμῶν φθάνει, εἰ θεόθεν καὶ τοῦτο συγχωρεῖσθαι συνέστηκεν, ὅπως εἰς γνώσιν τοῦ τηλικούτου ἀνδρὸς ἐλθεῖν δυνηθῶμεν. Εἰς εὐχὴν δὴ οὖν τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τελειῶσαι καλόν. Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ, καὶ ὁ τούτου Υἱὸς ὁ Κύριος καὶ Σωτὴρ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς, διηνεκὴ τὴν χάριν ὑμῖν παράσχοι, διδούς ἐπαθλον τῇ θαυμαστῇ ὑμῶν πίστει, ἣν περὶ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ὑμῶν ἐνδόξῳ μαρτυρίᾳ ἐνεδείξασθε· ἵνα ὑμῖν τε καὶ τοῖς μεθ' ὑμᾶς ἐνταῦθα καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι τὰ βελτίονα νέμοι, ἃ ὁφθαλ- 1 Cor. ii. 9.
μὸς οὐκ εἶδε, καὶ οὖς οὐκ ἤκουσε, καὶ ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἀνέβη ἃ ἡτοίμασεν ὁ Θεὸς τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν αὐτὸν· διὰ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, δι' οὗ τῷ παντοκράτορι Θεῷ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν. Εὐρῶσθαι ὑμᾶς ἐν Κυρίῳ εὐχομαι, ἀγαπητοὶ ἀδελφοί.

54. Μετὰ τούτων ἐλθόντα με γνησίως ἐώρακεν ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ἀπέστειλε πρὸς τὴν πατρίδα καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, γράψας τοῖς ἐπισκόποις καὶ πρεσβυτέροις καὶ λαοῖς ταῦτα.

Νικητῆς Κωνσταντῖος μέγιστος Σεβαστὸς ἐπισκόποις καὶ πρεσβυτέροις
τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας.

Οὐκ ἀπελείφθη τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ χάριτος ὁ αἰδεσιμώτατος Ἀθανάσιος. ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ ἐν βραχεῖ χρόνῳ τῇ κατὰ ἀνθρώπους δοκιμασίᾳ ὑπεβλήθη, ὅμως τὴν ὀφειλομένην παρὰ τῆς παντε- (Letter of Constantius to Bishops and Presbyters of Egypt.)
φόρου προνοίας ἀπηνέγκατο ψῆφον, ἀπολαβὼν βουλήσει τοῦ κρείττονος καὶ κρίσει ἡμετέρας τὴν πατρίδα ὁμοῦ καὶ τὴν ἐκ- Hist. Ari. 23.
κλησίαν, ἧς θείῳ νεύματι προστάτης ἐτύγχανε. Τούτῳ τὰ Soc. ii. 23.
ἀκόλουθα ἔδει παρὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας ὑπάρξαι πραότητος· ὥστε πάντα τὰ πρὸ τούτου κατὰ τῶν αὐτῷ κεκοινωνηκότων ὠρισμένα νῦν ἀμνηστία παραδοθῆναι, πᾶσάν τε ὑπόψιαν τὴν κατ' αὐτῶν σχολάσαι τοῦ λοιποῦ, τὴν ἀτέλειαν, ἧς ἔτυχον πάλοι οἱ ἅμα αὐτῷ κληρικοὶ, τούτοις βεβαιωθῆναι προσηκόντως. Ἀλλὰ

APOL. C. ARI.
(Letter of
Constantius
to Bishops,
Presbyters,
and Clergy
of Egypt.)

μὴν καὶ τοῦτο τῇ εἰς αὐτὸν χάριτι προστιθέναι ἐδικαιώσαμεν, ὥστε πάντας τοὺς τοῦ ἱεροῦ καταλόγου γινώσκειν ἐνδεδόσθαι τὸ ἄφοβον πᾶσι τοῖς αὐτῷ προστιθεμένοις, εἴτε ἐπισκόποις, εἴτε κληρικοῖς. Ἰκανὸν δὲ γνώρισμα τῆς ἐκάστου ὁρθῆς προαιρέσεως ἔσται ἡ πρὸς τοῦτον ἔνωσις. Ὅσοι γὰρ ἂν, τῆς καλλίονος ὁμοῦ κρίσεώς τε καὶ μοίρας γενόμενοι, τὴν τούτου ἔλονται κοινωνίαν, τούτους πάντας ἐκελεύσαμεν καθ' ὁμοιότητα τῆς φθανούσης προνοίας καὶ νῦν τῆς ὑφ' ἡμῶν βουλῆσει τοῦ κρείττονος παρασχεθείσης χάριτος ἀπολαύειν. Ὁ Θεὸς ὑμᾶς διαφυλάττοι.

Ἐπιστολὴ δευτέρα.

(Letter of
Constantius
to Alexan-
drian Laity.)

Νικητῆς Κωνσταντίου μέγιστος Σεβαστὸς τῷ λαῷ τῆς κατὰ Ἀλεξάνδρειαν καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας.

55. Σκοπὸν ποιούμενοι τὴν ὑμετέραν ἐν ἅπασιν εὐνομίαν, εἰδότες τε, ὡς ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς τοῦ ἐπισκοποῦντος προνοίας ἐστέρησθε, Ἀθανάσιον τὸν ἐπίσκοπον, ἄνδρα τοῖς πᾶσι διὰ τε τὴν προσοῦσαν ὁρθότητα καὶ διὰ τὴν τῶν οἰκείων ἡθῶν εὐτροπίαν γνώριμον, πάλιν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀποστεῖλαι ἐδικαιώσαμεν. Τοῦτον συνήθως καὶ προσηκόντως ὑποδεξάμενοι, καὶ ταῖς πρὸς Θεὸν εὐχαῖς βοηθὸν προστησάμενοι, τὴν ὑμῖν τε πρέπουσαν καὶ ἡμῖν ἀρίστην ὁμόνοιαν καὶ εἰρήνην κατὰ τὸν τῆς ἐκκλησίας θεσμὸν διαρκῆ φυλάττειν σπουδάσατε. Οὐδὲ γὰρ εὐλόγόν ἐστι διχόνοιαν τινα ἢ στάσιν ἐν ὑμῖν κινήσῃναι, ὑπεναντίον τῆς τῶν ἡμετέρων καιρῶν εὐμοιρίας. Καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἀπεῖναι ἀφ' ὑμῶν παντελῶς βουλόμεθα, τὸ δὲ ταῖς εὐχαῖς ὑμᾶς διαρκῶς αὐτῷ, ὡς προεῖρηται, προστάτῃ καὶ ἐπικούρῳ χρωμένους πρὸς τὸ Θεῖον ἐμμένειν συνήθως παραινοῦμεν· ὡς ἂν τῆς τοιαύτης ὑμῶν προθέσεως, εἰς τὰς ἀπάντων εὐχὰς διαβαινούσης, καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῶν ἐθνῶν τῇ τῶν εἰδώλων πλάνῃ ἔτι καὶ νῦν προσανέχοντες ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς ἱερᾶς θρησκείας ἐπίγνωσιν προθυμότατα σπεύδοιεν, ἀγαπητοί. Καὶ αὖθις οὖν παραινοῦμεν τοῖς προειρημένους ἐμμένειν, τὸν δὲ ἐπίσκοπον ψήφῳ τοῦ κρείττονος καὶ ἡμετέρῳ γνώμῃ ἀπεσταλμένον ἡδέως δέξασθε, καὶ πάσῃ ψυχῇ καὶ γνώμῃ ἀσπαστὸν ἡγήσασθε· τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ ὑμῖν πρέπει, καὶ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ πράττειν προσήκειν συνέστηκεν. Ὑπὲρ γὰρ

τοῦ πάσαν ἀνασοβῆς καὶ στάσεως πρόφασιν περιαιρεθῆναι τῶν ἐθελοκακίᾳ χρωμένων, τοῖς παρ' ὑμῖν δικασταῖς διὰ γραμμάτων προσετάξαμεν, ἅπαντας οὓς ἂν στασιώδεις καταμάθοιεν τῇ τῶν νόμων ὑποβάλλειν ἐκδικίᾳ. Ἀμφότερα τοίνυν συννοῶντες, καὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν μετὰ τοῦ κρείττονος γνώμην, καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ τῆς ὁμονοίας λόγον, καὶ τὴν κατὰ τῶν ἀτάκτων τιμωρίαν, τὰ πρόποντα καὶ ἀρμόζοντα τῷ τῆς ἱερᾶς θρησκείας θεσμῷ διαφυλάττοντες, τὸν προειρημένον διὰ πάσης αἰδοῦς καὶ τιμῆς ἄγοντες, τὰς εὐχὰς ἅμα αὐτῷ ὑπὲρ τε ἑαυτῶν καὶ τῆς τοῦ βίου παντὸς εὐνομίας, τῷ τῶν ὅλων Πατρὶ Θεῷ ἀναπέμπειν σπουδάσατε.

56. Ταῦτα γράψας, ἐκέλευσε καὶ τὰ πρότερον παρ' αὐτοῦ γραφέντα κατ' ἐμοῦ ἐκ διαβολῆς τῶν περὶ Εὐσέβιον ἀναιρεθῆναι καὶ ἀφανισθῆναι ἀπὸ τῶν τάξεων τοῦ τε δουκὸς καὶ τοῦ ἐπάρχου τῆς Αἰγύπτου καὶ ἀποσταλεῖς Εὐσέβιος ὁ δεκουρίων ἔλαβεν αὐτὰ ἀπὸ τῶν τάξεων. Καὶ ἔστι τὰ γραφέντα ταῦτα.

Νικητῆς Κωνσταντίου Αὐγουστός Νεστορίῳ. Τῷ δὲ αὐτῷ τύπῳ, καὶ τοῖς ἐν Αὐγουσταμνίκῃ καὶ Θηβαῖδι καὶ Λιβύαις ἡγεμόσιν.

Εἰ τί ποτε πρὸ τούτου ἐπὶ βλάβῃ καὶ ὕβρει τῶν κοινωνούντων Ἀθανασίῳ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ προσταχθὲν εὐρίσκεται, ταῦτα νῦν ἀπαλειφθῆναι βουλόμεθα. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ τὴν ἀλειτουρησίαν, ἣν εἶχον οἱ αὐτοῦ κληρικοὶ, τοὺς αὐτοὺς πάλιν τὴν αὐτὴν θέλομεν ἔχειν. Ταύτην δὲ τὴν ἡμετέραν πρόσταξιν φυλαχθῆναι βουλόμεθα, ὥστε ἀποδοθέντος Ἀθανασίου τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, τοὺς κοινωνοῦντας αὐτῷ ἔχειν τὴν ἀλειτουρησίαν, ἣν αἰεὶ εἶχον, ἣν καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ κληρικοὶ ἔχουσιν, ἢ οὕτως ἔχοντες καὶ αὐτοὶ, χαίρωσιν.

(Letter of Constantius to Nestorius, etc.)
Cp. Hist. Ari.
23

57. Προπεμφθεὶς οὕτω καὶ διερχόμενος τὴν Συρίαν, συνέτυχον τοῖς μετὰ τὴν Παλαιστίνην ἐπισκόποις. καὶ σύνοδον ποιήσαντες ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ, γνησίως ἡμᾶς ἀπεδέξαντο, καὶ αὐτοὶ μετ' εἰρήνης προέπεμψαν, καὶ ἔγραψαν πρὸς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ τοὺς ἐπισκόπους ταῦτα.

APOL. C. ARI.

(Letter of
Council of
Jerusalem.)
Hist. Ari. 25.

Ἡ ἀγία σύνοδος ἥ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις συναχθεῖσα, τοῖς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ Λιβύαις συλλειτουργοῖς, καὶ τοῖς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ πρεσβυτέροις καὶ διακόνοις καὶ λαῷ, ἀγαπητοῖς καὶ ποθεινοτάτοις ἀδελφοῖς, ἐν Κυρίῳ χαίρειν.

Cp. Matt. ix.
36.

Κατ' ἄξίαν τῷ τῶν ὅλων Θεῷ εὐχαριστεῖν οὐκ ἄρκοῦμεν, ἀγαπητοί, ἐφ' οἷς θαυμασίοις ἐποίησε πάντοτε, ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ νῦν μετὰ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἐκκλησίας, τὸν ποιμένα ὑμῶν καὶ κύριον, καὶ συλλειτουργὸν ἡμῶν Ἀθανάσιον ἀποδοὺς ὑμῖν. Τίς γὰρ ἤλπισέ ποτε ταῦτα ὀφθαλμοῖς ἰδεῖν, ἃ νῦν ὑμεῖς ἔργῳ ἀπολαμβάνετε; Ἀληθῶς αἱ προσεσχαὶ ὑμῶν εἰσηκούσθησαν παρὰ τῷ τῶν ὅλων Θεῷ, τῷ κηδομένῳ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἐκκλησίας καὶ ἐπιδόντῃ ὑμῶν τὰ δάκρυα καὶ τοὺς ὀδυρμοὺς, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τῶν δεήσεων ὑμῶν ἐπακούσαντι. Ἦτε γὰρ ὥς πρόβατα ἐρρίμμένα καὶ ἐσκυλμένα μὴ ἔχοντα ποιμένα· διὰ τοῦτο ἐπεσκέψατο ὑμᾶς ὁ ἀληθινὸς ποιμὴν οὐρανόθεν, ὁ τῶν ἰδίων προβάτων κηδόμενος, ἀποδοὺς ὑμῖν ὃν ἐπιθυμεῖτε. Ἴδου γὰρ καὶ ἡμεῖς πάντα ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς εἰρήνης πράττοντες, καὶ τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ συμπνέοντες ἀγάπῃ, προλαβόντες αὐτὸν ἡσπασάμεθα, καὶ κοινωνήσαντες δι' αὐτοῦ ὑμῖν, ταύτας τὰς προσρήσεις διαπεμπόμεθα καὶ τὰς εὐχαριστηρίους ὑμῶν εὐχὰς, ἵν' εἰδῇτε τῷ συνδέσμῳ τῆς ἀγάπης τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ ἡμᾶς ἡνωσθαι. Ὅφειλετε δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐσεβείας τῶν θεοφιλεστάτων βασιλέων εὐχεσθαι, οἵτινες, καὶ αὐτοὶ γνόντες τὸν πόθον ὑμῶν τὸν περὶ αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ καθαρότητα, ἀποκαταστήσαι αὐτὸν ὑμῖν μετὰ πάσης τιμῆς κατηξίωσαν. Ὑπταῖς οὖν ὑποδεξάμενοι αὐτὸν χερσὶ, καὶ τὰς ὀφειλομένας περὶ τούτου εὐχαριστηρίους εὐχὰς ἀναπέμψαι τῷ ταῦτα ὑμῖν χαρισαμένῳ Θεῷ σπουδάσατε, ὑπὲρ τοῦ διαπαντός ὑμᾶς χαίρειν σὺν Θεῷ καὶ δοξάζειν ἡμῶν τὸν Κύριον ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν, δι' οὗ τῷ Πατρὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν.

c. 50.

Τῶν δὲ ὑπογραφάντων τὰ ὀνόματα, εἰ καὶ φθάσας ἐδήλωσα, ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν ἔγραψα· εἰσὶ γὰρ Μάξιμος, Ἀέτιος, Ἀρειος, Θεόδωρος, Γερμανὸς, Σιλουανὸς, Παῦλος, Πατρίκιος, Ἐλπίδιος, Γερμανὸς, Εὐσέβιος, Ζηνόβιος, Παῦλος, Μακρίνος, Πέτρος, Κλαύδιος.

58. Ταῦτα βλέποντες Οὐρσάκιος καὶ Οὐάλης, κατέγνωσαν λοιπὸν ἑαυτῶν, καὶ ἀνελθόντες εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην, ἐξωμολογήσαντο καὶ αὐτοὶ μεταγινώσκοντες, συγγνώμην τε ᾗτήσαντο, καὶ ἔγραψαν πρὸς Ἰούλιον τὸν ἐπίσκοπον τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Ῥώμης καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ταῦτα. Τὰ μέντοι ἀντίγραφα ἀπεστάλη μοι παρὰ Παυλίνου τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Τριβέρων.

Hist. Ari.
26, 44, cp.
Apol. ad
Const. i.
[A.D. 347.]

Apol. de
Fuga, 4.

Ἑρμηνεία ἀπὸ τοῦ Ῥωμαϊκοῦ τῆς πρὸς Ἰούλιον ἐπιστολῆς περὶ τῆς μετανοίας Οὐρσακίου καὶ Οὐάλεντος.

Κυρίῳ μακαριωτάτῳ πάπῃ Ἰουλίῳ Οὐρσάκιος καὶ Οὐάλης.

(Letter of
Ursacius
and Valens
to Julius.)

Ἐπειδὴ συνέστηκεν ἡμᾶς πρὸ τούτου πολλά τε καὶ δεινὰ περὶ Ἀθανασίου τοῦ ἐπισκόπου διὰ γραμμάτων ὑποβεβληκέναι, γράμμασί τε τῆς σῆς χρηστότητος μεθοδευθέντες, τοῦ πράγματος χάριν περὶ οὗ ἐδηλώσαμεν, οὐκ ἠδυνήθημεν λόγον ἀποδοῦναι· ὁμολογοῦμεν παρὰ τῇ σῇ χρηστότητι, παρόντων τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν πάντων τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, ὅτι πάντα τὰ πρὸ τούτου ἐλθόντα εἰς ἀκοὰς ὑμῶν περὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ προειρημένου Ἀθανασίου ψευδῇ καὶ πλαστά ἐστι, πάσῃ τε δυνάμει ἀλλότρια αὐτοῦ τυγχάνει· διὰ τε τοῦτο ἡδέως ἀντιποιούμεθα τῆς κοινωνίας τοῦ προειρημένου Ἀθανασίου, μάλιστα ὅτι ἡ θεοσέβειά σου, κατὰ τὴν ἔμφυτον ἑαυτῆς καλοκάγαθίαν, τῇ πλάνῃ ἡμῶν κατηξίωσε συγγνώμην δοῦναι. Ὅμολογοῦμεν δὲ καὶ τοῦτο, ὅτι ἂν ποτε ἡμᾶς οἱ ἀνατολικοὶ θελήσωσιν ἢ καὶ αὐτὸς Ἀθανάσιος κακοτρόπως περὶ τούτου εἰς κρίσιν καλέσαι, μὴ ἀπέρχεσθαι παρὰ γράμμην τῆς σῆς διαθέσεως· τὸν δὲ αἱρετικὸν Ἀρειον καὶ τοὺς ὑπερασπίζοντας αὐτοῦ τοὺς λέγοντας, ὅτι Ἦν ποτε ὅτε οὐκ ἦν ὁ Υἱὸς, καὶ ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος ὁ Υἱὸς ἐστι, καὶ τοὺς ἀρνούμενους τὸν Χριστὸν Θεὸν εἶναι Θεοῦ Υἱὸν πρὸ αἰώνων, καθὼς καὶ ἐν τῷ προτέρῳ λιβέλλῳ ἑαυτῶν ἐν τῇ Μεδιολάνῳ ἐπιδεδώκαμεν, καὶ νῦν καὶ αἰ ἀναθεματίζομεν. Ταῦτα δὲ τῇ χειρὶ ἑαυτῶν γράψαντες, ὁμολογοῦμεν πάλιν, ὅτι τὴν Ἀρειανὴν αἵρεσιν, καθὰ προείπομεν, καὶ τοὺς ταύτης αὐθέντας κατεκρίναμεν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. Ἐγὼ Οὐρσάκιος τῇ ὁμολογίᾳ μου ταύτῃ παρὼν ὑπέγραψα· ὁμοίως καὶ Οὐάλης.

Cp. Ep. ad
Æg. Ep. 12.
De Syn. 14.

[A.D. 345.]

APOL. C. ARI. Κυρίῳ ἀδελφῷ Ἀθανασίῳ ἐπισκόπῳ Οὐρσάκιος καὶ Οὐάλης ἐπίσκοποι.

(Letters of
Ursacius
and Valens
to Julius,
and to
Athanasius.)

Ἀφορμὴν εὐρόντες διὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ καὶ συμπρεσβυτέρου ἡμῶν Μουσάλου, ἐρχομένου πρὸς τὴν σὴν ἀγάπην, ἀδελφὲ ἀγαπητὲ, δι' αὐτοῦ σε καὶ πάννυ προσαγορεύομεν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀκυλῆς, καὶ εὐχόμεθα ὑγιαίνοντά σε τὰ γράμματα τὰ ἡμέτερα ἀναγνῶναι· δώσεις γὰρ καὶ ἡμῖν θαρρῆν, ἔαν καὶ σὺ ἐν τῷ γράφειν τὴν ἀμοιβὴν ἡμῖν ἀποδῷς. Γίνωσκε γὰρ ἡμᾶς εἰρήνῃν ἔχειν μετὰ σοῦ, καὶ κοινωνίαν ἔχειν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν, καὶ τούτου γνώρισμα ἢ διὰ τούτων τῶν γραμμάτων προσηγορία. Ἡ θεία πρόνοιά σε διαφυλάττοι, κύριε, ἀγαπητὲ ἀδελφέ.

Τὰ μὲν οὖν γραφέντα ταῦτα, καὶ αὕτη τῶν ἐπισκόπων ἡ ψῆφος καὶ κρίσις ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν. Ὅτι δὲ οὐ κεχαρισμένα πεποιήκασιν, οὐδὲ ἀναγκαζόμενοι παρά τινος, βούλομαι, συγχωρούντων ὑμῶν, ἄνωθεν ἐξ ἀρχῆς διηγῆσασθαι τὸ πρᾶγμα, ἵνα γνῶτε ὥς οἱ μὲν ἐπίσκοποι ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως βουλόμενοι τοιαῦτα ἔγραψαν, ὁ δὲ Οὐάλης καὶ Οὐρσάκιος κἂν ὀψέ ποτε τὴν ἀλήθειαν ὡμολόγησαν.

II.

59. Πέτρος παρ' ἡμῖν πρὸ μὲν τοῦ διωγμοῦ γέγονεν ἐπίσκοπος, ἐν δὲ τῷ διωγμῷ καὶ ἐμαρτύρησεν. Οὗτος Μελίτιον ἀπὸ τῆς Αἰγύπτου λεγόμενον ἐπίσκοπον, ἐπὶ πολλαῖς ἐλεγχθέντα παρανομίαις καὶ θυσίᾳ, ἐν κοινῇ συνόδῳ τῶν ἐπισκόπων καθεῖλεν. Ἀλλὰ Μελίτιος οὐ πρὸς ἐτέραν σύνοδον κατέφυγεν, οὐδὲ ἐσπούδασεν ἀπολογῆσασθαι τοῖς μετὰ ταῦτα σχίσμα δὲ πεποίηκε. Καὶ ἀντὶ Χριστιανῶν 'Μελιτιανοὶ' μέχρι νῦν οἱ τῆς ἐκείνου μερίδος ὀνομάζονται. εὐθύς τε τοὺς ἐπισκόπους λοιδορεῖν ἤρξατο, καὶ πρῶτον αὐτὸν Πέτρον, καὶ τὸν μετ' αὐτὸν Ἀχιλλᾶν διέβαλε, καὶ μετὰ Ἀχιλλᾶν Ἀλέξανδρον. Τοῦτο δὲ πανούργως ἐπραττε, μαθὼν καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Ἀβερσαλῶμ, ἱν', ἐπειδὴ διὰ τὴν καθαίρεσιν ἡσχύνετο, κἂν ταῖς διαβολαῖς ἀπατησαί πως τοὺς ἀκεραίους δυνηθῇ. Ταῦτα δὲ πράττοντος τοῦ Μελιτίου, γέγονε καὶ ἡ Ἀρειανὴ αἵρεσις.

c. II. ad Ep.
Æg. 22, 23.

ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ συνόδῳ τῇ κατὰ Νίκαιαν ἡ μὲν αἵρεσις ἀνεθεμα- c. 23.
τίσθη, καὶ οἱ Ἀρειανοὶ ἐξεβλήθησαν, οἱ δὲ Μελιτιανοὶ ὅπω-
σδήποτε ἐδέχθησαν· οὐ γὰρ ἀναγκαῖον νῦν τὴν αἰτίαν ὀνομά-
ζειν. Οὐπω γὰρ πέντε μῆνες παρήλθον, καὶ ὁ μὲν μακαρίτης Cp. c. 71. Soc.
'Αλέξανδρος τετελεύτηκεν· οἱ δὲ Μελιτιανοὶ, δέον ἡρεμεῖν καὶ [A.D. 326.]
χάριω ἔχειν, ὅτι κἂν ὅλως ἐδέχθησαν, οἱ δὲ, κατὰ τοὺς κύνας
οὐκ ἐπιλαθόμενοι ὧν ἐξήρασαν, πάλιν τὰς ἐκκλησίας ἐτάρατ-
τον. Εὐσέβιος τοίνυν, τοῦτο μαθὼν, καὶ προϋστάμενος τῆς
'Αρειανῆς αἵρέσεως, πέμπει καὶ ὠνεῖται τοὺς Μελιτιανούς ἐπὶ
πολλαῖς ἐπαγγελίαις· καὶ γίνεται μὲν αὐτῶν κρύφα φίλος,
συντάττεται δὲ αὐτοῖς εἰς ὃν ἐβούλετο καιρόν. Τὴν μὲν οὖν
ἀρχὴν προσέειπε προτρέπων δέξασθαι με τοὺς περὶ Ἀρειον,
καὶ ἀγράφως μὲν ἡπείλει, γράφων δὲ ἡξίου. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ
ἀντέλεγον, 'μὴ χρῆναι' φάσκων 'δεχθῆναι τοὺς αἵρεσιν ἐφεν-
ρόντας κατὰ τῆς ἀληθείας, καὶ ἀναθεματισθέντας παρὰ τῆς
οἰκουμενικῆς συνόδου,' ποιεῖ καὶ βασιλέα μοι γράφαι τὸν
μακαρίτην Κωνσταντίνου, ἀπειλὴν ἔχοντα, εἰ μὴ λάβοιμι τοὺς
περὶ Ἀρειον, ταῦτά με παθεῖν, ἃ πρότερον καὶ νῦν πέπονθα.
Τὸ τοίνυν μέρος τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ἐστὶ τοῦτο, καὶ παλατῖνοι
Συγκλήτιος καὶ Γαυδέντιος ἦσαν οἱ κομίσαντες τὰ γράμ-
ματα·

Μέρος ἐπιστολῆς τοῦ βασιλέως Κωνσταντίνου.

... Ἐχων τοίνυν τῆς ἐμῆς βουλήσεως τὸ γνῶρισμα, ἅπασι (Part of
τοῖς βουλομένοις εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν εἰσελθεῖν ἀκώλυτον letter of
παράσχου τὴν εἴσοδον· ἔαν γὰρ γινῶ ὡς κεκώλυκός τις Constantine
αὐτῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας μεταποιουμένους, ἢ ἀπειρξας τῆς εἰσό- to Athana-
δου, ἀποστελῶ παραντίκα τὸν καὶ καθαιρήσοντά σε ἐξ ἐμῆς sius.)
κελεύσεως καὶ τῶν τόπων μεταστήσονται. cp. c. 85.

60. Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν καὶ βασιλέα γράφων ἔπειθον 'μηδεμίαν
εἶναι κοινωνίαν τῇ Χριστομάχῳ αἵρέσει πρὸς τὴν καθολικὴν
ἐκκλησίαν,' τότε λοιπὸν Εὐσέβιος, τὸν καιρὸν ὃν συνεφώνησε
μετὰ τῶν Μελιτιανῶν προφέρων, γράφει καὶ πείθει τούτους
πλάσασθαι πρόφασιν, ἵν', ὥσπερ κατὰ Πέτρου καὶ Ἀχιλλᾶ
καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου μεμελετήκασιν, οὕτω καὶ καθ' ἡμῶν ἐπινοή-

APOL. C. ARI. σωσι καὶ θρυλλήσωσι. Πολλὰ μὲν οὖν ζητήσαντες καὶ μὴ
Cp. Soc. i. εὐρόντες, ὕστερον μετὰ γνώμης τῶν περὶ Εὐσέβιον συντι-
27. θέασι, καὶ πλάττονται πρώτην κατηγορίαν διὰ Ἰσίωνος καὶ
Εὐδαίμονος καὶ Καλλινίκου περὶ στιχαρίων λινῶν, ὥς ἐμοῦ
κανόνα τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις ἐπιβαλόντος, καὶ πρώτους αὐτοὺς ἀπαι-
τήσαντος. Ἀλλὰ πρεσβυτέρων ἡμετέρων εὐρεθέντων ἐκεῖ, καὶ
βασιλέως ἀκούοντος, κατεγνώσθησαν. Οἱ μὲν οὖν πρεσβύτεροι
ἦσαν, Ἀπὶς καὶ Μακάριος· ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς γράφει καταγινώ-
σκων μὲν Ἰσίωνος, κελεύων δὲ ἐμὲ ἀπαντῆσαι πρὸς αὐτόν.
Καὶ τὰ μὲν γραφέντα ἐστὶ ταῦτα.

Ὁ δὲ Εὐσέβιος μαθὼν, πείθει περιμένειν αὐτούς. Καὶ
ἐλθόντος μου, κατηγοροῦσι πάλιν Μακαρίου μὲν περὶ ποτηρίου,
ἐμὲ δὲ οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν διαβολὴν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀνωτάτω πασῶν,
ὅτι δὴ, κατὰ βασιλέως γενόμενος, ἐπεμψα γλωσσόκομον χρυ-
σίου Φιλουμένῃ τινί. Ὁ μὲν οὖν βασιλεὺς καὶ περὶ ταύτης
ἐν τῇ Ψαμμαθίᾳ ἤκουσεν ἡμῶν, αὐτοὶ δὲ συνήθως καταγνώ-
σθέντες ἐβρίφησαν· καὶ γράφει τοῖς λαοῖς, ἐπαυερχομένων ἡμῶν,
ταῦτα·

Κωνσταντῖνος μέγιστος Σεβαστὸς τῷ λαῷ τῷ κατὰ Ἀλεξάνδρειαν
καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ.

(Letter of
Constantine
to Alex-
andrian
Laity.)

ΒΙ. Ἀγαπητοὶ ἀδελφοί, προσαγορεύω ὑμᾶς, ἐπικαλούμενος
τὸν Θεὸν τὸν τῆς ἐμῆς βουλήσεως μέγιστον μάρτυρα, καὶ τὸν
τοῦ ἡμετέρου νόμου Μονογενῆ δημιουργόν, ὃς καὶ τῆς ζωῆς
προκαθέξεται τῶν ἀπάντων, καὶ τὰς διχονοίας μισεῖ. Πλὴν τί
ἂν εἴποιμι; ὅτι καλῶς ὑγιαίνομεν; Ἀλλ' ἐξῆν καλλίονος
ἀπολαῦσαι τῆς εὐρωστίας, εἰ ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀμοιβαδὶς ἡγαπάτε,
ἀποσεισάμενοι τὰ μίση, δι' ὧν ταῖς τῶν ἐρεσχελούντων τρικυ-
μίαις τὸν λιμένα τῆς ἀγάπης ἐγκατελίπομεν. Φεῦ τῆς ἀτοπίας
ταύτης· Ὅσα καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν συμπτώματα τοῦ συγκε-
χυμένου φθόνου κινεῖται· Οὕτω πρὸς τὸν λαὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ
μετωκίσθησαν αἱ δυσφημίαι. Ποῦ τοίνυν τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἡ
πίστις ἀνακεχώρηκεν; ὅπου γε εἰς τοσοῦτον τῇ τοῦ σκότους
ἀχλύϊ περιβεβλήμεθα οὐ μόνον διὰ τὴν πολὺπλοκον πλάνην,
ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὰ τῶν ἀχαρίστων ἐλαττώματα, τῶν μὲν τὴν
ἄνοιαν βραβεύοντων ἀνεχόμεθα, τῶν δὲ τὴν ἐπιείκειαν καὶ

τὴν ἀλήθειαν διακρουομένων αἰσθανόμενοι παρενθυμούμεθα. Τί τὸ δεινὸν τοῦτο τῆς ἡμετέρας κακίας ; Τοὺς ἐχθροὺς οὐκ ἐλέγχουμεν, ἀλλ' ἐπόμεθα τῷ ληστηρίῳ, δι' οὗ ὁδὸν τινα ἑαυτῇ, ἢ οὕτως εἴπω, ἢ τῆς ἀπωλείας ἀπάτη, μηδενὸς ἀντικειμένου, ῥαδίως εἰργάσατο. Ἄρα οὐδεμία ἐστὶν αἴσθησις, οὐδὲ κατὰ χάριν τῆς κοινῆς ἀπάντων φύσεως, εἰ γὰρ τῶν τοῦ νόμου προσταγμάτων ἡμελήσαμεν ; Ἄλλ' ἐρεῖ τις, κατὰ φύσιν ἡ ἀγάπη ἐξευρίσκεται. Τί οὖν, ὅτι ἡμεῖς, καὶ τὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ νόμον πρὸς τῇ εὐφυίᾳ σχόντες, ἀνεχόμεθα τῆς ὀχλήσεως καὶ τοῦ θορύβου τῶν ἐχθρῶν, πυρσοῖς τισιν, ὡς ἕοικεν, ἐξαπτομένων ; Καὶ οὐχ ὀρώμεν ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔχοντες, οὐδὲ αἰσθανόμεθα, καίτοι ταῖς τοῦ νόμου αἰσθήσεσιν ὄντες πεφραγμένοι. Ὅποση ἄρα πτόησις τὴν ἡμετέραν ζωὴν κατεῖληφεν, ὅπου γὰρ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν οὕτως ἀμελοῦμεν, καὶ ταῦτα ὑπομνήσκοντος τοῦ Θεοῦ ; Εἴτα οὐκ ἐστὶν ἀφόρητον τὸ κακόν ; οὐ πολέμους ἡγεῖσθαι προσήκει τούτους, οὐ τὸν οἶκον καὶ τὸν λαὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ ; Ἐμπαροinouσιν ἡμῖν καὶ ἐγκαλοῦσί γε οἱ πανώλεις ἐκείνοι, καὶ ἐπιπλήσσουσιν ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων ἡμῖν.

62. Μεθ' ὅσης δὲ ἀπονομίας τοῦτο πράττουσιν, ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐννοεῖν ἀξιώ. Οἱ γὰρ μωροὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γλώττης κειμένην ἔχουσι τὴν κακίαν. Οὗτοι γοῦν μολυβδίνας τινὰς ὄργας περιφέρονται, ὡς ἑαυτοὺς μὲν κατ' ἀντίδοσιν πλήττειν, ἡμᾶς δὲ πρὸς κέρδος τῆς οἰκείας κολάσεως ἀπάγειν· καὶ ὁ μὲν καλῶς διδάξας πολέμιος κρίνεται· ὁ δὲ τὴν φθόρου κακίαν προβεβλημένος, ἐκείνος τὴν τοῦ λαοῦ ἡμερότητα οὐ δεόντως καταλαμβάνει, πορθεῖ, καταναλίσκει, καὶ ἑαυτὸν κακοθελεῖ ἐγκωμίῳ κοσμεῖ καὶ συντίθησι, τὴν δὲ ἀλήθειαν ἀνατρέπει, καὶ τὴν πίστιν ἀπατᾷ, μέχρις οὗ τῷ οἰκείῳ συνειδῶτι φωλεὸν καὶ κρυπτηρίαν ἐπιζητήσας εὑρη. Αὕτη γοῦν αὐτοὺς ἢ σκαιότης ἀθλοῦς ποιεῖ, ὅταν προπετῶς ἑαυτοὺς ἀναξίους ὄντας ἀποδέχωνται, λέγοντες· 'Φεὺ τῶν κακῶν· ἐκείνος πρεσβύτερός ἐστι, καὶ ἐκείνος παῖς, ἐμοῦ ἀπτεται ἢ τιμῇ, ἐμοὶ ὀφείλεται, ἐκείνου ἀφηρέθη· ἐπεὶ αὐτὸς, ἐμαυτῷ ἀφαρπάσας ἀπαντας, ἐπ' ἐξουσίας ἀπολέσαι πειράσσομαι.' Λαμπρά τις ἢ τῆς μανίας ἐκβόησις· τάγματα καὶ συλλόγους, ἦ, ἢ οὕτως εἴπω, ἀρχιερεσίαν τῶν ἀτόπων τούτων συστημάτων ἰδεῖν. Ὡς τῆς ἀτοπίας ἡμῶν, ἢ οὕτως εἴπω,

APOL. C. ARI.
(Letter of
Constantine
to Alex-
andrian
Laity.)

Ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἀνολας ἐστὶν ἐπιδειξίς. Εἴτα οὐκ αἰδοῦνται ; οὐκ αὐτοὶ ἑαυτοὺς ψέγουσιν, οὐδὲ τὰς ψυχὰς δάκνουνται, ἵνα νῦν γοῦν καταντικρὺ τῆς ἀπάτης καὶ τῆς ἐρεσχελίας ἄξιόν τι φρονεῖν δόξωσι ; Βία μόνη ἐστὶ τοῦ φθόνου τοῖς ἰδίοις ἐπερειδομένη φαρμάκοις. Οὐδὲν ἰσχυσαν οἱ πονηροὶ κατὰ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ὑμῶν. Ἐμοὶ πιστεύσατε, ἀδελφοί, οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἐσπουδάκασιν, ἢ ἵνα, κατατρίψαντες τοὺς ἡμετέρους χρόνους, μηδεμίαν χώραν ἐν τῇ ζωῇ ταύτῃ μεταμελείας ἔχωσιν. Ἐπικουρήσατε τοίνυν ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς, παρακαλῶ, τὸ φίλτρον τὸ ἡμέτερον ἀγαπήσατε, καὶ παντὶ σθένει διώξατε τοὺς τὴν τῆς ἡμετέρας ὁμονοίας χάριν ἀφανίζειν ἐπιθυμοῦντας· καὶ πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν ἀπιδόντες, ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀγαπάτε. Ἐγὼ γὰρ τὸν ὑμέτερον ἐπίσκοπον Ἀθανάσιον ἀσμένως προσηκάμην, οὕτως τε προσεφθεγξάμην, ὥς ἄνθρωπον αὐτὸν Θεοῦ ὄντα πεπεισμένος. Ὑμέτερόν ἐστι ταῦτα συνιέναι, οὐκ ἐμὸν κρίνειν. Τὴν γὰρ παρ' ἐμοῦ πρόσρησιν αὐτὸν Ἀθανάσιον ὑμῖν διακονῆσαι τὸν αἰδεσιμώτατον ἀναγκαῖον ἡγησάμην, ἐννοῶν τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τῆς ἐπιεικέας αὐτοῦ, ἥτις οὐκ ἀναξίως τῆς εἰρηνικῆς μου πίστεως, εἰς τὸ ἀγαθὸν τῆς σωτηριώδους γνώμης κατέχεται διαπαντός, καὶ ἔξει τὸν προτρέποντα λογισμόν. Ὁ Θεὸς ὑμᾶς διαφυλάξοι, ἀδελφοί ἀγαπητοί.

Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Κωνσταντῖνος.

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63. Τούτων οὕτως πραχθέντων, πρὸς ὀλίγον ἡσυχάσαντες οἱ Μελιτιανοί, παροξύνονται πάλιν, καὶ ταύτην ὕστερον τίθενται βουλὴν, σποινδάζοντες ἀρέσαι τοῖς μισθωσαμένοις αὐτούς.
- c. 46, 72, 77. Μареωῆς χώρα τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐστίν· ἐν ταύτῃ σχίσμα Μελίτιος οὐκ ἡδυνήθη ποιῆσαι. Τῶν τοίνυν ἐκκλησιῶν ἐν ὠρισμένοις τόποις οὐσῶν, καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων πάντων ἐν αὐταῖς συναγόντων, τῶν τε λαῶν εἰρηνευόντων, Ἰσχύρας τις οὕτω λεγόμενος, οὐ κληρικὸς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν τρόπον ποιηρὸς, ἐπεχείρει τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ κώμῃ πλανᾶν, λέγων εἶναι τινα ἑαυτὸν κληρικόν. Τοῦτο μαθὼν ὁ τῶν τόπων πρεσβύτερος περιερχομένῳ μοι τὰς ἐκκλησίας ἀναγγέλλει· καὶ ἀποστέλλω σὺν αὐτῷ Μακάριον πρεσβύτερον καλέσαι τὸν Ἰσχύραν. Εὐρόν-
- Cp. c. 74.

τες δὲ αὐτὸν νοσοῦντα καὶ κατακείμενον ἐν κελλίῳ, ἐντέλλον-
ται τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ παραγγεῖλαι τῷ υἱῷ μηδὲν τι τοιοῦτον
ἐπιχειρεῖν, οἷον εἶρηται κατ' αὐτοῦ. Ἀλλ' ἀναστὰς ἀπὸ τῆς
νόσου, καὶ κωλυόμενος ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς, κατα-
φεύγει πρὸς τοὺς Μελιτιανούς· κἀκεῖνοι κοινοῦνται τοῖς περὶ
Εὐσέβιον, καὶ λοιπὸν συντίθεται παρ' αὐτῶν ἡ συκοφαντία, ὅτι
δὴ ποτήριον μὲν Μακάριος κατέαξεν, Ἀρσένιος δὲ τις ἐπίσκο-
πος ἐφονεύθη παρ' ἡμῶν. Καὶ τὸν μὲν Ἀρσένιον κρύπτουσιν,
ὑπὲρ τοῦ, μὴ φαινόμενον αὐτὸν, ὥς ἀναιρεθέντα νομίζεσθαι·
καὶ χεῖρα, φησὶν, ὥς συγκοπέντος αὐτοῦ, περιέφερον. Τὸν δὲ
Ἰσχύραν, ὃν οὐκ ᾔδεισαν, ἄρχονται θρυλλεῖν ὥς πρεσβύτερον,
ἵνα καὶ περὶ ποτηρίου λέγων πλανᾷν δύνηται. Ὁ μὲν οὖν
Ἰσχύρας, μεμφομένων αὐτὸν τῶν ἰδίων, ἦλθε πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀποδυ-
ρόμενος, καὶ λέγων μηδὲν μὲν γεγενῆσθαι παρὰ Μακαρίου,
οἷον ἐθρύλλησαν, ὑποβεβλήσθαι δὲ ἑαυτὸν παρὰ τῶν Μελι-
τιανῶν πλάσασθαι τοιαύτην λιοδορίαν. Καὶ γράφει ταῦτα·

Μακαρίῳ πάπῃ Ἀθανασίῳ Ἰσχύρας ἐν Κυρίῳ χαίρειν.

64. Ἐπειδὴ προσῆλθόν σοι, κύριε ἐπίσκοπε, βουλόμενος τῆς
ἐκκλησίας εἶναι, ἡγιάσω δέ με ἐφ' οἷς πρότερον ἐφθεγξάμην, (Letter of
Ischyrras to
Athanasius.)
c. 28, 75.
ὥς ἐμοῦ ἀπὸ προαιρέσεως εἰς τοῦτο παρελθόντος, τούτου ἕνεκεν
ταύτην τὴν ἀπολογίαν ἐγγράφως σοι ἐπιδίδωμι, ἵν' εἰδέναι
ἔχῃς, ὅτι, βίβας μοι γενομένης, καὶ πληγῶν ἐπιτεθεισῶν ἀπὸ
Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἡρακλείδου, καὶ Ἰσαὰκ τοῦ τῆς Λητοῦς, καὶ ὑπὸ
τῶν σὺν αὐτοῖς. Ἐγὼ δὲ, μάρτυρα τὸν Θεὸν εἰς τοῦτο λαμ-
βάνων, ἀπολογοῦμαι, ὅτι οὐδὲν ὧν ἐκεῖνοι εἰρήκασιν σύνοιδά
σε πεποιηκένοι. Οὔτε γὰρ ποτηρίου κλάσις γέγονεν, οὔτε τῆς
ἀγίας τραπέζης καταστροφή γεγένηται· ἀλλὰ ταῦτα πάντα
ἐκεῖνοι βίβαν ἐπιθέντες μοι, εἰς τοῦτο παρώρμησάν με. Ταῦτα
δὲ ἀπελογησάμην σοι, καὶ ἐγγράφως ἐπιδέδωκα, αἰρούμενος καὶ
ἐπιδικαζόμενος εἶναι τῶν ἐπὶ σὲ συναγομένων. Ἐρῶσθαι σε
εὐχομαι ἐν Κυρίῳ. Ἐπιδέδωκα δὲ τήνδε μου τὴν χεῖρά σοι
τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ Ἀθανασίῳ ἐπὶ παρουσίᾳ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων Ἀμ-
μωνᾷ Δικέλλῃ, Ἡρακλείῳ Φάσκῳ, Βόκκονος Χενεβρί, Ἀχιλλᾷ
Μυρσίῃ, Διδύμῳ Ταφοσίρῳ, καὶ Ἰούστῳ ἀπὸ Βωμοθέου·
καὶ διακόνων ἀπὸ μὲν Ἀλεξανδρείας Παύλου, καὶ Πέτρου, καὶ

APOL. C. ARI. Ὁλυμπίου, ἀπὸ δὲ Μαρρώτου Ἀμμωνίου καὶ Πιστοῦ, καὶ
 (Letter of Ischyrras to Δημητρίου, καὶ Γαίου.
 Athanasius.)

65. Ταῦτα γράψαντος καὶ Ἰσχύρα, ὅμως πάλιν τὴν τοιαύτην κατηγορίαν θρυλλοῦσι μὲν πανταχοῦ, ἀναφέρουσι δὲ καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ Κωνσταντίνῳ. Κἀκεῖνος περὶ μὲν τοῦ ποτηρίου φθάσας ἦν ἀκούσας αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ Ψαμμαθίᾳ, παρόντων ἡμῶν, καὶ καταγνοὺς τῆς συκοφαντίας τῶν ἐχθρῶν· γράφει δὲ εἰς τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν Δαλματίῳ τῷ κήνσωρι, ἀκοῦσαι τῆς περὶ τοῦ φόνου δίκης. Ὁ τοίνυν κήνσωρ ἐπιστέλλει μοι παρασκευάσασθαι πρὸς ἀπολογίαν τοῦ ἐγκλήματος. Ἐγὼ δὲ, δεξάμενος τὰ τοιαῦτα γράμματα, καίτοι τὴν ἀρχὴν μηδὲ προσποιούμενος, διὰ τὸ εἶδέναι μηδὲν αὐτοὺς λέγειν ἀληθές, ὅμως, ἐπειδὴ βασιλεὺς κεκίνητο, γράφω τοῖς συλλειτουργοῖς εἰς Αἴγυπτον, καὶ πέμπω διάκονον, βουλόμενος μαθεῖν περὶ Ἀρσενίου· οὐ γὰρ ἑωράκειν τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἔτεσί που πέντε ἢ ἕξ. Καὶ τί γάρ; ἵνα μὴ τελείως τὰ τοιαῦτα λέγω, ἐγνώσθη κρυπτόμενος ὁ Ἀρσένιος τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, λοιπὸν δὲ καὶ ἐν Τύρῳ Cp. Soc. i. 29. πάλιν κρυπτόμενον αὐτὸν εὑρον οἱ ἡμέτεροι. Καὶ τό γε θάυμαστον, οὐδὲ εὐρεθεὶς ὁμολόγει αὐτὸς εἶναι ὁ Ἀρσένιος, ἕως ἐν δικαστηρίῳ ἐπὶ Παύλου τοῦ τηνικαῦτα ἐπισκόπου τῆς Τύρου ἠλέγχθη· καὶ καταισχυνηθεὶς λοιπὸν οὐκ ἠρνήσατο. Τοῦτο δὲ ἐποίει φυλάττων πρὸς τοὺς περὶ Εὐσέβιον συνθήκην, ἵνα μὴ, ὡς εὐρεθέντος, λοιπὸν ἐκείνων τὸ δῶμα διαλυθῇ, ὅπερ καὶ γέγονε. Γράψαντος γάρ μου τῷ βασιλεῖ, ὅτι Ἀρσένιος εὐρέθη, καὶ ὑπομνήσαντος αὐτὸν περὶ ὧν ἤκουσεν ἐν τῇ Ψαμμαθίᾳ Μακαρίου τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου χάριν, ἔπαυσε μὲν τὸ δικαστήριον τοῦ κήνσωρος, ἔγραψε δὲ καταγινώσκων τὴν συκοφαντίαν τῶν καθ' ἡμῶν γενομένων, καὶ τοὺς περὶ Εὐσέβιον ἐρχομένους εἰς τὴν ἀνατολὴν καθ' ἡμῶν ἐκέλευσεν ὑποστρέψαι. Ὅτι μὲν οὖν κατηγόρησαν ὡς ἀναιρεθέντος Ἀρσενίου, ἵνα μὴ ταῖς παρὰ τῶν πολλῶν γραφείσαις ἐπιστολαῖς χρῆσθωμαι, ἀρκεῖ μόνον τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Θεσσαλονίκης παραθέσθαι· ἀπὸ Cp. c. 16, 17. γὰρ ταύτης καὶ τὰς τῶν ἄλλων γινῶναι δυνατόν. Ἐκεῖνος τοίνυν εἰδὼς ὅσα μὲν ἐθρύλλησε καθ' ἡμῶν Ἀρχάφ, ὁ καὶ

Ἰωάννης, περὶ φόνου, καὶ μαθὼν ὅτι ἤ Ἀρσένιος, γράφει ταῦτα·

Κυρίῳ ἀγαπητῷ υἱῷ καὶ ὁμοφύχῳ συλλειτουργῷ Ἀθανασίῳ Ἀλέξανδρος
ἐπίσκοπος ἐν Κυρίῳ χαίρειν.

66. Συγχαίρω τῷ βελτίστῳ Σαραπίωνι, οὕτως ἱεροῖς ἑαυτὸν *(Letter of Alexander to Athanasius.)*
ἤθεσι κοσμεῖν ἀγωνιζομένῳ, καὶ τὴν τε τοῦ πατρὸς μνήμην
ἐγκωμιαστικώτερον ἐπαύξοντι. 'Ἐτελεύτησε γάρ, ὥς που ἡ *Ecclus. xxx.*
ἱερά φησι γραφή, 'ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὥς οὐκ ἀπέθανε,' κατέ-
λιπε γὰρ τῷ βίῳ μνημόσυνον. Ὅπως μὲν οὖν διεκείμεθα περὶ
τὸν μνήμης ἄξιον Σώζοντα, οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἀγνοεῖς, δέσποτα, τὴν
περὶ ἐκείνον ἱερὰν μνήμην καὶ τὴν προσοῦσαν τῷ νεωτέρῳ ἐπι-
είκειαν. Μίαν μόνην τὴν διὰ τοῦ νεωτέρου τούτου ἐδεξάμην
παρὰ τῆς σεμνότητός σου ἐπιστολήν. Ἐδήλωσα οὖν σοι αὐτὸ
τοῦτο, ἵνα εἰδέναι ἔχῃς, δέσποτα. Ὁ ἀγαπητὸς ἡμῶν καὶ
συνδιάκονος Μακάριος εὐφρανέ με ἀπὸ τῆς Κωνσταντινου-
πόλεως γράψας, ὅπως Ἀρχὰφ ὁ συκοφάντης ἡσχημόνησε, τὸν
ζῶντα ὥς φονευθέντα παρὰ πᾶσι κηρύξας. Ὅτι γὰρ τὴν ἐπὶ
τοῖς τολμηθείσῃ αὐτῷ ἀξίαν εἰσπραξίῳ κομιεῖται παρὰ τοῦ
δικαίου Κριτοῦ μετὰ τοῦ ὁμοτρόπου στίφους, αἱ ἀψευδεῖς ἀνα-
φωνοῦσι γραφαί. Ὁ τῶν ὅλων διατηροῖ σε ἐπὶ μήκιστον
Δεσπότης, κύριε πάντων χάριν χρηστότατε.

67. Ὅτι δὲ ἐκρύπτετο Ἀρσένιος, διὰ τοῦτο, ἵνα θάνατον
οὔτοι πλάσωνται, τοῦτο μαρτυροῦσιν οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ διατρίψαντες·
ζητοῦντες γὰρ αὐτὸν, εὗρομεν τοῦτον, καὶ ἔγραψε πρὸς Ἰωάννην
τὸν ὑποκρινόμενον τὴν τοιαύτην συκοφαντίαν, ταῦτα·

Τῷ ἀγαπητῷ ἀδελφῷ Ἰωάννῃ Πίννης πρεσβύτερος μονῆς Πτεμεγκύρκεως
τῆς Ἀντισπολίτου νομοῦ χαίρειν.

Γινώσκεις σε θέλω, ὅτι ἀπέστειλεν Ἀθανάσιος εἰς τὴν *(Letter of Pinnes to John Archaph.)*
Θηβαΐδα διάκονον ἑαυτοῦ, ἐρευνῆσαι πάντα ἕνεκεν Ἀρσενίου.
Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν, εὑρεθέντες Πεκύσιος πρεσβύτερος, καὶ Σιλ-
βανὸς, ὁ ἀδελφὸς Ἠλία, καὶ Ταπεννακεραμεὺς, καὶ Παῦλος,
μοναχὸς ἀπὸ Ὑψηλῆς, ὡμολόγησαν, ὅτι παρ' ἡμῖν ἐστιν
Ἀρσένιος· ἡμεῖς δὲ, μαθόντες, πεποιήκαμεν αὐτὸν ἐμβληθῆναι

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(Letter of
Pinnes to
John
Archaph.)

εἰς πλοῖον, καὶ πλεῦσαι εἰς τὰ κάτω μέρη μετὰ Ἡλία μοναχοῦ·
 Καὶ ἐξαίφνης μετὰ ταῦτα πάλιν ἀνελθὼν ὁ διάκονος μετὰ
 τινων, ἐπιστὰς ἐν τῇ μονῇ ἡμῶν ἔνεκεν τοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἀρσενίου,
 αὐτὸν μὲν οὐχ εὔρηκαν, διὰ τὸ ἀπεσταλκέναι ἡμᾶς αὐτὸν, ὡς
 προείπομεν, ἐν τοῖς κάτω μέρεσιν· ἐμὲ δὲ μετὰ τοῦ μοναχοῦ
 τοῦ αὐτὸν παραλαβόντος Ἡλία κατήνεγκαν εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάν-
 δρειαν, καὶ προσήνεγκαν μὲν τῷ δουκὶ· καὶ οὐδὲ Ἰσχυσα ἀρνή-
 σασθαι, ἀλλ' ὡμολόγησα, ὅτι ζῇ καὶ οὐκ ἀνηρέθη· τὰ αὐτὰ δὲ
 καὶ ὁ παραλαβὼν αὐτὸν μοναχὸς ὡμολόγησε. Διὰ τοῦτο ταῦτα
 σοι γνωρίζω, πάτερ, ἵνα μὴ δόξῃ σοι κατηγορήσαι Ἀθανασίου·
 εἶπον γὰρ ὅτι ζῇ, καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν ἦν κρυπτόμενος· καὶ ἐγνωρίσθη
 πάντα ταῦτα ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, καὶ οὐκέτι δύναται κρυβῆναι τοῦτο.
 Παφνούτιος μοναχὸς τῆς αὐτῆς μονῆς ὁ γράψας τὴν ἐπιστολὴν
 πολλά σε ἀσπάζομαι, ἐρρώσθαι σε εὐχομαι.

Ἀ δὲ καὶ βασιλεὺς ἔγραψε, μαθὼν, ὅτι εὐρέθη Ἀρσένιος
 ζῶν, ἔστι ταῦτα·

Νικητὴς Κωνσταντῖνος μέγιστος Σεβαστὸς τῷ πάπᾳ Ἀθανασίῳ.

(Letter II
of Constan-
tius to Atha-
nasius.)

68. Τοῖς παρὰ τῆς σῆς συνέσεως ἐντυχὼν γράμμασι, ταύτης
 γνώμης αὐτὸς ἐγενόμην, ὡς ἀντιγράφων τῇ σῇ στερβρότητι,
 προτρέψασθαι σε, ὅπως πρὸς εὐταξίαν καὶ οἶκτον τὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ
 λαὸν ἄγειν σπουδάσῃς. Ταῦτα γὰρ μάλιστα προηγούμενα ἐν
 τῇ ἐμμαντοῦ ψυχῇ κατέχω, ὡς ἀλήθειάν τε ἀσκεῖν, καὶ ἐν τῇ
 διανοίᾳ δικαιοσύνην ἀεὶ φυλάττειν, καὶ τούτοις μάλιστα χαίρειν,
 τοῖς ὀρθῇ ὁδῷ τοῦ βίου πορευομένοις. Περὶ δὲ ἐκείνων τῶν
 πάσης ἀρᾶς ἀξίων, τῶν Μελιτιανῶν δηλαδὴ τῶν σκαιοτάτων
 καὶ ἀθεμίτων, οἵτινες τῇ ἐμπληξίᾳ λοιπὸν ἀπονεναρκήκασιν, καὶ
 μόνον φθόνῳ καὶ ζᾶλῃ καὶ θορύβοις τὰ ἄτοπα κινουῦσι, τὴν
 ἀθέμιτον αὐτῶν διάνοιαν ἐπιδεικνύντες, ταῦτα φθέγξομαι·
 Ὅρᾳς γὰρ ὅπως οἱ ἄνδρες οὗς ἐκεῖνοι ξίφει ἀνηρήσθαι ἔφασ-
 κον, ἐν μέσοις νῦν εἰσι, καὶ τῆς ζωῆς ἀπολαύουσι. Πρὸς δὲ
 ταῦτα τί ἂν γένοιτο πρόκριμα χεῖρον, οὕτω φανερώς καὶ σαφῶς
 ἐπιφερόμενον τῇ ἐκείνων δίκῃ, ἢ τὸ τούτους, οὗς ἀνηρήσθαι
 ἔλεγον, ζῆν τε καὶ τοῦ βίου ἀπολαύειν, οἵτινες δηλονότι καὶ

ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν φθέγξασθαι δυσήσονται ; Προσέκειτο δὲ τοῖς
 παρὰ τῶν Μελιτιανῶν ἐκείνων καὶ τοῦτο· διεβεβαιοῦντο γὰρ
 ἀθεμίτῳ ὁρμῇ ἐπεισελθόντα σε καὶ ἀρπάσαντα ποτήριον ἐν τῷ c. 17.
 ἀγιοτάτῳ ἀποκείμενον τόπῳ κεκλακέναι, οὐ πράγματος ἀληθῶς
 οὐδὲν μείζον ἦν ἔγκλημα, οὔτε τηλικούτου ἀτόπημα, εἰ τοῦτο
 οὕτως πεπράχθαι τε καὶ ἡμαρτῆσθαι συνέβαιεν. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ
 τίς ἡ κατηγορία αὕτη ; Τίς δὲ ἡ μετάβασις καὶ ποικιλία καὶ
 διαφορὰ τοῦ πράγματος, ὥς νῦν εἰς ἕτερον πρόσωπον τὴν κατη-
 γορίαν τοῦ ἐγκλήματος τούτου μεταγείν ; Ὅπερ δηλονότι
 πρᾶγμα αὐτοῦ τοῦ φωτός, ὥς εἰπεῖν, ἐστὶ τηλαυγέστερον, ὅτι
 τῇ σῇ συνέσει ἐπιβουλευσαι ἐσπούδαζον. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τίς
 ἂν ἐκείνοις τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τοῖς τοσαῦτα εἰς βλάβην ἀναπλα-
 σαμένοις ἀκολουθήσαι ἐθελήσειεν ; ὅταν μάλιστα αὐτοὶ ἑαυτοὺς
 εἰς ὄλεθρον ἄγουσι, καὶ συννοῶσιν, ὅτι πεπλασμένων καὶ [Qu. ἀγισ.]
 ψευδῶν πραγμάτων εἰσὶ κατήγοροι ; Ὡς ἔφην τοίνυν, τίς ἂν
 ἐκείνοις ἐξακολουθήσειε, καὶ εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν τῆς ἀπωλείας πρηνὴς
 ἀπέλθοι ; εἰς ἐκείνην δηλαδὴ, εἰς ἣν ἐκεῖνοι μόνοι τὴν ἐλπίδα
 τῆς σωτηρίας καὶ τῆς ἐπικουρίας ἔχειν οἴονται. Εἰ γὰρ βού-
 λουντο ἐπὶ καθαρὰν ἐλθεῖν συνειδήσιν, καὶ ὑπομνησθῆναι τῆς
 ἀρίστης γνώμης, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ὑγιαίνουσαν ἐλθεῖν διάνοιαν,
 ῥαδίως γνώσονται οὐδεμίαν αὐτοῖς ὑπάρχειν ἐπικουρίαν παρὰ
 τῆς Προνοίας, ἐπειδὴ περ τοιούτων εἰσὶ ζηλωταὶ καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ
 οἰκείῳ ὀλέθρῳ πειράζονται. Ταύτην δὲ οὖν οὐ τραχύτητά
 τινα, ἀλλὰ ἀλήθειαν δικαίως ἂν εἴποιμι. Τὸ τελευταῖον δὲ
 καὶ τοῦτο προστίθημι, ὅτι περ βουλόμεθα δημοσίᾳ παρὰ τῆς
 σῆς συνέσεως πολλάκις ἀναγνωσθῆναι ταῦτα, ὥς ἂν ἐντεῦθεν
 εἰς τὴν ἀπάντων γνώσιν ἔλθοι, καὶ μάλιστα εἰς τὴν ἐκείνων
 ἀφικέσθαι δυναθείη, οἷτινες οὕτω πράττουσιν, οὕτως ἀναστρέ-
 φουσιν, ὥς ταῦτα ἅπερ παρ' ἡμῶν εὐθείας λέγεται λόγῳ τῇ
 τῆς ἀληθείας εἰρηῆσθαι πράξει. Ἐπεὶ τοίνυν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ
 πράγματι τηλικούτον ἐστὶν ἀτόπημα, γνωσκέτωσαν οὕτω με
 κεκρικέναι, καὶ ταύτης εἶναι τῆς προαιρέσεως· εἴ τι τοιούτου
 κινοῖεν, μηκέτι λοιπὸν κατὰ τοὺς τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἀλλὰ κατὰ
 τοὺς δημοσίους νόμους αὐτόν με δι' ἑμαυτοῦ τῶν πραγμάτων
 ἀκροασόμενον, καὶ λοιπὸν εὐρήσοντα αὐτοὺς, ὅτι μὴ μόνον κατὰ
 τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου γένους λησται τινες ὄντες, ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ κατ'

APOL. C. ARI. αὐτῆς τῆς θέας διδασκαλίας φαίνονται. Ὁ Θεός σε διαφυλάξοι, ἀδελφὲ ἀγαπητέ.

69. Ὅτι δὲ τοῦ καὶ πλέον δειχθῆναι τὴν πονηρίαν τῶν συκοφαντῶν, ἰδοὺ καὶ ἔγραψεν Ἀρσένιος μετὰ τὸ εὑρεθῆναι κρυπτόμενον αὐτόν. Ὡς γὰρ Ἰσχύρας ἔγραψεν ὁμολογῶν τὴν συκοφαντίαν, οὕτως Ἀρσένιος γράφων ἐλέγχει πλέον ἐκείνων τὴν κακοήθειαν.

Ἀθανασίῳ μακαρίῳ πάπῃ Ἀρσένιος ἐπίσκοπος τῶν ποτε ὑπὸ Μελίτιον τῆς Ὑψηλιτῶν πόλεως ἅμα πρεσβυτέροις καὶ διακόνοις ἐν Κυρίῳ πλείστα χαίρειν.

(Letter of
Arsenius to
Athanasiu.)

Καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀσπαζόμενοι τὴν εἰρήνην καὶ ἔνωσιν πρὸς τὴν καθολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἧς σὺ κατὰ χάριν Θεοῦ προΐστασαι, προηρημένοι τε τῷ ἐκκλησιαστικῷ κανόνι κατὰ τὸν παλαιὸν τύπον ὑποτάσσεσθαι, γράφομέν σοι, ἀγαπητέ πάπα, ὁμολογοῦντες ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου τοῦ λοιποῦ μὴ κοινωνήσῃς τοῖς ἔτι σχίζουσι, καὶ μηδέπω εἰρηνεύουσι πρὸς τὴν καθολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐπισκόποις τε καὶ πρεσβυτέροις καὶ διακόνοις, μήτε συνθῆσθαι αὐτοῖς βουλομένοις τι ἐν συνόδῳ, μήτε γράμματα εἰρηνικὰ ἀποστέλλειν μήτε δέξασθαι παρ' αὐτῶν, μηδ' αὖ δίχα γνώμης σου τοῦ τῆς μητροπόλεως ἐπισκόπου ὅρον τινα ἐκφέρειν περὶ ἐπισκόπων, ἢ περὶ δόγματος ἑτέρου κοινου ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ· ἀλλ' εἴκειν πᾶσι τοῖς προτετυπωμένοις κανόσι καθ' ὁμοιότητα τῶν ἐπισκόπων Ἀμμωνιανοῦ, καὶ Τυράννου, καὶ Πλουσιανοῦ, καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐπισκόπων. Πρὸς ταῦτα οὖν ἀξιούμεν τὴν σὴν χρηστότητα ἀντιγράψαι μὲν ἡμῖν διὰ τάχους, ὡσαύτως τε καὶ τοῖς συλλειτουργοῖς περὶ ἡμῶν, ὅτι εἴημεν ἤδη ἐπὶ τοῖς προειρημένοις ὅροις, εἰρηνεύσαντες πρὸς τὴν καθολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ ἐνωθέντες τοῖς συλλειτουργοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων· πιστεύομεν δὲ, ὡς εὐχαί σου ἐνεργήσουσιν εὐπρόσδεκτοι οὔσαι, ὥστε τὴν τοιαύτην εἰρήνην βεβαίαν καὶ ἀδιάλυτον εἶναι μέχρι τέλους, κατὰ τὸ βούλημα τοῦ δεσπότου τῶν ἀπάντων Θεοῦ, διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν. Τὸ ὑπὸ σὲ ἱερατεῖον ἡμεῖς καὶ οἱ σὺν ἡμῖν προσαγορευόμεν. Ὅσον δὲ οὐδέπω, Θεοῦ ἐπιτρέποντος, ἀπαντήσομεν πρὸς τὴν σὴν χρηστότητα. Ἀρσένιος

ἐβρώσθαι σε εὐχομαι ἐν Κυρίῳ πολλοῖς χρόνοις, μακαριώτατε πάπα.

70. Μείζων δὲ καὶ φανερώτερος ἔλεγχος τῆς καθ' ἡμῶν c. 17, 65, 80.
 συκοφαντίας ἢ μετάνοια Ἰωάννου· καὶ τούτου μάρτυς ὁ θεοφι-
 λέστατος καὶ μακαρίας μνήμης βασιλεὺς Κωνσταντῖνος· εἰδὼς
 γὰρ ἅπερ Ἰωάννης κατ' αὐτοῦ κατηγορήσε, καὶ δεξάμενος
 γράμματα μεταγινώσκοντος αὐτοῦ, ἔγραψε ταῦτα·

Κωνσταντῖνος μέγιστος Σεβαστὸς Ἰωάννη.

Πάνυ μοι καταθύμια γέγονε τὰ παρὰ τῆς σῆς φρονήσεως (Letter of
Constantine
to John
Archaph.)
 γράμματα· ἔγνω γὰρ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἃ μάλιστα γνῶναι ἐπόθουν,
 πᾶσαν μὲν μικροψυχίαν ἀποτεθεῖσθαι σε, τῇ δὲ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ὡς
 προσῆκον ἦν, κεκοινωνηκέναι, καὶ Ἀθανασίῳ τῷ αἰδεσιμωτάτῳ
 ἐπισκόπῳ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα εἰς ὁμόνοιαν ἐλθεῖν. Εὖ ἴσθι τοίνυν,
 ὡς ἔνεκά γε τούτων πάνυ σε ἐπαινέσας ἔχω, ὅτι πᾶσαν ἀφείς
 ἀψιμαχίαν, ὃ τῷ Θεῷ φίλον ἦν πεποίηκας, τῆς πρὸς τὴν
 ἐκκλησίαν ἐνώσεως ἀντιλαμβανόμενος. Ἵνα τοίνυν καὶ ὦν
 ἐπιθυμεῖς τετυχηκέναι δοκοῖς, ἐπιτρέψαι σοι δεῖν ῥῆσιν
 ὀχήματος ἐπιβῆναι δημοσίου, καὶ εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον τῆς ἐμῆς
 ἡμερότητας σπουδάσαι. Σὸν λοιπὸν ἔστω μηδὲν μελλῆσαι,
 ἀλλὰ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς σοι ταύτης ὀχήματος δημοσίου ἐξουσίαν
 χορηγούσης, εὐθέως πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀφικέσθαι, ἵνα καὶ τὴν ἐπι-
 θυμίαν ἐμπλήσης τὴν σαντοῦ, καὶ θεασάμενος ἡμᾶς, τῆς προση-
 κούσης ἀπολαύσης εὐφροσύνης. Ὁ Θεὸς σε διαφυλάξοι, ἀδελφέ
 ἀγαπητέ.

71. Οὕτω μὲν οὖν τέλος ἔσχεν ἡ συσκευὴ, καὶ οἱ Μελιτιανοὶ
 καταισχυνθέντες ἀπεστράφησαν· οἱ δὲ περὶ Εὐσέβιον οὐδ'
 οὕτως ἠρέμησαν· ἐμελλε γὰρ αὐτοῖς οὐ τῶν Μελιτιανῶν, ἀλλὰ
 τῶν περὶ Ἀρείου, καὶ ἐφοβοῦντο μὴ, πανσαμένων ἐκείνων,
 μηκέτι τοὺς ὑποκρινομένους εὗρωσι, δι' ὧν τοῦτο εἰσαγαγείν
 δύνωνται. Παροξύνουσι τοίνυν πάλιν τοὺς Μελιτιανούς, καὶ
 πείθουσι τὸν βασιλέα σύνοδον αὐθις ἐν Τύρῳ κελεῖσθαι γενέσθαι. Cp. Soc. i. 28.
 Καὶ κόμης Διονύσιος ἀποστέλλεται, καὶ στρατιωταὶ δορυφόροι
 δίδονται τοῖς περὶ Εὐσέβιον. Καὶ ὁ μὲν Μακάριος δέσμιος διὰ
 στρατιωτῶν πέμπεται εἰς Τύρον· ἐμοὶ δὲ γράφει καὶ ἀνάγκη

APOL. C. ARI. ἐπιτίθῃσιν, ὥστε καὶ ἄκοντας ἡμᾶς ἀποστέλλεσθαι. Τὴν μὲν οὖν πᾶσαν συσκευὴν γινῶναι δυνατὸν, ἐξ ὧν ἔγραψαν οἱ ἐπίσκοποι τῆς Αἰγύπτου· πῶς δὲ παρ' αὐτῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς συνετέθη, ἀναγκαῖον ἂν εἴη λέγειν· καὶ γὰρ ἐντεῦθεν θεωρεῖν τὴν κακοήθειαν καὶ τὴν πανουργίαν τὴν καθ' ἡμῶν γενομένην ἔξεστιν. Ἐπίσκοποι εἰσιν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, καὶ Λιβύῃ, καὶ Πενταπόλει, ἐγγὺς ἑκατόν· οὐδεὶς τούτων ἡμᾶς ᾔτιᾶτο, οὐ πρεσβύτερος ἐμέμφετο, οὐ τῶν λαῶν τις κατελάλει· ἀλλ' οἱ Μελιτιανοὶ οἱ ἀπὸ Πέτρου ἐκβληθέντες καὶ οἱ Ἀρειανοὶ ἦσαν οἱ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν μερισάμενοι· καὶ οἱ μὲν τὸ κατηγορεῖν, οἱ δὲ τὸ δικάζειν ἑαυτοῖς ἐξεδίκουν. Ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν παρηγοούμεθα τοὺς περὶ Εὐσέβιον ὡς ἐχθροὺς διὰ τὴν αἵρεσιν ὄντας· ἔπειτα τὸν λεγόμενον κατήγορον μὴ εἶναι πρεσβύτερον ὅλως ἐδεικνυμεν οὕτως. Ὅτε

c. 77. Μελίτιος ὑπεδέχθη, ὡς μήποτ' ὦφελον, γινώσκων αὐτοῦ τὴν πανουργίαν ὁ μακαρίτης Ἀλέξανδρος ἀπήτησεν αὐτὸν βρεβλίον ὧν ἔλεγεν ἔχειν ἐπισκόπων ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ πρεσβυτέρων καὶ διακόνων, καὶ εἰ ἔχει τινας ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ αὐτῆς. Τοῦτο δὲ πεποίηκεν ὁ πάπας Ἀλέξανδρος, ἵνα

c. 59. μὴ Μελίτιος, λαβὼν τὴν τῆς ἐκκλησίας παρῆρσίαν, πωλήσῃ πολλοὺς, καὶ ψεύσῃται καθημέραν ὑποβάλλων οὓς βούλεται. Τῶν μὲν οὖν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ πεποίηκε τὸ βρεβλίον τοῦτο.

Cp. Hist. Ari. 78.

Βρεβλίον δοθὲν παρὰ Μελιτίου Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ.

(List of
Meletian
Bishops and
Clergy.)

Ἐγὼ Μελίτιος ἐν Λυκῷ, Λούκιος ἐν Ἀντινόου, Φασιλεὺς ἐν Ἐρμουπόλει, Ἀχιλλεὺς ἐν Κουσαῖς, Ἀμμόνιος ἐν Διοσπόλει.

Ἐν Πτολεμαίδι, Παχύμης ἐν Τεντύραις.

Ἐν Μαξιανουπόλει, Θεόδωρος ἐν Κόπτῳ.

Ἐν Θηβαίδι· Κάλῃς ἐν Ἑρμέθῃ, Κόλλουθος ἐν τῇ ἄνω Κυνῷ, Πελάγιος ἐν Ὁξυρύγχῳ, Πέτρος ἐν Ἡρακλεοῦς, Θέων ἐν Νειλουπόλει, Ἰσαὰκ ἐν Λητοῦς, Ἡρακλείδης ἐν Νικίους,

Cp. c. 64. Ἰσαὰκ ἐν Κλεοπατρίδι, Μέλας ἐν Ἀρσενοίτῃ.

Ἐν Ἡλιοῦς, Ἀμῶς ἐν Λεόντων, Ἰσιῶν ἐν Ἀθριβί.

Ἐν Φαρβεθῷ· Ἀρποκρατίων ἐν Βουβάστῳ, Μωσῆς ἐν Φακουσαῖς, Καλλίνικος ἐν Πηλουσίῳ, Εὐδαίμων ἐν Τάνει, Ἐφραῖμ ἐν Θμουτί.

Cp. c. 60. Ἐν Σαί· Ἑρμαῖων ἐν Κυνῷ καὶ Βούσιρι, Σωτήριχος ἐν

Σεβεννύτῳ, Πινυνούθῃς ἐν Φθενεγὺ, Κρόνιος ἐν Μετῆλι, Ἀγαθάμμων ἐν τῇ Ἀλεξανδρέων χώρα.

Ἐν Μέμφι Ἰωάννης, κελευσθεὶς παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως εἶναι μετὰ τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου. Οἱ μὲν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ οὗτοι.

Τῶν δὲ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ εἶχε κληρικῶν Ἀπολλώνιος πρεσ- [Qu. ὦν.] βύτερος, Εἰρηναῖος πρεσβύτερος, Διόσκορος πρεσβύτερος, Τύραννος πρεσβύτερος.

Διάκονοι, Τιμόθεος διάκονος, Ἀντίνοος διάκονος, Ἡφαιστίων διάκονος, καὶ Μακάριος πρεσβύτερος τῆς Παρεμβολῆς.

72. Τούτους Μελίτιος καὶ παρόντας παρέδωκεν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ c. 11, 28. τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ. Τοῦ δὲ λεγομένου Ἰσχύρα οὐτ' ἐμνημόνευσεν, οὔτε ὅλως ἐν τῷ Μαρεώτῃ ἐσχηκέναι πώποτε ὡμολόγησε καὶ c. 46, 63. ὅμως καὶ οἱ ἐχθροὶ οὐκ ἀφίσταντο, καὶ ὁ μὴ πρεσβύτερος ὡς πρεσβύτερος ἐπλάττετο· κόμης γὰρ ἦν ὁ ἀναγκάζων, καὶ c. 8. στρατιῶται εἰλκον ἡμᾶς. Ἀλλὰ καὶ οὕτως ἡ χάρις τοῦ Θεοῦ νενίκηκεν· οὔτε γὰρ Μακάριον ἤλεγξαν περὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου c. 27. ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἀρσένιος, ὃν ἐθρύλλησαν ἀνηρῆσθαι παρ' ἡμῶν, εἰστήκει ζῶν καὶ δεικνύων τὴν ἐκείνων συκοφαντίαν. Μὴ Soc. i. 29. δυνηθέντων τοίνυν ἐκείνων ἐλέγξαι τὸν Μακάριον, οἱ περὶ Εὐσέβιον ἐχαλέπαινον, ὡς ἀπολέσαντες ὅπερ ἐθήρευον, καὶ πείθουσι τὸν κόμητα τὸν σὺν αὐτοῖς Διονύσιον, ἵν' εἰς τὸν Μαρεώτην ἀποστείλῃ, μὴ ἄρα τι δυνηθῶσιν εὐρεῖν ἐκεῖ κατὰ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου· μᾶλλον δὲ ἵνα ἀπελθόντες καττύσωσιν, ἀπόντων ἡμῶν, ὡς βούλονται· τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν τὸ σπουδαζόμενον Cp. Apol ad Const. i. αὐτοῖς. Ἀμέλει λεγόντων ἡμῶν 'περιττὴν μὲν εἶναι τὴν εἰς τὸν Μαρεώτην ἀποδημίαν'· ἃ γὰρ ἐκ πολλοῦ χρόνου μεμελετήκασι, μὴ προφασίζέσθωσαν ἐνδεῶς εἰρηκέναι, μηδὲ ὑπερτιθέσθωσαν· ἃ γὰρ ἐνόμιζον ἔχειν εἰρήκασι, καὶ λοιπὸν ἀποροῦντες προφασίζονται· ἢ εἰ χρεῖα καὶ τοῦ Μαρεώτου, τοὺς γοῦν ὑπόπτους μὴ πέμπεσθαι· ὁ μὲν κόμης περὶ τῶν ὑπόπτων ἐπείθετο, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ πάντα μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦτο πεποιήκασιν· οὓς γὰρ παρηγούμεθα διὰ τὴν Ἀρειανὴν αἵρεσιν, οὗτοι σπουδαίως c. 28. ἀπῆλθον, Διόγνιος, Μάρις, Θεόδωρος, Μακεδόنيος, Οὐρσάκιος καὶ Οὐάλης. Πάλιν τε γράμματα πρὸς τὸν ἑπαρχον τῆς Αἰγύπτου, καὶ στρατιωτικὴ δορυφορία, καὶ τό γε θαυμαστὸν καὶ

APOL. C. ARI. πάσης ὑπεροψίας γέμον, Μακάριον μὲν τὸν κατηγορούμενον πεποιήκασι διὰ στρατιωτῶν ἀπομείναι, τὸν δὲ κατήγορον μεθ' ἑαυτῶν ἀπήγαγον. Τίς οὖν λοιπὸν ἐκ τούτων οὐ θεωρεῖ τὴν συσκευήν; τίς οὐ συννοῶ λευκῶς τῶν περὶ Εὐσέβιον τὴν

C. 13, 27, 31. πονηρίαν; Εἰ γὰρ κρίσεως ἦν ἐν τῷ Μαρεώτῃ χρεία, ἔδει καὶ τὸν κατηγορούμενον ἀποστέλλεσθαι· εἰ δὲ μὴ κρίσεως ἔνεκεν ἀπήρχοντο, διὰ τί τὸν κατήγορον ἐπήγοντο; Καὶ γὰρ ἥρκει, ὅτι μὴ ἀπέδειξεν. Ἀλλὰ τοῦτο πεποιήκασιν, ἵν', ἐπειδὴ παρόντα τὸν πρεσβύτερον οὐκ ἤλεγξαν, τοῦτον ἀπόντα συσκευάσωνται, καὶ τυρεύσωσιν ἄπερ αὐτοῖς ἐδόκει. Καὶ γὰρ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας καὶ τῆς χώρας πάσης μεμψαμένους, ὅτι μόνοι παρεγένοντο, καὶ ἀξιούντας κὰν αὐτοὺς παρῆναι οἷς ἔπραττον (εἰδέναι γὰρ ἔλεγον καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν λεγόμενον Ἰσχύραν), οὐκ ἐπέτρεψαν, ἀλλὰ τὸν μὲν ἑπαρχον τῆς Αἰγύπτου Φιλάργιον παραβάτην, καὶ στρατιώτας ἔθνικοὺς εἶχον μεθ' ἑαυτῶν ἐξετάζοντας ἃ μὴδὲ κατηχούμενους ἔπρεπε θεωρεῖν· τοὺς δὲ κληρικοὺς οὐ συνεχώρησαν, ἵνα μὴ κάκεῖ, ὥσπερ ἐν τῇ Τύρῳ, τοὺς διελέγχοντας αὐτοὺς ἔχωσιν.

Encycl. 3.
C. 31.

73. Ἀλλ' οὐδὲ οὕτως λαθεῖν ἠδυνήθησαν· συνορώντες γὰρ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι τῆς πόλεως καὶ τοῦ Μαρεώτου τὰς κακουργίας αὐτῶν, ἔγραψαν καὶ διεμαρτύραντο ταῦτα·

Θεογνίῳ, Μάρι καὶ Μακεδονίῳ, Θεοδώρῳ, καὶ Οὐρσακίῳ, καὶ Οὐάλεντι, τοῖς ἀπὸ Τύρου ἐλθοῦσιν ἐπισκόποις, παρὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων καὶ διακόνων τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας Ἀλεξανδρείας, ὑπὸ τὸν αἰδεσιμώτατον ἐπίσκοπον Ἀθανάσιον.

(Letter of
Alexan-
drian Clergy
to the Com-
missioners.)

Ἐπρεπεν ὑμᾶς, ἐρχομένους καὶ ἄγοντας μεθ' ἑαυτῶν τὸν κατήγορον, ἀγαγεῖν καὶ Μακάριον τὸν πρεσβύτερον· αἱ γὰρ κρίσεις οὕτω συνίστανται κατὰ τὰς ἀγίας γραφὰς, ὥστε τὸν κατήγορον μετὰ τοῦ κατηγορουμένου ἐστάναι. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὔτε Μακάριον ἠγάγετε, οὔτε ὁ αἰδεσιμώτατος ἡμῶν ἐπίσκοπος Ἀθανάσιος μεθ' ὑμῶν εἰσῆλθεν, ἡξιώσαμεν κὰν αὐτοὶ παρῆναι ἐν τῇ κρίσει, ἵνα παρόντων ἡμῶν ἀσφαλῆς ἡ ἐξέτασις γένηται, καὶ πεισθῶμεν καὶ ἡμεῖς. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὐ τοῦτο συνεχώρησατε, ἀλλὰ μόνοι μετὰ τοῦ ἐπάρχου τῆς Αἰγύπτου καὶ τοῦ κατηγόρου ἠθελήσατε πράττειν ἃ βούλεσθε, ὁμολογοῦμεν ὅτι ὑποψία

εἶδομεν ἐν τῷ πράγματι πονηρὰν, καὶ ἐθεωρήσαμεν ὅτι συσκευὴ καὶ ἐπιβουλὴ μόνον ἐστὶν ἡ εἰσοδος ὑμῶν. Διὰ τοῦτο ταύτην ὑμῖν ἐπιδίδομεν τὴν ἐπιστολὴν, μαρτύριον ἐσομένην εἰς ἀληθινὴν σύνοδον, ἵνα γνωσθῇ πᾶσιν, ὅτι κατὰ μονομέρειαν ἄπερ ἡθελήσατε ἐπράξατε, καὶ οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἢ συσκευὴν ἡθελήσατε συνθεῖναι καθ' ἡμῶν. Τούτων δὲ τὰ ἴσα ἐπιδεδώκαμεν καὶ Παλλαδίῳ τῷ κουριώσῳ τοῦ Αὐγούστου, ἵνα μὴ κρυβῇ παρ' ὑμῶν. * Ἀ γὰρ ἐπράξατε, τοιαῦτα λοιπὸν ἡμᾶς ὑποπτεύειν καὶ λογίζεσθαι ποιεῖ περὶ ὑμῶν.

c. 27.

Διονύσιος πρεσβύτερος ἐπιδέδωκα, Ἀλέξανδρος πρεσβύτερος, Νειλαρῶς πρεσβύτερος, Λόγγος πρεσβύτερος, Ἀφθόνιος πρεσβύτερος, Ἀθανάσιος πρεσβύτερος, Ἀμύντιος πρεσβύτερος, Πιστὸς πρεσβύτερος, Πλουτίων πρεσβύτερος, Διόσκορος πρεσβύτερος, Ἀπολλώνιος πρεσβύτερος, Σαραπίων πρεσβύτερος, Ἀμμώνιος πρεσβύτερος, Γάϊος πρεσβύτερος, Ἕνιος πρεσβύτερος, Αἰθαλῆς πρεσβύτερος.

Διάκονοι, Μαρκελλίνος διάκονος, Ἀππιανὸς διάκονος, Θέων διάκονος, Τιμόθεος διάκονος, καὶ Τιμόθεος ἄλλος διάκονος.

74. Τὰ μὲν τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως κληρικῶν γράμματά τε καὶ ὀνόματα ταῦτα· ἃ δὲ καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ Μαρεώτου κληρικοὶ ἔγραψαν γινώσκοντες τὸν τρόπον τοῦ κατηγοροῦ, καὶ ἐν τῇ περιοδείᾳ σὺν ἐμοὶ ὄντες, ἔστι ταῦτα·

c. 17.

Τῇ ἀγίᾳ συνόδῳ τῶν μακαρίων ἐπισκόπων τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας οἱ κατὰ Μαρεώτην πάντες πρεσβύτεροι καὶ διάκονοι ἐν Κυρίῳ χαίρειν.

Εἰδότες τὸ γεγραμμένον, ὅτι * Ἀ εἶδον οἱ ὀφθαλμοί σου λέγε, καὶ ὅτι * Μάρτυς ψευδῆς οὐκ ἀτιμώρητος ἔσται, ἃ εἶδομεν μαρτυροῦμεν, μάλιστα, ὅτι ἀναγκαίαν ἡμῶν ἐποίησεν εἶναι τὴν μαρτυρίαν ἡ γενομένη συσκευὴ κατὰ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ἡμῶν Ἀθανασίου. Θαυμάζομεν γὰρ πῶς ὅλως Ἰσχύρας κἂν εἰς μέτρον τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐμετρήθη, περὶ οὗ πρῶτον διηγήσασθαι ἀναγκαῖον ἡγοῦμεθα. Ἰσχύρας οὐδέποτε λειτουργὸς τῆς ἐκκλησίας γέγονεν· ἀλλ' ἑαυτὸν μὲν πρὸ τούτου ἐφήμισε Κολλούθου πρεσβύτερον, οὐκ ἔσχε δὲ τὸν πειθόμενον αὐτῷ, εἰ μὴ μόνον τοὺς συγγενεῖς ἑαυτοῦ· οὔτε γὰρ ἐκκλησίαν ἔσχε ποτὲ, οὔτε ὅλως κληρικὸς ἐνομίσθη παρὰ τοῖς ὀλίγον διεστῶσιν

(Letter of
Mareotic
Clergy to
Council of
Tyre.)
Prov. xxv. 8.
Ib. xix. 5.

Cp. c. 12, 76.

APOL. C. ARI.
(Letter of
Marcellus
to the
Council of
Tyre.)

[Late in A.D.
324.]

ἀπὸ τῆς κώμης αὐτοῦ, πλὴν μόνοις, ὡς προείπομεν, τοῖς συγγενεῦσιν ἑαυτοῦ· ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁμῶς τοιαύτην ἑαυτῷ προσηγορίαν ἐπιφημίσας, ἐπὶ τῆς συνόδου τῆς συγκροτηθείσης ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, ἐπὶ τῇ παρουσίᾳ τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ὁσίου καθηρέθη, καὶ λαϊκὸς συνήχθη, καὶ οὕτως ἔμεινε τὸν ἐξῆς χρόνον, ἐκπεσὼν καὶ τῆς ψευδοῦς ὑπονομίας τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου. Περὶ γὰρ τῶν ἡθῶν αὐτοῦ περιττὸν ἡγούμεθα λέγειν, δυναμένων πάντων εἶδέναι τὰ τοιαῦτα. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ περὶ κλάσεως ποτηρίου καὶ τραπέζης ἐσυκοφάντησεν ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπίσκοπον Ἀθανάσιον, καὶ περὶ τούτου διηγῆσασθαι ὑμῖν ἀναγκαῖον ἡπείχθημεν. Φθάσαντες γὰρ εἴπομεν ἐκκλησίαν αὐτὸν μηδέποτε ἐσχέκεναι ἐν τῷ Μαραεώτῃ· ὥς δὲ ἐπὶ Θεοῦ μάρτυρος, οὐδὲ ποτήριον κέκλασται, οὐδὲ τράπεζα ἀνετράπη παρὰ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ἡμῶν, οὐδὲ παρ' ἄλλου τινὸς τῶν συνόντων αὐτῷ· ἀλλὰ πάντα ἐστὶ τὰ λεγόμενα συκοφαντία· καὶ ταῦτα λέγομεν, οὐ μακρὰν τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ἀπόντες· πάντες γὰρ σὺν αὐτῷ ἐσμεν, ὅταν περιοδεύῃ τὸν Μαραεώτην· καὶ οὐδέποτε μόνος περιέρχεται, ἀλλὰ μετὰ πάντων ἡμῶν τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, καὶ τῶν διακόνων, καὶ λαῶν ἱκανῶν. Διὸ καὶ ὡς συμπρόντες αὐτῷ ἐν πάσῃ περιοδείᾳ, ἥ πεποίηται πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ταῦτα λέγομεν καὶ μαρτυροῦμεν, ὅτι οὔτε ποτήριον κατέαγεν, οὔτε τράπεζα ἀνετράπη, ἀλλὰ πάντα ψεύδεται, ὥς καὶ αὐτὸς διὰ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ χειρὸς μαρτυρεῖ. c. 64. Θελήσαντα γὰρ αὐτὸν συναχθῆναι μετὰ τὸ ἀπελθεῖν αὐτὸν μετὰ Μελιτιανῶν, καὶ τοιαῦτα φημίσαι κατὰ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ἡμῶν Ἀθανασίου, οὐκ ἐδέξαντο αὐτὸν, καίτοι γράψαντα, καὶ ἰδίᾳ χειρὶ ὁμολογήσαντα μηδὲν τούτων γεγενῆσθαι, ἀλλ' ὑποβεβλησθαι ὑπὸ τινων ταῦτα εἰπεῖν.

75. Διὸ καὶ ἐλθόντες οἱ περὶ Θεόγνιον καὶ Θεόδωρον, καὶ Μάριον, καὶ Μακεδόνην, καὶ Οὐρσάκιον, καὶ Οὐάλεντα, εἰς τὸν Μαραεώτην, οὐδὲν εὐρόντες ἀληθές, ἀλλὰ μέλλοντος τοῦ πράγματος ἐλέγχεσθαι, ὅτι συκοφαντίαν εἰργάσαντο κατὰ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ἡμῶν Ἀθανασίου, αὐτοὶ οἱ περὶ Θεόγνιον, ἐχθροὶ τυγχάνοντες, τοὺς συγγενεῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ τινὰς Ἀρειομανίτας πεποιήκασιν εἰπεῖν ἅπερ ἤθελον. Οὐ γάρ τις τοῦ λαοῦ κατὰ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου εἴρηκεν, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ τῷ φόβῳ τοῦ ἐπάρχου τῆς Αἰγύπτου Φιλαγρίου, καὶ ταῖς ἀπειλαῖς καὶ τῇ προστασίᾳ τῶν Ἀρειο-

μανιτών, ἅπερ ἠθέλησαν πεποιήκασιν. Καὶ γὰρ ἐλθόντας ἡμᾶς ἐλέγξαι τὴν συκοφαντίαν οὐκ ἐπέτρεψαν, ἀλλ' ἀπέρριπτον μὲν ἡμᾶς, οὓς δὲ ἠθελαν συσκευαζόμενοι, προσεδέχοντο, καὶ συν- τίθεντο αὐτοῖς διὰ τὸν φόβον τοῦ ἐπάρχου Φιλαγρίου· δι' ὃν c. 83. οὔτε παρεῖναι ἡμᾶς ἐπέτρεψαν, ἵνα καὶ τοὺς ὑποβαλλομένους ὑπ' αὐτῶν δυνηθῶμεν ἐλέγξαι εἰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας εἰσὶν, ἢ Ἀρειο- μανῖται. Οἴδατε δὲ, ἀγαπητοὶ πατέρες, καὶ ὑμεῖς, ὡς διδά- σκετε ἡμᾶς, ὅτι ἐχθρῶν οὐκ ἰσχύει μαρτυρία. Καὶ ὅτι μὲν ἀληθεύομεν, μαρτυρεῖ μὲν καὶ ἡ χεὶρ Ἰσχύρα, μαρτυρεῖ δὲ καὶ τὰ πράγματα αὐτὰ, ὅτι, ἡμῶν μηδὲν συνειδότην τοιοῦτόν τι γεγενῆσθαι, Φιλάργιον παρέλαβον μεθ' ἑαυτῶν, ἵνα τῷ φόβῳ τοῦ ξίφους καὶ ταῖς ἀπειλαῖς ἃ βούλονται συσκευάσωνται. Ταῦτα ὡς ἐπὶ Θεοῦ μαρτυροῦμεν, ταῦτα ὡς εἰδότες καὶ ἐσομένην κρίσιν παρὰ Θεοῦ λέγομεν, θέλοντες μὲν ἐλθεῖν πάντες πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἀρκεσθέντες δὲ τοῖς ἐξ ἡμῶν, ἵνα τὰ γράμματα τὴν τῶν μὴ παραγενομένων παρουσίαν ἀποπληρώσῃ.

Ἰγγένιος πρεσβύτερος ἐρρῶσθαι ὑμᾶς εὐχομαι ἐν Κυρίῳ, ἀγαπητοὶ πατέρες, Θέων πρεσβύτερος, Ἀμμωνᾶς πρεσβύτερος, Ἡράκλειος πρεσβύτερος, Βόκκων πρεσβύτερος, Τρύφων πρεσ- βύτερος, Πέτρος πρεσβύτερος, Ἰέραξ πρεσβύτερος, Σαραπίων πρεσβύτερος, Μάρκος πρεσβύτερος, Πτολλαρίων πρεσβύτερος, Γάιος πρεσβύτερος, Διόσκορος πρεσβύτερος, Δημήτριος πρεσ- βύτερος, Θύρσος πρεσβύτερος.

Διάκονοι· Πιστὸς διάκονος, Ἀπολλῶς διάκονος, Σεβρῶς διάκονος, Πιστὸς διάκονος, Πολύνικος διάκονος, Ἀμμώνιος διάκονος, Μαῦρος διάκονος, Ἡφαιστος διάκονος, Ἀπολλῶς διάκονος, Μετωπᾶς διάκονος, Σεραπᾶς διάκονος, Μελίφθογγος διάκονος, Λούκιος διάκονος, Γρηγορᾶς διάκονος.

Οἱ αὐτοὶ πρὸς τὸν Κουριῶσον, καὶ Φιλάργιον τότε λεγόμενον ἐπαρχον Αἰγύπτου.

Φλαβίῳ Φιλαγρίῳ, καὶ Φλαβίῳ Παλλαδίῳ δουκιναρίῳ Παλα- (Letter of
tίνῳ, Κουριώσῳ, καὶ Φλαβίῳ Ἀντωνίνῳ βιάρχῳ κεντηναρίῳ
Clergy to the
τῶν κυρίων μου τῶν λαμπροτάτων ἐπάρχων τοῦ ἱεροῦ πραιτω- Civil autho-
ρίου, παρὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων καὶ διακόνων τοῦ Μαρεώτου, rities.)
νομοῦ τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς ὑπὸ τὸν αἰδεσιμώτατον

APOL. C. ARI. ἐπίσκοπον Ἀθανάσιον, διὰ τῶν ἐξῆς ὑπογραφόντων, τάδε μαρ-
(Letter of
Mareotic
Clergy to the
Civil autho-
rities.) τυρούμενοι ἐπιδιδόαμεν

76. Ἐπειδὴ Θεόγνιος, καὶ Μάρις, καὶ Μακεδόنيος, καὶ
Θεόδωρος, καὶ Οὐρσάκιος, καὶ Οὐάλης, ὡς ἀποσταλέντες ὑπὸ
πάντων τῶν ἐπισκόπων τῶν συνελθόντων ἐν τῇ Τύρῳ, ἀπήντη-
σαν ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ παροικίᾳ, φάσκοντες ἐντολὰς εἰληφέναι, ὡς
ζητῆσαί τινα ἐκκλησιαστικὰ πράγματα, ἐν οἷς ἔλεγον καὶ περὶ
ποτηρίου Κυριακοῦ κεκλασμένον, ὑποβληθέντος αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ
Ἰσχύρα, δν ἡγαγον μεθ' ἑαυτῶν, λέγοντος ἑαυτὸν εἶναι πρεσ-
βύτερον, δς οὐκ ἔστι πρεσβύτερος· ὑπὸ γὰρ Κολλούθου τοῦ
πρεσβυτέρου φαντασθέντος ἐπισκοπῆν, καὶ ὕστερον ὑπὸ κοινῆς
c. 11. συνόδου Ὀσίου καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ ἐπισκόπων κελευσθέντος
c. 85. πρεσβυτέρου εἶναι, καθὼ καὶ πρότερον ἦν, κατεστάθη· καὶ κατὰ
ἀκολουθίαν πάντες οἱ ὑπὸ Κολλούθου κατασταθέντες ἀνέδρα-
μον εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον, εἰς δν καὶ πρότερον ἦσαν, ὡς καὶ
αὐτὸς Ἰσχύρας λαϊκὸς ὦφθη· ἦν τε λέγει ἔχειν ἐκκλησίαν,
μηδὲ πώποτε ἐκκλησίαν γεγενῆσθαι, ἀλλ' οἰκητικὸν οἰκημάτιον
μικρὸν ὀρφανοῦ παιδίου Ἰσιώνος τοῦνομα· καὶ διὰ τοι τοῦτο
τῇδε τῇ διαμαρτυρίᾳ ἐχρησάμεθα, ἐπορκίζοντές σε κατὰ τοῦ
παντοκράτορος Θεοῦ, καὶ κατὰ τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Κωνσταν-
τίνου τοῦ Αὐγούστου, καὶ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Καισάρων παίδων
αὐτοῦ, ταῦτα αὐτὰ εἰς γνώσιν ἀνενεγκεῖν τῇ εὐσεβεῖα αὐτῶν.
Οὔτε γὰρ πρεσβυτέρός ἐστι τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας, οὔτε
ἐκκλησίαν ἔχει, οὔτε ποτὲ ποτήριον ἐκλάσθη, ἀλλὰ πάντα
ψεύδεται καὶ πλάττεται. Ὑπατεῖα Ἰουλλίου Κωνσταντίου τοῦ
λαμπροτάτου πατρικίου, ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου βασιλέως
Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ Αὐγούστου, καὶ Ῥουφίνου Ἀλβίνου, τῶν
[Sept. 7, 335.] λαμπροτάτων, Ὡθ δεκάτη.

Οἱ μὲν οὖν πρεσβύτεροι ταῦτα.

77. Ἄ δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐπίσκοποι, οἱ μεθ' ἡμῶν ἐλθόντες εἰς τὴν
Τύρον, συνορῶντες τὴν συσκευὴν καὶ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν, ἔγραψαν
καὶ διεμαρτύραντο, ἔστι ταῦτα·

Τοῖς ἐν Τύρῳ συνελθοῦσιν ἐπισκόποις, κυρίοις τιμωτάτοις, οἱ ἀπ'
Αἰγύπτου σὺν Ἀθανασίῳ ἐλθόντες τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἐν Κυρίῳ
χαίρειν.

Οὐκέτι νομίζομεν τὴν συσκευὴν ἄδηλον εἶναι, τὴν παρὰ τῷ

περὶ Εὐσέβιον, καὶ Θεόγνιον, καὶ Μάριν, καὶ Νάρκισσον, καὶ (Letter of
 Θεόδωρον, καὶ Πατρόφιλον ἡμῖν γινομένην. Καὶ κατ' ἀρχὴν Egyptian
 μὲν γὰρ παρητούμεθα πάντες διὰ τοῦ συλλειτουργοῦ ἡμῶν Bishops to
 Ἰθυνασίου, παρόντων αὐτῶν τὴν ἀκρόασιν γενέσθαι, εἰδότες, the Council
 ὅτι καὶ ἐνὸς μόνου ἐχθροῦ παρουσία, μήτιγε πολλῶν, ταραττεῖν of Tyre.)
 καὶ βλάπτειν δύναται τὴν ἀκρόασιν. Οἴδατε γὰρ καὶ ὑμεῖς
 αὐτοὶ τὴν ἐχθραν αὐτῶν, ἣν οὐ πρὸς ἡμᾶς μόνον ἐσχήκασιν,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς πάντας τοὺς ὀρθοδόξους, ὅτι διὰ τὴν Ἀρείου
 μανίαν καὶ τὴν ἀσεβῆ διδασκαλίαν ἐκείνου κατὰ πάντων ἐπι-
 φύονται, καὶ πᾶσι συσκευάζονται. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ θαρρόντες
 ἡμεῖς τῇ ἀληθείᾳ, δεῖξαι τὴν συκοφαντίαν τὴν κατὰ τῆς ἐκκλη-
 σίας ὑπὸ τῶν Μελιτιανῶν γινομένην ἠθέλησαμεν, οὐκ οἶδαμεν
 πῶς οἱ περὶ Εὐσέβιον ταραττεῖν τὰ παρ' ἡμῶν λεγόμενα ἐπει-
 ρῶντο, καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐσπούδαζον τὰ παρ' ἡμῶν λεγόμενα ἐκ-
 βάλλεσθαι, τοῖς μὲν ἀκεραλῶς δικάζουσιν ἀπειλοῦντες, τοὺς δὲ
 καὶ ὑβρίζοντες, μόνον ἵνα τὸ καθ' ἡμῶν σπουδαζόμενον αὐτοῖς
 γένηται. Καὶ ἴσως ἡ ἐνθεὸς ὑμῶν εὐλάβεια, κύριοι τιμιώτατοι,
 ἡγνῶει τὴν γενομένην παρ' αὐτῶν συσκευήν· ἀλλὰ νῦν νομί-
 ζομεν φανεράν γεγενῆσθαι αὐτήν. Ἰδοὺ γὰρ φανερώς αὐτοὶ
 τὴν συσκευὴν ἐνεδείξαντο· τοὺς γὰρ ἐξ αὐτῶν ὑποπτευομένους
 ἀποστεῖλαι ἠθέλησαν εἰς τὸν Μαρεώτην, ἵνα, ἀπόντων ἡμῶν
 καὶ ἐνταῦθα μενόντων, τοὺς λαοὺς ταραξώσιν, ἃ δὲ βούλονται
 διαπράξωνται. Εἶδον γὰρ, ὅτι οἱ Ἀρειομανῖται καὶ Κολλου-
 θιανοὶ καὶ Μελιτιανοὶ ἐχθροὶ τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας εἰσὶ·
 διὰ τοῦτο ἐσπούδασαν ἀποστεῖλαι τούτους, ἵνα, παρόντων ἐχ-
 θρῶν, καττύσωσι καθ' ἡμῶν ἃ βούλονται. Καὶ γὰρ οἱ ἐνταῦθα
 τῶν Μελιτιανῶν ἀπέστειλαν ἐξ ἑαυτῶν τινάς, καὶ πρὸ τεσσά-
 ρων μὲν ἡμερῶν, ὥσπερ εἰδότες τοῦτο τὸ σκέμμα γιγνόμενον
 ἐσεσθαι, καὶ ἐσπέραν δὲ βηριδαρίους πρὸς τὸ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς [Qu. καθ'
 Αἰγύπτου Μελιτιανούς συναγαγεῖν εἰς τὸν Μαρεώτην, διὰ τὸ ἐσπέραν.]
 μὴ εἶναι ἐκεῖ μηδένα καθόλου, καὶ Κολλουθιανούς καὶ Ἀρειο-
 μανίτας ἀπὸ ἄλλων τόπων, καὶ καττύσαι καθ' ἡμῶν αὐτοὺς
 λέγειν. Οἴδατε γὰρ καὶ ὑμεῖς, ὅτι αὐτὸς Ἰσχυράς ὡμολόγησεν Cp. c. 85--
 ἐφ' ὑμῶν οὐ πλέον ἐπτα συναγομένων ἔχειν. Ἐπεὶ οὖν μετὰ
 τὸ αὐτοὺς κατασκευάσαι ὅπερ βούλονται, καὶ ἀποστεῖλαι τοὺς
 ὑπόπτους, ἠκούσαμεν ὅτι καθ' ἕκαστον ὑμῶν περιερχόμενοι

APOL. C. ARI.
(Letter of
Egyptian
Bishops to
the Council
of Tyre.)

ἀπαιτοῦσιν ὑπογραφὴν, πρὸς τὸ δοκεῖν τῇ πάντων ὑμῶν σκέψει γεγενῆσθαι· τούτου ἕνεκεν γράψαι ὑμῖν ἡπείχθημεν, καὶ ἐπιδούναι τόδε τὸ μαρτύριον· μαρτυρόμενοι μὲν, ὅτι συσκευαζόμεθα καὶ πάσχομεν ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ δι' αὐτῶν ἐπιβουλήν, ἀξιούντες δὲ ὅπως ἐν νῷ λαβόντες τὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ φόβον, καὶ καταγνόντες, ὅτι χωρὶς ἡμῶν ἀπέστειλαν οὗς ἠθέλησαν, μὴ υπογράψητε, ἵνα μὴ, ἅπερ αὐτοὶ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς καττύουσι, ταῦτα ὡς παρ' ὑμῶν γιγνόμενα λέγωσι. Καὶ γὰρ πρέπει τοὺς ἐν Χριστῷ ἀνθρώπους μὴ εἰς ἀνθρώπινα βλέπειν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν πάντων προκρίνειν. Καὶ μήτε ἀπειλὴν ἢ χρώνται πρὸς πάντας, μήτε συσκευὴν φοβηθῆτε, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τὸν Θεόν. Ἐδεῖ γὰρ, εἴπερ ἦν ὅλως ἀκόλουθον εἰς τὸν Μαρεώτην ἀποσταλῆναι, καὶ ἡμᾶς συμπαρεῖναι, ἵνα τοὺς μὲν ἐχθροὺς τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐλέγξωμεν, τοὺς δὲ ξένους ἀποδείξωμεν, καὶ καθαρὰ τοῦ πράγματος ἡ ἔρευνα γένηται. Οἴδατε γὰρ, ὅτι οἱ περὶ Εὐσέβιον ἐκάττυσαν ἐπιστολὴν ἐπιδοθῆναι, ὡς ἀπὸ Κολλουθιανῶν, καὶ Μελιτιανῶν, καὶ Ἀρειανῶν, γραφεῖσαν καθ' ἡμῶν καὶ δῆλον ὅτι αὐτοὶ οἱ ἐχθροὶ τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας οὐδὲν ἀληθὲς περὶ ἡμῶν, ἀλλὰ πάντα καθ' ἡμῶν λέγουσιν. Ὁ δὲ νόμος τοῦ Θεοῦ οὔτε ἐχθρὸν μάρτυρα, οὔτε κριτὴν εἶναι βούλεται. Λοιπὸν ὡς ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κρίσεως λόγον μέλλοντες διδόναι, λαβόντες τὸ μαρτύριον τοῦτο, καὶ γνόντες συσκευὴν τὴν καθ' ἡμῶν γενομένην, παρακληθέντες φυλάξασθε μηδὲν τι καθ' ἡμῶν πράξαι, μηδὲ συνάρασθαι τῇ τῶν περὶ Εὐσέβιον σκέψει. Καὶ γὰρ πάλιν οἴδατε, ὡς προείπομεν, ὡς ἐχθροὶ εἰσιν ἡμῶν, καὶ διὰ τί Εὐσέβιος ὁ τῆς Καισαρείας ἐχθρὸς γέγονεν ἀπὸ πέρυσιν. Ἐβρώσθαι ὑμᾶς εὐχόμεθα, κύριοι ποθεινότατοι.

[Cp. Theodoret, i. 28.]

Φλαβίῳ Διονυσίῳ τῷ λαμπροτάτῳ κόμητι παρὰ τῶν ἐπισκόπων τῆς Αἰγύπτου καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας, τῶν ἐλθόντων εἰς Τύρον.

(Letter I of
Egyptian
Bishops to
Dionysius.)

78. Οὐκ ἔτι νομίζομεν τὴν συσκευὴν ἄδηλον εἶναι τὴν παρὰ τῶν περὶ Εὐσέβιον, καὶ Θεόγνιον, καὶ Μάριν, καὶ Νάρκισσον, καὶ Θεόδωρον, καὶ Πατρόφιλον ἡμῖν γιγνομένην. Κατ' ἀρχὴν μὲν γὰρ παρητούμεθα πάντες διὰ τοῦ συλλειτουργοῦ ἡμῶν Ἀθανασίου, παρόντων αὐτῶν, τὴν ἀκρόασιν γενέσθαι· εἰδότες, ὅτι καὶ ἐνδὸς μόνου ἐχθροῦ παρουσία, μήτιγε πολλῶν, ταραττεῖν καὶ

βλάπτειν δύναται τὴν ἀκρόασιν. Φανερά γάρ ἐστιν ἡ ἔχθρα αὐτῶν, ἣν οὐ πρὸς ἡμᾶς μόνον ἐσχήκασιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς πάντας τοὺς ὀρθοδόξους· ὅτι κατὰ πάντας ἐπιφύονται, καὶ πᾶσι [Qu. πάντων.] συσκευάζονται· ἐπειδὴ δὲ θαρρόυντες ἡμεῖς τῇ ἀληθείᾳ, δεῖξαι τὴν συκοφαντίαν τὴν κατὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὑπὸ τῶν Μελιτιανῶν γενομένην ἠβελήσαμεν, οὐκ οἶδαμεν πῶς αὐτοὶ οἱ περὶ Εὐσέβιον ταραττεῖν τὰ παρ' ἡμῶν λεγόμενα ἐπειρώντο· καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐσπούδαζον τὰ παρ' ἡμῶν λεγόμενα ἐκβάλλεσθαι, τοῖς μὲν ἀκεραίως δικάζουσιν ἀπειλοῦντες, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ὑβρίζοντες, μόνον ἵνα τὸ καθ' ἡμῶν σπουδαζόμενον αὐτοῖς γένηται. Καὶ ἴσως ἡ χρηστότης ὑμῶν ἡγνῶει τὴν καθ' ἡμῶν γενομένην παρ' αὐτῶν συσκευήν· ἀλλὰ νῦν νομίζομεν φανεράν αὐτὴν γεγενῆσθαι. Ἴδου γὰρ φανερώς αὐτοὶ τὴν συσκευὴν ἐνεδείξαντο· τοὺς γὰρ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀποστεῖλαι ἠθέλησαν εἰς τὸν Μαρεώτην· ἵνα, ἀπόντων ἡμῶν, καὶ ἐνταῦθα μενόντων, τοὺς μὲν λαοὺς ταραξώσιν, αἱ δὲ βούλονται διαπράξωνται. Εἰδότες γὰρ ὅτι Ἀρειομανῖται καὶ Κολλουθιανοὶ καὶ Μελιτιανοὶ ἐχθροὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας εἰσὶ, διὰ τοῦτο ἐσπούδασαν ἀποστεῖλαι τούτους· ἵνα, παρόντων ἐχθρῶν, καττύσωσι καθ' ἡμῶν αἱ βούλονται. Καὶ γὰρ ἤδη οἱ ἐνταῦθα Μελιτιανοὶ ἀπέστειλαν ἐξ αὐτῶν τινας, καὶ πρὸ τεσσάρων μὲν ἡμερῶν, ὥσπερ εἰδότες τοῦτο τὸ σκέμμα γενόμενον ἐσεσθαι, καὶ ἐσπέραν δὲ δύο βηριδαρίους πρὸς τὸ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Αἰγύπτου Μελιτιανοὺς συναγαγεῖν εἰς τὸν Μαρεώτην, διὰ τὸ μὴ εἶναι ἐκεῖ μηδένα καθόλου, καὶ Κολλουθιανοὺς καὶ Ἀρειομανίτας ἀπ' ἄλλων τόπων, καὶ καττύσαι καθ' ἡμῶν αὐτοὺς λέγειν. Οἶδε δέ σου ἡ χρηστότης, ὅτι αὐτὸς ὠμολόγησεν ἐπὶ σοῦ μὴ πλέον ἐπτά συναγομένων ἔχειν. Ἐπεὶ οὖν μετὰ τὸ αὐτοὺς κατασκευάσαι ὑπερ βούλονται, καὶ ἀποστεῖλαι τοὺς ὑπόπτas, ἠκούσαμεν ὅτι καθ' ἕναστον τῶν ἐπισκόπων περιερχόμενοι, ἀπαιτοῦσιν ὑπογραφὴν, πρὸς τὸ δοκεῖν τῇ πάντων αὐτῶν σκέψει γενέσθαι· τούτου ἕνεκεν ἀνενεγκεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν σὴν λαμπρότητα ἠπέλχθημεν, καὶ ἐπιδοῦναι τόδε τὸ μαρτύριον· μαρτυρόμενοι μὲν, ὅτι συσκευαζόμεθα, καὶ πάσχομεν ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ δι' αὐτῶν ἐπιβουλήν, ἀξιοῦντες δὲ ὅπως, ἐν νῷ λαβὼν τὸν φόβον τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ τὰς εὐσεβεῖς ἐντολὰς τοῦ θεοφιλεστάτου βασιλέως, ὡς καταγνοὺς, ὅτι χωρὶς ἡμῶν οὐδ' ἠθέλησαν ἀπέστειλαν, μὴ ἀνάσχη αὐτῶν.

APOL. C. ARI.
(*Letter I of
Egyptian
Bishops to
Dionysius.*)

79. Ἀδαμάντιος ἐπίσκοπος ἐπιδέδωκα, Ἰσχύρας, Ἀμμων, Πέτρος, Ἀμμωνιανὸς, Τύραννος, Ταυρίνος, Σαραπάμμων, Αἰλουρίων, Ἀρποκρατίων, Μωσῆς, Ὀπτᾶτος, Ἀνουβίων, Σαπρίων, Ἀπολλώνιος, Ἰσχυρίων, Ἀρβαιθίων, Ποτάμων, Παφνούτιος, Ἡρακλείδης, Θεόδωρος, Ἀγαθάμμων, Γάιος, Πιστὸς, Ἄθας, Νίκων, Πελάγιος, Θέων, Πανινούθιος, Νόννος, Ἀρίστων, Θεόδωρος, Εἰρηναῖος, Βλαστάμμων, Φίλιππος, Ἀπολλῶς, Διόσκορος, Τιμόθεος Διοσπόλεως, Μακάριος, Ἡρακλάμμων, Κρόνιος, Μῦις, Ἰάκωβος, Ἀρίστων, Ἀρτεμίδωρος, Φινεὲς, Ψάϊς, Ἡρακλείδης.

Καὶ δεύτερον οἱ αὐτοὶ Φλανίφ Διονυσίφ τῷ λαμπροτάτῳ κόμητι, οἱ ἐν Τύρῳ ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου ἔλθόντες ἐπίσκοποι τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας.

(*Letter II of
same to
same.*)

Πολλὰς ὁρῶντες συσκευὰς καθ' ἡμῶν γινομένης, καὶ ἐπιβουλάς ἐκ συσκευῆς τῶν περὶ Εὐσέβιον, καὶ Νάρκισσον, καὶ Φλάκιλλον, καὶ Θεόγνιον, καὶ Μάριον, καὶ Θεόδωρον, καὶ Πατρόφιλον, οὓς κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν θελήσαντες παραιτήσασθαι, οὐκ ἐπετράπημεν, ἀνάγκην ἔχομεν ἐπὶ τῇδε τὴν διαμαρτυρίαν ἐλθεῖν. Καὶ γὰρ πολλὴν ὑπὲρ Μελιτιανῶν ὁρῶμεν σπουδὴν γιγνομένην, κατὰ δὲ τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ δι' ἡμῶν ἐπιβουλήν. Ὅθεν ἐπιδίδομέν σοι τῇδε τὴν ἐπιστολήν, ἀξιοῦντες ἐν νῷ σε λαβεῖν τὸν Θεὸν τὸν παντοκράτορα, τὸν τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου καὶ θεοφιλεστάτου βασιλέως Κωνσταντίνου διαφυλάττοντα, τηρῆσαι τὴν ἀκρόασιν τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς πραγμάτων αὐτῷ τῷ εὐσεβεστάτῳ βασιλεῖ. Καὶ γὰρ εὐλογον ἀποσταλέντα σε παρὰ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἡμῶν ἐπικαλεσαμένων τὴν εὐσέβειαν αὐτοῦ, αὐτῷ τηρῆσαι τὸ πρᾶγμα. Οὐκ ἐτι γὰρ φέρομεν συσκευαζόμενοι καὶ ἐπιβουλευόμενοι διὰ τῶν περὶ Εὐσέβιον τῶν προειρημένων καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τῷ εὐσεβεστάτῳ καὶ θεοφιλεστάτῳ βασιλεῖ τηρηθῆναι τὸ πρᾶγμα ἀξιοῦμεν, παρ' ᾧ δυνάμεθα καὶ τὰ δίκαια τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ ἑαυτῶν παραθέσθαι. Πιστεύομεν γὰρ ὅτι ἡ εὐσέβεια αὐτοῦ, ἀκούσασα, οὐ καταγνώσεται ἡμῶν. Καὶ πάλιν οὖν ὀρκίζομέν σε τὸν παντοκράτορα Θεόν, οὕτω τὸν εὐσεβεστάτον βασιλεῖα αἰεὶ εἰς πολλὰς ἐτῶν περιόδους νικῶντα καὶ ὑγιαίνοντα, μετὰ τῶν παίδων τῆς εὐσεβείας αὐτοῦ, μηδὲν πλεον πρᾶξαι,

[Qu. καί.]

μηδὲ ἐπιτρέψαι τι σεαυτῷ ἐν τῇ συνόδῳ κινήσαι περὶ τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς πραγμάτων, ἀλλὰ τηρῆσαι τῇ εὐσεβείᾳ αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀκρόασιν. Περὶ δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τοῖς κυρίοις μου ἐπισκόποις τοῖς ὀρθοδόξοις ἐδηλώσαμεν.

80. Ταῦτα δεξάμενος Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ ἐπίσκοπος τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης ἔγραψε Διονυσίῳ τῷ κόμητι ταῦτα· c. 28.

Τῷ δεσπότῃ μου Διονυσίῳ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπίσκοπος.

Φανεράν ὁρῶ κατὰ Ἀθανασίου συσκευῆν γενομένην· πάντας (Letter of Alexander to Dionysius.) γὰρ οὓς παρητήσατο, τούτους οὐκ οἶδα τί πεπονθότες ἀποστείλαι ἠθέλησαν, μηδὲ σημάναντες ἡμῖν. Ἦν γὰρ δόξαν κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ σκέψασθαι, τίνας δεήσει ἀποσταλῆναι. Συμβούλευσον οὖν μὴ τι προπετὲς γενέσθαι (ἐληλύθασι γὰρ πρὸς μὲ τεθορυβημένοι, λέγοντες· ἤδη τὰ θηρία ἐσφρίχθαι, καὶ μέλλειν ἐξορμᾶν·) περιηχθήσαν γὰρ ὡς Ἰωάννου τινὰς ἀποστείλαντος), c. 17, 65, 70. μὴ προλαβόντες καττύσωσιν ὡς ἂν ἐθέλοιεν. Οἶδας γὰρ, ὅτι καὶ Κολλουθιανοὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐχθροὶ ὄντες, καὶ Ἀρειανοὶ, καὶ Μελιτιανοὶ, οὗτοι πάντες, ἀλλήλοις σύμψηφοι γενόμενοι, δύνανται μεγάλα κακὰ ἐργάσασθαι. Σκέψαι οὖν τὸ συμφέρον, ἵνα μὴ ἀνακύψῃ τι σκυθρωπὸν, καὶ αἰτία ὑποβληθῶμεν, ὡς οὐ κατὰ τὸ δίκαιον κρίναντες. Κἀκεῖνοι μάλιστα ὑφορῶνται, μὴ διωδεύοντες τὰς ἐκκλησίας, ὧν οἱ ἐπίσκοποι εἰσιν ἐνταῦθα, φόβον ἐμποίησαντες, ταραξῶσι πᾶσαν τὴν Αἴγυπτον, ὡς τοῖς Μελιτιανοῖς παραδοθέντες. Ἐκ τοῦ πλείστου γὰρ τοῦτο συνορῶσι γινόμενον.

Πρὸς ταῦτα Διονύσιος ὁ κόμης ἔγραψε τοῖς περὶ Εὐσέβιον ταῦτα·

81. Ταῦτα ἦν ἃ νῦν διελεγόμην τοῖς κυρίοις μου τοῖς περὶ (Letter of Dionysius to Eusebians.) Φλάκιλλον, ὅτι Ἀθανάσιος ἐπιστὰς ἠτιάσατο, 'οὓς παρητησάμεν, λέγων τούτους ἀποστέλλεσθαι,' καὶ βοῶν ὡς 'ἀδικούμενος καὶ περιγραφόμενος·' ταῦτα καὶ ὁ κύριός μου τῆς ψυχῆς Ἀλέξανδρος ἀπέστειλε. Καὶ ἵνα γνῶτε, ὅτι κατὰ λόγον ἔχει τὰ γραφέντα μοι παρὰ τῆς χρηστότητος αὐτοῦ, ὑπέταξα αὐτὰ ἀναγνωσθησόμενα ὑμῖν. Μέμνησθε δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄνωθεν παρ' ἐμοῦ γραφέντων· ἐπέστειλα γὰρ ὑμῶν τῇ χρηστότητι, κύριοι, c. 13. ὅτι χρὴ τοὺς ἀποστελλομένους κοινῇ κρίσει καὶ δόγματι ἀπο-

AROL. C. ARI.
(Letter of
Dionysius to
Eusebians.)

σταλήναι. Ὅρατε τοίνυν μὴ ἐγκλήματι ὑποπέσῃ τὰ γινόμενα, μηδὲ δικαίας μέμψεως ἀφορμὴν τοῖς βουλομένοις ἡμᾶς αἰτιάσασθαι δῶμεν. Ὡςπερ γὰρ βαρεῖσθαι τὸ μέρος τῶν κατηγορῶν οὐ προσήκει, οὕτως οὐδὲ τὸ τῶν φευγόντων. Νομίζω δὲ οὐ μικρὰν εἶναι ἀφορμὴν καθ' ἡμῶν μέμψεως, ὅταν φαίνεται ὁ κύριός μου Ἀλέξανδρος μὴ συναινῶν τοῖς πραττομένοις.

82. Τούτων οὕτω πραττομένων, ἀνεχωρήσαμεν ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὡς
Jer. ix. 2. 'ἀπὸ συνόδου τῶν ἀθετούντων' ἃ γὰρ ἐβούλοντο, ταῦτα καὶ
ἐπραττον. Ὅτι μὲν οὖν τὰ πραττόμενα κατὰ μονομέρειαν οὐδεμίαν ἔχει δύναμιν, οὐδεὶς ἐστὶν ὃς ἀγνοεῖ τῶν πάντων ἀνθρώπων. Τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ ὁ θεῖος νόμος κελεύει· τοῦτο καὶ ὁ μακάριος ἀπόστολος πάσχων τοιαύτην ἐπιβουλὴν καὶ κρινόμενος ἡξίου, λέγων· 'Ἐδεῖ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας Ἰουδαίους ἐπὶ σοῦ παρῆναι, καὶ κατηγορεῖν εἴ τι ἔχοιεν' ὅτε καὶ ὁ Φῆστος, θελούντων τῶν Ἰουδαίων τοιαύτην ἐπιβουλὴν ἐργάσασθαι, οἷαν
Acts xxiv. 19. νῦν καθ' ἡμῶν πεποιήκασιν, ἔλεγεν· 'Οὐκ ἔστιν ἔθος Ῥωμαίοις χαρίζεσθαι τινα ἀνθρώπων, πρὶν ἢ ὁ κατηγορούμενος κατὰ πρόσωπον ἔχοι τοὺς κατηγοροὺς, τόπον τε ἀπολογίας λάβοι περὶ τοῦ ἐγκλήματος.' Ἀλλ' οἱ περὶ Εὐσέβιον καὶ τὸν νόμον παραποιεῖν ἐτόλμησαν, καὶ πλέον τῶν ἀδικούντων ἀδικώτεροι γεγόνασιν. Οὐ γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς καταμόνας ἐπραξαν, ἀλλ' ὅτε παρόντων ἡμῶν ἡσθένησαν, τότε λοιπὸν ἐξελθόντες, ὡς Ἰουδαῖοι, συμβούλιον ἔλαβον καταμόνας, ὅπως ἡμᾶς μὲν ἀπολέσωσι, τὴν δὲ αἵρεσιν εἰσαγάγωσιν, ὡς ἐκείνοι τὸν Βαραββᾶν ἠτήσαντο·
Acts xxv. 16. τούτου χάριν αὐτοὶ ταῦτα πάντα πεποιηκέναι δι' ἑαυτῶν ὡμολόγησαν.

83. Καὶ εἰ ἀρκεῖ ταῦτα πρὸς πᾶσαν ἀπολογίαν, ὅμως ὑπὲρ τοῦ καὶ πλέον τούτων μὲν τὴν πονηρίαν δειχθῆναι, τῆς δὲ ἀληθείας τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, οὐδὲν ἐλύπει καὶ πάλιν ὑπομῆσαι, καὶ δεῖξαι ὡς αὐτοὶ ἑαυτοῖς ἐναντία ἐπραξαν, καὶ ὡς ἐν σκότῳ βουλευόμενοι τοῖς ἑαυτῶν προσέκοπτον, καὶ θέλοντες ἡμᾶς ἀνελεῖν, ἑαυτοὺς ἔτρωσαν ὡς μαινόμενοι. Περὶ μυστηρίων γὰρ
c. 31, 46. ἐρευνῶντες, Ἰουδαίους ἀνέκρινον, καὶ κατηχουμένους ἐξήταζον· 'Ποῦ ἦτε, ὅτε Μακάριος ἦλθε, καὶ ἀνέτρεψε τὴν τράπεζαν;'
c. 28. Κἀκεῖνοι ἀπεκρίναντο, ὅτι 'Ἐνδον ὄντες ἐτυγχάνομεν.' Οὐκ-

οὖν οὐκ ἦν προσφορά εἰ κατηγορούμενοι ἔνδον ἦσαν. Ἐπειτα c. 28.
 γράψαντες πανταχοῦ, ὥς, 'ἐστῶτος τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου καὶ ἐπι-
 τελοῦντος, εἰσελθὼν Μακάριος ἀνέτρεψε πάντα,' ἀνέκρινον οὓς
 ἠβούλουντο, ποῦ ἦν Ἰσχύρας ὅτε Μακάριος ἐπέστη. Κἀκεῖνοι
 πάλιν ἀπεκρίναντο, ὅτι ἐν κελλίῳ νοσῶν κατακείμενος ἦν.
 Οὐκοῦν οὐκ εἰστήκει ὁ κατακείμενος, οὐδὲ προσέφερεν ὁ ἐν
 κελλίῳ νοσῶν καὶ κατακείμενος. Πρὸς τούτοις, λέγοντος τοῦ
 Ἰσχύρα κεκαῦσθαι βιβλία παρὰ Μακαρίον, οἱ ὑποβληθέντες c. 46.
 μάρτυρες ἔλεγον μηδέν τι τοιοῦτον γεγενησθαι, ἀλλὰ ψεύδεσθαι
 τὸν Ἰσχύραν. Καὶ τὸ θαυμαστὸν, γράψαντες πάλιν πανταχοῦ c. 14.
 ἠφανίσθαι παρ' ἡμῶν τοὺς δυναμένους μαρτυρεῖν, τούτους φαι-
 νομένους ἀνέκρινον, καὶ οὐκ ἡσχύοντο βλέποντες ἑαυτοὺς
 συκοφάντας πανταχόθεν δεικνυμένους, καὶ ταῦτα καταμόνας
 πράττοντας ὥς ἠβούλουντο. Ἐνεον μὲν γὰρ τοῖς μάρτυσι, καὶ c. 75.
 ὁ ἐπαρχος ἠπείλει, καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται ἔνυττον· ὁ δὲ Κύριος τὴν
 ἀλήθειαν ἐξεκάλυπτε, καὶ συκοφάντας αὐτοὺς ἐδείκνυε. Διὰ
 τοῦτο καὶ τὰ ὑπομνήματα ἔκρυψαν, καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν ἔσχον αὐτὰ,
 παρήγγειλαν δὲ τοῖς γράψασιν ἀφανίσαι καὶ μηδεὶ τὸ σύν-
 ολον ἐκδοῦναι. Ἄλλ' ἐσφάλησαν καὶ ἐν τούτῳ· ὁ μὲν γὰρ
 γράψας αὐτὰ Ρουφός ἐστιν, ὁ νῦν ἐν τῇ Αὐγουσταλιανῇ σπε-
 κουλάτῳ, καὶ δύναται μαρτυρῆσαι· οἱ δὲ περὶ Εὐσέβιον εἰς c. 27.
 Ῥώμην αὐτὰ διὰ τῶν ἰδίων ἀπέστειλαν, καὶ Ἰούλιος ὁ ἐπίσκοπος
 Hist. Ari. 15.
 αὐτὰ μοι διεπέμψατο. Καὶ μαίνονται νῦν, ὅτι ἂν ἐκεῖνοι
 ἀποκρύπτειν ἐβούλουντο, ἡμεῖς ἔσχομεν, καὶ ἀνέγνωμεν.

84. Ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα συνθέντες, εὐθὺς καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν
 δι' ἣν ταῦτα ἔπραξαν ἐφανέρωσαν. Ἀπερχόμενοι γὰρ, ἀπή-
 γαγον μεθ' ἑαυτῶν τοὺς Ἀρειανοὺς εἰς τὴν Ἱερουσαλὴμ, κἀκεῖ Soc. i. 33.
 τούτους εἰς κοινωνίαν ἐδέξαντο, γράψαντες ἐπιστολὴν περὶ αὐ-
 τῶν, ἧς ἡ ἀρχὴ καὶ τὸ μέρος ἐστὶ τοῦτο·

Ἡ ἁγία Σύνοδος ἡ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις Θεοῦ χάριτι συναχθεῖσα τῇ Ἐκκλη- De Syn. 21.
 σίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ τῇ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, καὶ τοῖς κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν Αἴγυπτον, καὶ
 Θηβαῖδα, καὶ Λιβύην, καὶ Πεντάπολιν, καὶ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐπισκό-
 ποις καὶ πρεσβυτέροις καὶ διακόνους ἐν Κυρίῳ χαίρειν.

Πᾶσι μὲν ἡμῖν τοῖς ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συνελθοῦσιν ἐξ ἐπαρχιῶν
 διαφόρων πρὸς τῇ μεγάλῃ πανηγύρει, ἣν ἐπὶ ἀφιερώσει τοῦ

APOL. C. ARI. Σωτηρίου Μαρτυρίου σπουδῇ τοῦ θεοφιλεστάτου βασιλέως Κωνσταντίνου τῷ πάντων βασιλεῖ Θεῷ καὶ τῷ Χριστῷ αὐτοῦ κατασκευασθέντος ἐπετελέσαμεν, πλείονα θυμηδίαν ἢ τοῦ Θεοῦ χάρις ἐνεποίησεν· αὐτός τε ὁ θεοφιλέστατος βασιλεὺς διὰ γραμμάτων οἰκείων, τοῦθ' ὅπερ ἐχρῆν παρορμήσας, πάντα μὲν ἐξορίσας τῆς ἐκκλησίας τοῦ Θεοῦ φθόνον, καὶ πᾶσαν μακρὰν ἀπελάσας βασκανίαν, δι' ἧς τὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ μέλη πρότερον διειστήκει, ἠπλωμένα δὲ καὶ εἰρηναιὰ ψυχῇ δέξασθαι τοὺς περὶ Ἄρειον, οὓς πρὸς τινα καιρὸν ὁ μισόκαλος φθόνος ἕξω γενέσθαι τῆς ἐκκλησίας εἰργάσατο· ἐμαρτύρει δὲ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ὁ θεοφιλέστατος βασιλεὺς διὰ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς πίστεως ὁρθοτομίαν, ἣν παρ' αὐτῶν πυθόμενος αὐτός τε δι' ἑαυτοῦ παρὰ ζώσης φωνῆς αὐτῶν ἀκούσας ἀπεδέξατο, ἡμῖν τε φανερὰν κατεστήσατο, ὑποτάξας τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ γράμμασιν ἐγγραφον τὴν τῶν ἀνδρῶν ὀρθοδοξίαν. . . .

[For the rest see De Syn. 21.]

Cp. Encycl. 2. Ep. Æg. 19, 22.

c. 59.

c. 63.

85. Τίς τούτων ἀκούων οὐ συνορᾷ τὴν συσκευὴν ; Οὐ γὰρ ἔκρυψαν ἀ ἔπραξαν, ἢ τάχα καὶ μὴ βουλόμενοι τὴν ἀλήθειαν ὠμολόγησαν. Εἰ γὰρ ἐγὼ ἤμην ὁ κωλύων τοὺς περὶ Ἄρειον εἰσελθεῖν, κάμου συσκευὴν παθόντος ἐδέχθησαν, τί ἕτερόν ἐστιν, ἢ ὅτι ταῦτα δι' ἐκείνους γέγονε, καὶ πάντα καθ' ἡμῶν ἔπραξαν, καὶ πέπλασται ποτηρίου κλάσις, καὶ Ἀρσενίου φόνος, ἵνα μόνον τὴν ἀσέβειαν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν εἰσαγάγωσι, καὶ μὴ ὥς αἰρετικοὶ καταγνωσθῶσι ; Τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν δ καὶ πρὸ τούτου γράφων ἐμοὶ βασιλεὺς ἠπειλήσε. Καὶ οὐκ ἠδέσθησαν τοιαῦτα γράφοντες, καὶ λέγοντες τούτους ὀρθῶς φρονεῖν, οὓς πᾶσα ἡ οἰκουμένη συνόδος ἀνεθεμάτισε· καὶ οὐκ ἐφοβήθησαν τὴν τηλικαύτην σύνοδον ἐνγωνία λύοντες τὸ ὅσον ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, οἱ πάντα λέγοντες καὶ πράττοντες εὐχερῶς. Καὶ ὁ μισθὸς δὲ τῆς συκοφαντίας ἔτι πλέον αὐτῶν τὴν πονηρίαν καὶ τὴν ἀσεβῆ πρόθεσιν δείκνυσιν. Ὁ Μαρρώτης, καθὰ προείπον, χώρα τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐστὶ, καὶ οὐδέποτε ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ γέγονεν ἐπίσκοπος οὐδὲ χωρεπίσκοπος· ἀλλὰ τῷ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπισκόπῳ αἱ ἐκκλησίαι πάσης τῆς χώρας ὑπόκεινται. Ἐκαστος δὲ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἔχει τὰς ἰδίας κώμας μεγίστας, καὶ ἀριθμῷ δέκα πον καὶ πλέονας. Ἡ δὲ κώμη, ἐνθα οἰκεῖ ὁ Ἰσχύρας, βραχυ-

τάτη καὶ ὀλίγων ἀνθρώπων ἐστὶν, οὕτως ὥς μηδὲ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐκεῖ γεγενῆσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ πλησίον κώμῃ. Καὶ ὁμοῦ τὸν μηδὲ πρεσβύτερον ἐν τῇ τοιαύτῃ κώμῃ παρὰ τὴν παλαιὰν παράδοσιν ἐδοξαν δῆθεν ὀνομάζειν ἐπίσκοπον, εἰδότες μὲν καὶ αὐτοὶ τὸ ἄτοπον, ἀναγκαζόμενοι δὲ ὁμοῦ διὰ τὴν τῆς συκοφαντίας ὑπόσχεσιν, ὑπέμειναν καὶ τοῦτο, ἵνα μὴ ἀγνωμονηθεῖς ὁ παμπόνηρος ἐκείνος ἐξέλεγε τὴν ἀλήθειαν, καὶ δειξέη τὴν πονηρίαν τῶν περὶ Εὐσέβιον. Ἀμέλει οὐτε ἐκκλησίαν, οὐτε λαοὺς πειθόμενους ἔχει, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ πάντων, ὥς κύων διώκεται· καὶ ὁμοῦ πεποιήκασιν καὶ βασιλέα γράψαι τῷ καθολικῷ (πάντα γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἔξεστιν), ἐκκλησίαν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι, ἵνα, ταύτην ἔχων, ἀξιόπιστος φαίνεται περὶ ποτηρίου καὶ τραπέζης λέγων. Καὶ γὰρ εὐθὺς πεποιήκασιν αὐτὸν ὀνομασθῆναι καὶ ἐπίσκοπον, ἐπειδὴ, μὴ ἔχων ἐκκλησίαν, μηδὲ πρεσβύτερος ὅλως ὢν, ἐδείκνυτο συκοφάντης, καὶ πάντα πλαττόμενος. Ἀμέλει μὴ ἔχων λαοὺς, μηδὲ τοὺς ἰδίους πειθόμενους αὐτῷ, ὥσπερ κενὸν τὸ ὄνομα, οὕτως καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἀφρακτον κατέχει, ἔλεγχον τῆς παμπονήρου προαιρέσεως αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν περὶ Εὐσέβιον ἐπιδεικνύμενος ταύτην·

c. 76.

c. 37.

[i.e. Constantius.]

Cp. c. 77.

[Al. ἀπρακτον.]

Ἐπιστολὴ τοῦ καθολικοῦ. Φλαύιος Ἡμέριος ἐξάκτορι Μαρρώτου χαίρειν.

Ἰσχύρα τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου δεηθέντος τῆς εὐσεβείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν σεβαστῶν καὶ Καισάρων ἐν τόπῳ Εἰρήνης Σεκουταρούρου ἀνοικοδομηθῆναι ἐκκλησίαν, προσέταξεν ἡ θειότης αὐτῶν ἢ τάχος τοῦτο πραχθῆναι. Φρόντισον τοίνυν προστυχῶν καὶ τῷ ἀντιτύπῳ τοῦ θεοῦ γράμματος, ὃ μετὰ τοῦ οἴκελου σεβάσματος προτέτακται, καὶ τοῖς πραχθεῖσιν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐμῆς καθοσιώσεως ὑπομνήμασιν, ἐν τάχει τὴν σύνοψιν ποιησάμενος, εἰς τὴν τάξιν ἀνενεγκεῖν, ἵνα τὰ θειωδῶς προσταχθέντα ἐπὶ πέρας ἀχθῆναι δυνηθῇ.

86. Ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἐτύρεον, καὶ τὰς συσκευὰς ἐπλαττον· ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀνελθόντες ἐδείξαμεν βασιλεῖ τὰς ἀδικίας τῶν περὶ Εὐσέβιον, ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν ὁ τὴν σύνοδον γενέσθαι κελεύσας, καὶ κόμης αὐτοῦ καθηγείτο ταύτης. Ἐκεῖνος τοίνυν ἀκούσας καὶ κινηθεὶς, ἔγραψε ταῦτα.

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Νικητῆς Κωνσταντῖνος μέγιστος Σεβαστὸς τοῖς ἐν Τύρῳ
συνελθοῦσιν ἐπισκόποις.

(Letter of
Constantine
to Bishops of
Council of
Tyre.)

Soc. i. 34.

Ἐγὼ μὲν ἀγνοῶ τίνα ἐστὶ τὰ ὑπὸ τῆς ὑμετέρας συνόδου μετὰ θορύβου καὶ χειμῶνος κριθέντα· δοκεῖ δέ πως ὑπό τινος ἀταξίας ταραχῶδους ἢ ἀλήθεια διεστράφθαι, ὑμῶν δηλαδὴ διὰ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς πλησίον ἐρεσχελίαν, ἣν ἀήττητον εἶναι βούλεσθε, τὰ τῷ Θεῷ ἀρέσκοντα μὴ συνορώωντων. Ἄλλ' ἔσται τῆς θείας προνοίας ἔργον καὶ τὰ τῆς φιλονεικίας ταύτης κακὰ φανερώς ἀλόντα διασκεδάσαι, καὶ ἡμῖν διαβρῆδην ἐπιδείξαι, εἰ τίνα τῆς ἀληθείας αὐτόθι συνελθόντες ἐποιήσασθε φροντίδα, καὶ εἰ τὰ κεκριμένα χωρὶς τινος χάριτος καὶ ἀπεχθείας ἐκρίνατε. Τοιγαροῦν ἡπειγμένως πάντας ὑμᾶς πρὸς τὴν ἐμὴν συνελθεῖν εὐσέβειαν βούλομαι, ἵνα τὴν τῶν πεπραγμένων ὑμῖν ἀκρίβειαν δι' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν παραστήσητε. Τίνος δὲ ἕνεκεν ταῦτα γράψαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐδικαίωσα, καὶ ὑμᾶς πρὸς ἐμὰντὸν διὰ τοῦ γράμματος καλῶ, ἐκ τῶν ἐπομένων γνῶσεσθε. Ἐπιβαίνοντί μοι λοιπὸν τῆς ἐπωνύμου ἡμῶν καὶ πανευδαίμονος πατρίδος τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως (συνέβαινε δὲ τηνικαῦτα ἐφ' Ἰππου ὀχεῖσθαι), ἐξαίφνης Ἀθανάσιος ὁ ἐπίσκοπος ἐν μέσῃ τῇ λεωφόρῳ μετὰ ἐτέρων τινῶν, οὓς περὶ αὐτὸν εἶχεν, ἀπροσδόκητος οὕτως προσήλθεν, ὥς καὶ παρέχειν ἐκπλήξεως ἀφορμὴν. Μαρτυρεῖ μοι γὰρ ὁ πάντων ἔφορος Θεὸς, ὥς οὐδὲ ἐπιγῶναι αὐτὸν, ὅστις ἦν, παρὰ τὴν πρώτην ὄψιν ἡδυνήθην, εἰ μὴ τῶν ἡμετέρων τινὲς, καὶ ὅστις ἦν καὶ τὴν ἀδικίαν ἦν πέπονθε, διηγῆσθαι πυνθανομένοις, ὥσπερ εἰκὸς, ἀπήγγειλαι ἡμῖν. Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν οὔτε διηλέχθην αὐτῷ κατ' ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ, οὔτε ὁμιλίας ἐκοινώνησα. Ὡς δὲ ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἀκουσθῆναι ἤξλου, ἐγὼ δὲ παρητούμην, καὶ μικροῦ δεῖν ἀπελάνυσθαι αὐτὸν ἐκέλευον, μετὰ πλείονος παρρησίας οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἑαυτῷ παρ' ἡμῶν ἢ τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀφίξιν ἤξιωσεν ὑπάρξαι, ἵνα, ὑμῶν παρόντων, ἃ πέπονθεν ἀναγκαίως, ἀποδύρασθαι δυνηθῇ. Ὅπερ ἐπειδὴ εὐλογον εἶναι μοι καὶ τοῖς καιροῖς πρόπον κατεφαίνετο, ἀσμένως ταῦτα γραφῆναι πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἔταξα, ἵνα πάντες ὅσοι τὴν

σύνοδον τὴν ἐν Τύρῳ γενομένην ἀνεπληρώσατε, ἀνυπερθέτως εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον τῆς ἐμῆς ἡμερότητος ἐπειχθῆτε, τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῖς ἐπιδείξοντες τὸ τῆς ὑμετέρας κρίσεως καθαρὸν τε καὶ ἀδιάστροφον, ἐπ' ἐμοῦ δηλαδὴ, ὃν τοῦ Θεοῦ εἶναι γνήσιον θεράποντα οὐδ' ἂν ὑμεῖς ἀρνηθείητε. Τοιγαροῦν διὰ τῆς ἐμῆς πρὸς Θεὸν λατρείας τὰ πανταχοῦ εἰρηνεύεται, καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων αὐτῶν τὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ ὄνομα γη- [Soc. καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν.] σίως εὐλογούμενον, οἱ μέχρι νῦν τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἡγνούν· δῆλον δὲ, ὅτι ὁ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἀγνοῶν οὐδὲ τὸν Θεὸν ἐπιγινώσκει. Πλὴν ὅμως, καθὰ προεῖρηται, καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι νῦν, δι' ἐμὲ τὸν Θεοῦ θεράποντα γνήσιον, ἐπέγνωσαν τὸν Θεόν, καὶ εὐλαβεῖσθαι μεμάθηκαν, ὃν ὑπερασπίζειν μονπανταχοῦ καὶ προνοεῖσθαι τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῖς ἥσθοντο· ὅθεν μάλιστα καὶ ἴσασι τὸν Θεόν· ὃν ἐκεῖνοι μὲν διὰ τὸν πρὸς ἡμᾶς φόβον εὐλαβοῦνται, ἡμεῖς δὲ οἱ τὰ ἅγια μυστήρια τῆς εὐμενείας αὐτοῦ δοκοῦντες προβάλλεσθαι (οὐ γὰρ ἂν εἰποιμι φυλάττειν), ἡμεῖς, φημί, οὐδὲν πράττομεν ἢ τὰ πρὸς διχόνοιαν καὶ μῖσος συντείνοντα, καὶ ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν, τὰ πρὸς ἄλεθρον τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου γένους ἔχοντα τὴν ἀναφοράν. Ἄλλ' ἐπείχθητε, καθὰ προεῖρηται, πρὸς ἡμᾶς σπουδάσατε πάντες ἢ τάχος, πεπεισμένοι, ὥς παντὶ σθένει κατορθῶσαι πειράσομαι, ὅπως ἐν τῷ νόμῳ Θεοῦ ταῦτα ἐξαιρέτως ἀδιάπτωτα φυλάττηται, οἷς οὔτε ψόγος, οὔτε κακοδοξία τίς δυνήσεται προσπλακῆναι· διασκεδασθέντων δηλαδὴ καὶ συντριβέντων ἄρδην, καὶ παντελῶς ἀφανισθέντων τῶν ἐχθρῶν τοῦ νόμου, οἵτινες ἐπὶ προσχήματι τοῦ ἁγίου ὀνόματος ποικίλας καὶ διαφόρους βλασφημίας παρέχουσιν.

87. Ταῦτα μαθόντες οἱ περὶ Εὐσέβιον, καὶ εἰδότες ἃ πεποιήκασιν, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἐπισκόπους ἐκώλυσαν ἀνελθεῖν, αὐτοὶ δὲ μόνοι, Εὐσέβιος, Θεόγνιος, Πατρόφιλος, ἕτερος Εὐσέβιος, καὶ Οὐρσάκιος, καὶ Οὐάλης ἀνελθόντες, οὐκέτι περὶ ποτηρίου καὶ Ἀρσενίου ἔλεγον· παῤῥησίαν γὰρ οὐκ εἶχον· ἄλλην δὲ πλάσαντες κατηγορίαν τὴν εἰς βασιλεία φθάνουσαν, εἰρήκασιν αὐτῷ τῷ βασιλεῖ, ὅτι ἠπειλήσεν Ἀθανάσιος κωλύσειν τὸν σίτον τὸν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα σου πεμπό-

μενον ἀπὸ 'Αλεξανδρείας.' Καὶ τοῦτο παρόντες μὲν 'Αδαμάν-
 C. 9. τιος, καὶ 'Ανουβίων, 'Αγαθάμμων, 'Αρβεθίων, Πέτρος, οἱ
 Cp. c. 9. ἐπίσκοποι, ἤκουσαν· ἔδειξε δὲ καὶ ὁ θυμὸς τοῦ βασιλέως. 'Ο
 γὰρ τοιαῦτα γράψας, καὶ καταγινώσκων τῆς ἀδικίας αὐτῶν, ὡς
 ἤκουσε τὴν τοιαύτην διαβολὴν, εὐθὺς ἐπυρώθη, καὶ ἀντὶ τῆς
 ἀκροάσεως εἰς τὰς Γαλλίας ἡμᾶς ἀπέστειλεν. 'Αλλὰ καὶ
 τοῦτο μᾶλλον αὐτῶν δείκνυσι τὴν πονηρίαν· ὁ γὰρ μακαρίτης
 Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ νεώτερος, ἀποστέλλων ἡμᾶς εἰς τὴν πατρίδα,
 καὶ μεμνημένος, ὧν ἔγραψεν ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ, ἔγραψε καὶ αὐτὸς
 ταῦτα·

Κωνσταντῖνος καῖσαρ τῷ λαῷ τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας
 πόλεως 'Αλεξανδρείας.

(Letter of
 Constantine
 II. to the
 Alexandri-
 ans.)

Hist. Ari. 8.
 Soc. ii. 3.

c. 9.

Οὐδὲ τὴν τῆς ὑμετέρας ἱερᾶς ἐννοίας ἀποπεφευγῆναι γινώσκω
 οἶμαι, διὰ τοῦτο 'Αθανάσιον τὸν τοῦ προσκυνητοῦ νόμου ὑπο-
 φήτην πρὸς καιρὸν εἰς τὰς Γαλλίας ἀπεστάλθαι, ἵν', ἐπειδὴ
 ἡ ἀγριότης τῶν αἰμοβόρων αὐτοῦ καὶ πολεμίων ἐχθρῶν εἰς
 κίνδυνον τῆς ἱερᾶς αὐτοῦ κεφαλῆς ἐπέμεινε, μὴ ἄρα διὰ τῆς
 τῶν φαύλων διαστροφῆς ἀνῆκεστα ὑποστῇ. Πρὸς τὸ δια-
 παῖξαι τοίνυν ταύτην, ἀφαιρεθεὶς τῶν φαρύγγων τῶν ἐπικει-
 μένων αὐτῷ ἀνδρῶν, ὑπ' ἐμοὶ διάγειν κεκέλευσται, οὕτως ὡς
 ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει, ἐν ἣ διέτριβε, πᾶσι τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις ἐμ-
 πλεονάζειν· εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα αὐτοῦ ἡ ἀοιδίμος ἀρετὴ, ταῖς
 θείαις πεποιθυῖα βοηθείαις, καὶ τὰ τῆς τραχυτέρας τύχης ἄχθη
 ἐξουθενεῖ. Τοιγαροῦν εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα πρὸς τὴν προσφι-
 λεστάτην ὑμῶν θεοσέβειαν ὁ δεσπότης ἡμῶν Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ
 Σεβαστὸς, ὁ ἐμὸς πατὴρ, τὸν αὐτὸν ἐπίσκοπον τῷ ἰδίῳ τόπῳ
 παρασχεῖν προήρητο, ὅμως ἐπειδὴ, ἀνθρωπίνῳ κλήρῳ προλη-
 φθεὶς, πρὸ τοῦ τὴν εὐχὴν πληρῶσαι ἀνεπαύσατο, ἀκόλουθον
 ἡγησάμην τὴν προαίρεσιν τοῦ τῆς θέας μνήμης βασιλέως
 διαδεξάμενος πληρῶσαι. 'Οστις ἐπειδὴν τῆς ὑμετέρας τύχοι
 προσόψεως, ὅσης αἰδοῦς τετύχηκε, γνώσεσθε. Οὐ γὰρ θαν-
 μαστὸν εἶ τι δ' ἂν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πεποίηκα· καὶ γὰρ τὴν ἐμὴν
 ψυχὴν ἥ τε τοῦ ὑμετέρου πόθου εἰκὼν καὶ τὸ τοῦ τηλικούτου
 ἀνδρὸς σχῆμα εἰς τοῦτο ἐκίνει καὶ προέτρεπεν. 'Η θεία
 πρόνοια ὑμᾶς διαφυλάξαι, ἀγαπητοὶ ἀδελφοί. 'Εδόθη πρὸ
 δεκαπέντε καλανδῶν 'Ιουλίῳ ἐν Τριβέροις.

88. Ταύτης τῆς αἰτίας οὐσης, δι' ἣν ἀπεστάλημεν εἰς τὰς Γαλλίας, τίς πάλιν οὐ συνορᾷ τὴν μὲν τοῦ βασιλέως προαίρεσιν, τὴν δὲ τῶν περὶ Εὐσέβιον φονικὴν ψυχὴν, καὶ ὅτι τοῦτο πεποίηκε βασιλεὺς, ἵνα μὴ τινα μείζονα σκευὴν βουλεύσωνται; ἐπήκουσε γὰρ ἀπλῶς. Αὕτη τῶν περὶ Εὐσέβιον ἡ πρᾶξις, αὕτη τῆς καθ' ἡμῶν συσκευῆς ἡ μηχανή. Τίς ταῦτα συνορῶν οὐκ ἂν εἴποι μηδὲν κατὰ χάριν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν γεγενῆσθαι, ἀλλ' ὅτι δικαίως καὶ ἀκολούθως τὸ τοσοῦτον πλήθος τῶν ἐπισκόπων καὶ ἰδίᾳ καὶ κοινῇ τοιαῦτα μὲν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἔγραψε, τῆς δὲ συκοφαντίας τῶν ἐχθρῶν κατέγνωσαν; Τίς τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ τοσαῦτα θεωρήσας οὐκ ἂν εἴποι, ὅτι καὶ Οὐάλης καὶ Οὐρ- c. 58.
σάκιος εἰκότως κατέγνωσαν ἑαυτῶν, καὶ μεταγινώσκοντες τοιαῦτα καθ' ἑαυτῶν ἔγραψαν, μᾶλλον ἐλόμενοι πρὸς ὀλίγον αἰσχυρῆναι, ἢ αἰωνίως τὴν τῶν συκοφαντῶν ὑπομεῖναι τιμωρίαν;

89. Διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ δικαίως καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικῶς ποιοῦντες καὶ οἱ μακάριοι συλλειτουργοὶ ἡμῶν, ἐπειδὴ τινες ἀμφίβολα τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἔλεγον, καὶ ἀκυροῦν ἐβιάζοντο τὰ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν κριθέντα, πάντα παθεῖν ὑπέμειναν νῦν, καὶ ἐξορισθῆναι εἴλοντο, ἢ λυομένας ἰδεῖν τὰς τοσοῦτων ἐπισκόπων κρίσεις. Εἰ μὲν οὖν πρὸς τοὺς βουλευσαμένους καθ' ἡμῶν, καὶ ἐβελήσαντας ἀνατρέφαι τὰ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, ἄχρι λόγων ἦσαν ἐνστάντες οἱ ἀληθῶς ἐπίσκοποι, ἢ τυχόντες ἦσαν ἄνδρες, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἐπισήμων πόλεων, καὶ κεφαλαὶ τοσοῦτων ἐκκλησιῶν· ἦν ἂν ὑποπτεύειν μὴ ἄρα κεχαρισμένα πάλιν ποιοῦντες ἐφίλουεῖκσαν καὶ νῦν αὐτοί· ὅτε δὲ καὶ λογισμοῖς ἔπειθον καὶ ἐξορισμὸν ὑπέμειναν, καὶ Λιβέριός ἐστιν ὁ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐπίσκοπος· εἰ γὰρ καὶ εἰς τέλος οὐχ ὑπέμεινε τοῦ ἐξορισμοῦ τὴν θλίψιν, Hist. Ari. 41.
ὅμως διετίαν ἔμεινεν ἐν τῇ μετοικίᾳ, γινώσκων τὴν καθ' ἡμῶν συσκευὴν· καὶ ἐπειδὴ καὶ Ὅσιος ὁ μέγας ἐστὶ, καὶ οἱ τῆς Ἰταλίας, καὶ οἱ τῶν Γαλλιῶν, καὶ ἄλλοι ἀπὸ Σπανιῶν, καὶ ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου, καὶ Λιβύης, καὶ οἱ τῆς Πενταπόλεως πάντες· εἰ γὰρ καὶ, πρὸς ὀλίγον φοβηθεὶς τὰς ἀπειλὰς Κων- Apol. de
σταυτίου, ἔδοξεν ἐκείνοις μὴ ἀντιλέγειν, ἀλλ' ἡ πολλὴ βία Fuga, 5.
καὶ τυραννικὴ ἐξουσία Κωνσταντίου, καὶ αἱ πλείεσται ὕβρεις Hist. Ari. 45.
καὶ πληγαὶ δεικνῦσιν, ὅτι μὴ καταγνούς ἡμῶν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν

APOL. C. ARI. ἀσθένειαν τοῦ γήρως οὐ φέρων τὰς πληγὰς, πρὸς καιρὸν εἶξεν αὐτοῖς· δίκαιόν ἐστι πλέον πάντας, ὥς πληροφορηθέντας, μισεῖν καὶ ἀποστρέφειν τὴν ἀδικίαν, καὶ τὴν βίαν τὴν [Qu. διότι.] καθ' ἡμῶν γενομένην, διὰ τὸ μάλιστα δι' οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἢ διὰ τὴν Ἀρειανὴν ἀσέβειαν συνέστηκεν ἡμᾶς ταῦτα πεπονθέναι.

90. Εἴ τις τοίνυν βούλεται τὰ τε καθ' ἡμᾶς μαθεῖν καὶ τὴν περὶ Εὐσέβιον συκοφαντίαν, ἐντυγχανέτω τοῖς γραφεῖσιν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, καὶ μάρτυρας ἔχέτω, οὐχ ἓνα, ἢ δύο, ἢ τρεῖς, ἀλλὰ τοσοῦτον πλήθος ἐπισκόπων· καὶ τούτων μάρτυρας πάλιν λαμβανέτω τοὺς περὶ Λιβέριον καὶ Ὅσιον, καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτοῖς, οἵτινες, ὁρῶντες τὰ καθ' ἡμῶν γεγόμενα, πάντα παθεῖν ὑπέμειναν, ἢ προδοῦναι τὴν ἀλήθειαν καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν κρίσιν· τοῦτο δὲ καλῶς καὶ ὁσίως βουλευόμενοι πεποιήκασιν· ἃ γὰρ οὗτοι πεπόνθασι, δείκνυσι μὲν τὴν ἀνάγκην, ἣν καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἐπίσκοποι πεπόνθασιν. Ἔστι δὲ ὑπομνήματα μὲν καὶ στηλογραφία κατὰ τῆς Ἀρειανῆς αἱρέσεως καὶ τῆς πονηρίας τῶν συκοφαντῶν, ὑπογραμμὸς δὲ καὶ τύπος τοῖς μετὰ ταῦτα

Ecclus. iv. 28. γιγνομένοις, 'ἀγωνίζεσθαι μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀληθείας μέχρι θανάτου,' ἀποστρέφειν δὲ τὴν Ἀρειανὴν αἵρεσιν, Χριστομάχον οὖσαν,

H^{st.} Ari. 46. καὶ τοῦ Ἀντιχρίστου πρόδρομον, μὴ πιστεύειν δὲ τοῖς καθ' ἡμῶν ἐπιχειροῦσι λέγειν. Ἀξιόπιστος γὰρ καὶ ἱκανὴ μαρτυρία τῶν τοιούτων καὶ τοσοῦτων ἐπισκόπων ἢ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀπολογία καὶ ψῆφος.

ΤΟΥ ΕΝ ΑΓΙΟΙΣ ΠΑΤΡΟΣ ΗΜΩΝ

ΑΘΑΝΑΣΙΟΥ

ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΑΣ,

ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥΣ ΑΙΓΥΠΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΛΙΒΥΗΣ

ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ ΕΓΚΥΚΛΙΟΣ

ΚΑΤΑ ΑΡΕΙΑΝΩΝ.

Ι. Πάντα μὲν ὅσα ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν καὶ Σωτὴρ Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς, ὡς ἔγραψεν ὁ Λουκᾶς, ‘πεποίηκέ τε καὶ ἐδίδαξεν,’ εἰς Acts i. 1. τὴν ἡμετέραν φανεῖς σωτηρίαν διεπράξατο· ἦλθε γὰρ, ὡς ὁ Ἰωάννης φησὶν, ‘οὐχ ἵνα κρίνῃ τὸν κόσμον, ἀλλ’ ἵνα σωθῇ ὁ John iii. 17. κόσμος δι’ αὐτοῦ.’ Ἔστι δὲ μετὰ πάντων καὶ τοῦτο θαυμάσαι τῆς ἀγαθότητος αὐτοῦ, ὅτι καὶ περὶ τῶν πρὸς ἡμᾶς μαχομένων οὐ παρεσιώπησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μάλα προείρηκεν, ἵνα ἐπειδὴν ἐκεῖνα παραγένηται, εὐθέως εὐρεθῶμεν ἡσφαλισμένην ἔχοντες τὴν διάνοιαν ἐκ τῆς ἐκεῖνου διδασκαλίας, λέγοντος· ‘Ἐγερ- Matt. xxiv. 24, 25. θήσονται ψευδοπροφῆται καὶ ψευδόχριστοι, καὶ δώσουσι σημεῖα μεγάλα καὶ τέρατα, ὥστε πλανᾶσθαι, εἰ δυνατόν, καὶ τοὺς ἐκλεκτούς· ἰδοὺ προείρηκα ὑμῖν.’ Τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐν ἡμῖν ἀποτεθέντα μαθήματά τε καὶ χαρίσματα παρ’ αὐτοῦ πολλὰ καὶ ὑπὲρ ἀνθρωπὸν ἔστιν· οὐρανοῦ γὰρ πολιτείας τύπος, καὶ δύναμις κατὰ δαιμόνων, υἱοποίησίς τε καὶ τὸ ὑπὲρ πᾶν χάρισμα καὶ ἐξαίρετον, ἢ περὶ τοῦ Πατρὸς γνῶσις καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Λόγου, καὶ ὁπωρὰ Πνεύματος ἁγίου. Ἡ δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων διάνοια ἐπι-

Ep. ad Ep.
ÆG.

Cp. Matt.
xiii. 19.

Luke xxi. 8.

1 Peter v. 8.

John viii. 44.

Gen. iii. 5.

Job ii. 9.

Isa. x. 14.

μελῶς ἐπὶ τὰ πονηρὰ ἔγκειται· καὶ μὴν ὁ ἀντίδικος ἡμῶν διάβολος, φθονῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς τοσοῦτοις ἡμῖν ἀγαθοῖς γενομένοις, περιέρχεται ζητῶν ἀρπάσαι τὰ εἰς ἡμᾶς τοῦ Λόγου σπέρματα. Διὰ τοῦτο γοῦν, ὥσπερ ἴδια κειμήλια τὰ μαθήματα σφραγίζων ἐν ἡμῖν διὰ τῆς προρρήσεως, ἔλεγεν ὁ Κύριος· ‘Βλέπετε μὴ τις ὑμᾶς πλανήσῃ. Πολλοὶ γὰρ ἐλεύσονται ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματί μου, λέγοντες· ‘Εγὼ εἰμι· καὶ ὁ καιρὸς ἤγγικε, καὶ πολλοὺς πλανήσουσι· μὴ οὖν πορευθῇτε ὀπίσω αὐτῶν.’ Μέγα τι χάρισμα δέδωκεν ἡμῖν ὁ Λόγος, ὥστε μὴ ἐκ τῶν φαινομένων ἀπατάσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ μᾶλλον, κὰν ταῦτα κεκαλυμμένα τυγχάνῃ, διακρίνειν τῇ τοῦ Πνεύματος χάριτι. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ὁλος ἐστὶ μισητὸς ὁ τῆς κακίας εὐρετὴς καὶ μέγας δαίμων ὁ διάβολος, μόνον τε φαινόμενος βάλλεται παρὰ πάντων, ὥς ὄφιν, ὥς δράκων, ‘ὥς λέων ζητῶν τινὰς ἀρπάσαι καὶ καταπιεῖν’ διὰ τοῦτο δὲ μὲν ἔστιν αὐτὸς, ὑποκρύπτει καὶ σκέπει, τὸ δὲ παρὰ πάντων ποθοῦμενον ὄνομα ὑποκρίνεται πανούργως, ἴνα, ἀπατήσας τῇ φαντασίᾳ, λοιπὸν τοὺς πλανηθέντας τοῖς ἰδίῳ περιπείρῃ δεσμοῖς. Καὶ ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις, ἀνδραποδίσασθαι θέλων ἀλλοτρίους παῖδας, ἀποδημούντων τῶν γονέων, ὑποκρίνεται τὰς ἐκείνων ὄψεις, καὶ ποθοῦντας τοὺς υἱοὺς ἀπατήσῃ, καὶ λοιπὸν ἀπαγαγὼν αὐτοὺς μακρὰν, ἀπολέσῃ· τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ ὁ κακοδαίμων καὶ σκολιδὸς διάβολος, οὐκ ἔχων μὲν αὐτὸς παρῆρσιν, εἰδὼς δὲ τὸν εἰς τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἔρωτα τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὑποκρίνεται μὲν ταύτην τῇ φαντασίᾳ, τὸν δὲ ἴδιον ἰὸν ἐπιβάλλει τοῖς ἐπακολουθήσασιν αὐτῷ.

2. Οὕτως καὶ τὴν Εὐὰν ἠπάτησεν, οὐ ‘τὰ ἴδια λαλῶν,’ ἀλλ’ ὑποκρινόμενος μὲν τὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ ῥήματα, τὴν δὲ διάνοιαν αὐτῶν παραποιῶν· οὕτω καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ Ἰὼβ ὑπέβαλε, πείσας αὐτὴν ὑποκρίνασθαι μὲν φιλανδρίαν, διδάξας δὲ βλασφημεῖν εἰς τὸν Θεόν· οὕτως τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὁ δόλιος παίζει ταῖς φαντασίαις, ὑποκλέπτων καὶ σύρων ἕκαστον εἰς τὸν ἴδιον τῆς κακίας βόθρον. Πάσαι μὲν οὖν ἀπατήσας τὸν πρῶτον ἀνθρώπον τὸν Ἀδὰμ, καὶ νομίσας δι’ ἐκείνου ὑποχείριους ἐσχηκέναι τοὺς πάντας, ἐνήλλετο θρασυνόμενος καὶ λέγων· ‘Τὴν οἰκουμένην ὅλην καταλήψομαι τῇ χειρὶ ὥς νοσσιὰν, καὶ ὥς καταλελειμμένα ὧὰ ἀρῶ, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὃς διαφεύξεται με, ἢ ἀντείπη

μοι.' "Οτε δὲ ὁ Κύριος ἐπεδήμησε, καὶ πείραν ἔσχευ ὁ ἐχθρὸς
 τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης οἰκονομίας αὐτοῦ, μὴ δυνηθεὶς ἀπατήσαι τὴν
 ὑπ' αὐτοῦ φορουμένην σάρκα, τότε δὴ ὁ τὴν οἰκουμένην ὄλην
 ἐπαγγελλόμενος καταλαμβάνειν λοιπὸν ἐξ ἐκεῖνου καὶ δι' ἐκεῖ-
 νον 'παίζεται καὶ ὑπὸ παιδίων, ὡς στρουθίον, ὁ ὑπερήφανος. Cp. Job xl.
 'Παῖδιον γὰρ νῦν νήπιον εἰς τρώγλην ἀσπίδων βάλλον τὴν 24, LXX.
 χεῖρα,' γελαῖ τὸν 'ἀπατήσαντα τὴν Εὐαν' καὶ πάντες δὲ οἱ ὀρθῶς Isa. xi. 8.
 πιστεύοντες εἰς τὸν Κύριον πατοῦσι τὸν εἰπόντα· 'Θήσομαι 2 Cor. xi. 3.
 τὸν θρόνον μου ἐπάνω τῶν νεφελῶν, ἀναβήσομαι, ὅμοιος ἔσομαι
 τῷ Ὑψίστῳ.' Οὕτω μὲν οὖν πάσχει μετ' αἰσχύνης ἐκεῖνος·
 ὅμως δὲ, εἰ καὶ τολμᾷ πάλιν ὁ ἀναίσχυντος σχηματίζεσθαι,
 ἀλλὰ γινώσκεται καὶ νῦν μᾶλλον ὁ τάλας ὑπὸ τῶν τὸ 'σημεῖον Cp. Ezek. ix.
 ἐν τῷ μετώπῳ' φορούντων, καὶ δεινότερον ἀποστρέφεται τετα- 4, LXX.
 πειωμένος καὶ κατησχυμένος. Κἂν τε γὰρ ὡς ὄφεις νῦν
 ἔρπων 'μετασχηματίζεται εἰς ἄγγελον φωτὸς,' ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰς 2 Cor. xi. 14.
 ὄνησιν ἕξει τὴν ὑπόκρισιν· πεπαιδευμέθα γὰρ, ὅτι 'κἂν ἄγγελος Gal. i. 8.
 ἐξ οὐρανοῦ εὐαγγελισθαι ἡμᾶς παρ' ὃ παρελάβομεν, ἀνάθεμα
 τούτου εἶναι.'

3. 'Εὰν δὲ καὶ πάλιν 'τὸ ἴδιον' κρύψῃ 'ψεύδος,' καὶ λαλεῖν
 ὑποκρίνεται διὰ χειλέων τὴν ἀλήθειαν· ἀλλ' 'οὐκ ἀγνοοῦντες 2 Cor. ii. 11.
 αὐτοῦ τὰ νοήματα,' δυνάμεθα λέγειν τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Πνεύματος εἰς
 αὐτὸν εἰρημένα· 'Τῷ δὲ ἁμαρτωλῷ εἶπεν ὁ Θεός· "Ἰνα τί σὺ Ps. xlix. (l.) 16.
 ἐκδιηγῇ τὰ δικαιώματά μου;' καὶ, 'Οὐχ ὥραῖος αἶνος ἐν τῷ Ecclus. xv. 9.
 στόματι τοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ.' Οὐδὲ γὰρ τὴν ἀλήθειαν λέγων
 ἀξιοπιστὸς ἐστὶν ὁ πανουργός. Καὶ τοῦτο ἔδειξε μὲν ἡ γραφὴ
 διηγουμένη τὴν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ πρὸς τὴν Εὐαν αὐτοῦ κακο-
 τεχνίαν· ἤλεγξε δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ ὁ Κύριος, πρῶτον μὲν ἐν τῷ ὄρει,
 διαιρῶν 'τὴν πτύξιν τοῦ θώρακος αὐτοῦ,' καὶ δεικνὺς ὅστις ἐστὶν Cp. Job xli.
 ὁ δόλιος, καὶ ἐλέγχων, ὅτι μὴ τῶν ἁγίων εἰς ἐστὶν, ἀλλὰ 4, LXX.
 Σατανᾶς ἐστὶν ὁ πειράζων, ἐν τῷ λέγειν· "Ὑπαγε ὀπίσω μου, Matt. iv. 10.
 Σατανᾶ· γέγραπται γάρ· Κύριον τὸν Θεόν σου προσκυνήσεις,
 καὶ αὐτῷ μόνῳ λατρεύσεις' καὶ ὅτε δὲ κράζοντας ἀπὸ τῶν
 μνημείων ἐφίμωσε τοὺς δαίμονας. Ἦν μὲν γὰρ ἀληθὲς τὸ
 παρ' αὐτῶν λεγόμενον, καὶ οὐκ ἐψεύδοντο τότε λέγοντες, ὅτι
 'Σὺ εἶ ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ,' καὶ 'ὁ ἅγιος τοῦ Θεοῦ' ἀλλ' οὐκ ἤθελε
 δι' ἀκαθάρτου στόματος τὴν ἀλήθειαν προφέρεισθαι καὶ μάλιστα Matt. viii. 29.
 Mark i. 24.

ΕΡ. AD ΕΡ. **δι' 'ἐκείνων, ἵνα μὴ, προφάσει ταύτης ἐπιμίξαντες τὸ ἴδιον**
 ÆG.
 Matt. xiii. 25. **θέλημα τῆς κακίας, 'ἐπισπείρωσι' τοῦτο 'καθεύδουσι τοῖς ἀν-**
θρώποις.' Διὰ τοῦτο οὔτε αὐτὸς ἠνέσχετο τοιαῦτα λαλούντων
 Matt. vii. 15. **αὐτῶν, οὐδὲ ἡμᾶς ἀνασχέσθαι τῶν τοιούτων βουλόμενος,**
 1 John iv. 1. **παρήγγειλε δι' ἑαυτοῦ μὲν, 'Προσέχετε,' λέγων, 'ἀπὸ τῶν**
ψευδοπροφητῶν, οἵτινες ἔρχονται πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐν ἐνδύμασι προ-
βάτων, ἔσωθεν δὲ εἰσι λύκοι ἄρπαγες' διὰ δὲ τῶν ἁγίων
 John viii. 44. **ἀποστόλων' 'Μὴ παντὶ πνεύματι πιστεύετε.' Τοιοῦτος γὰρ ὁ**
τρόπος τῆς ἀντικειμένης ἐνεργείας ἐστί' τοιαῦτα δὲ τὰ τῶν
αἱρέσεων συγκροτήματα τυγχάνει' πατέρα γὰρ ἐκάστη τῆς
ιδίας ἐπινοίας ἔχουσα τὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τραπέντα καὶ γενόμενον
 Phil. ii. 9. **'ὑπὲρ πᾶν ὄνομα' τοῦ Σωτῆρος, τὰς τε τῶν γραφῶν λέξεις**
περιβάλλεται. Καὶ λέγει μὲν τὰ ῥήματα, κλέπτει δὲ τὴν
διάνοιαν τὴν ἀληθῆ' καὶ λοιπὸν, ἣν ἔπλασεν ἰδίαν ἐπίνοιαν ὡς
ἐν δόλῳ τιλὲ σκεπάσασα, ἀνθρωποκτόνος καὶ αὕτῃ γίνεται τῶν
πλανωμένων.

4. 'Επεὶ πόθεν Μαρκίῳνι καὶ Μανιχαίῳ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον,
 ἀρνούμενοις τὸν νόμον ; ἐκ γὰρ τῶν παλαιῶν τὰ νέα, καὶ τὰ
 νέα τοῖς παλαιοῖς μαρτυρεῖ. Οἱ τοίνυν ἀρνούμενοι ταῦτα πῶς
 ὁμολογήσουσι τὰ ἐξ ἐκείνων ; Παῦλος γὰρ ἀπόστολος εὐαγ-
 Rom. i. 2. **γελίου γέγονεν, 'αὐτὸν προεπηγγέλατο διὰ τῶν προφητῶν αὐτοῦ**
 John v. 39. **ἐν γραφαῖς ἁγλαῖς.' 'Ὁ δὲ Κύριος αὐτὸς ἔλεγεν' 'Ἐρευνᾶτε**
τὰς γραφὰς, ὅτι αὐταὶ εἰσιν αἱ μαρτυροῦσαι περὶ ἐμοῦ.' Πῶς
 John i. 45. **αὐτὸν ὁμολογήσουσι τὸν Κύριον, μὴ προερευνῶντες τὰς περὶ**
αὐτοῦ γραφὰς ; 'Ὁν γὰρ ἔγραψε Μωϋσῆς καὶ οἱ προφῆται,
 Deut. xviii. **τοῦτον εὗρηκέναι' λέγουσιν οἱ μαθηταί. Τί δὲ καὶ Σαδδου-**
 15. **καλοῖς ὁ νόμος μὴ δεχομένοις τοὺς προφῆτας ; 'Ὁ γὰρ τὸν νόμον**
δεδωκὼς Θεὸς, αὐτὸς 'ἐγείρει' ἐν τῷ νόμῳ καὶ 'προφῆτας'
 John v. 46. **ἐπηγγέλατο, ὥστε τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι Κύριον τοῦ τε νόμου καὶ**
τῶν προφητῶν, καὶ τὸν ἀρνούμενον θάτερον αὐτῶν ἀρνεῖσθαι
πάντως καὶ τὸ ἕτερον. Τί δὲ καὶ Ἰουδαίοις λοιπὸν ἢ παλαιὰ,
μὴ ἐπεγνωκόσι τὸν ἐξ αὐτῆς προσδοκώμενον Κύριον ; Εἰ γὰρ
ἐπίστευον τοῖς Μωϋσέως γράμμασιν, ἐπίστευσαν ἂν τοῖς τοῦ
Κυρίου ῥήμασι. 'Περὶ γὰρ ἐμοῦ,' φησὶν, 'ἐκεῖνος ἔγραψε.'

Τί δὲ καὶ τῷ Σαμοσατεῖ τὰ τῶν γραφῶν, ἀρνούμενῳ τὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγον, καὶ τὴν ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων τῆς τε παλαιᾶς καὶ καινῆς διαθήκης σημαινομένην καὶ δεικνυμένην ἔνσαρκον τοῦ Λόγου παρουσίαν; Τί δὲ καὶ τοῖς Ἀρειανοῖς αἱ γραφαί, καὶ τί ταύτας οὗτοι προφέρουσιν, ἄνθρωποι κτίσμα λέγοντες εἶναι τὸν Θεοῦ Λόγον, καὶ ὡς ἂν Ἕλληνες, ‘λατρεύοντες τῇ κτίσει παρὰ τὸν κτίσαντα Θεόν;’ Πρὸς μὲν γὰρ τὴν ἰδίαν τῆς ἐπινοίας ἀσέβειαν ἐκάστη τούτων τῶν αἱρέσεων οὐδὲν κοινὸν ἔχει πρὸς τὰς γραφάς· καὶ τοῦτο ἴσασι καὶ οἱ τὰ τούτων πρεσβεύοντες, ὅτι πολὺν, μᾶλλον δὲ τὸ ὅλον εἰσὶν ἐναντίαι πρὸς τὸ ἐκάστης ἐκείνων φρόνημα· ἀπάτης δὲ χάριν τῶν ἀπλουστεύων, οἳ εἰσι περὶ ὧν ἐν Παροιμίαις γέγραπται· “Ακακος πιστεύει παντὶ λόγῳ” σχηματίζονται μελετᾶν καὶ λέγειν τὰς λέξεις, ὡς ὁ πατὴρ αὐτῶν διάβολος, ἵνα ἐκ τῶν λέξεων δόξωσιν ὀρθὸν ἔχειν καὶ τὸ φρόνημα, καὶ λοιπὸν πείσωσι παρὰ τὰς γραφὰς φρονεῖν τοὺς τάλαιπῶρους ἀνθρώπους. Ἀμέλει ἐν ἐκάστη τῶν αἱρέσεων οὕτω σχηματισάμενος ὁ διάβολος λέξεις ὑπέβαλε μεστὰς δολιότητος· περὶ γὰρ τούτων ὁ Κύριος εἶρηκεν, ὅτι “Ἐγερθή- σονται ψευδόχριστοι καὶ ψευδοπροφῆται, ὥστε πλανῆσαι πολλούς” τοιγαροῦν ὁ διάβολος ἦλθε, λέγων δι’ ἐκάστης· “Ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ Χριστὸς, καὶ παρ’ ἐμοὶ τὸ ἀληθές ἐστι” καὶ πάσας ἰδίᾳ καὶ κοιῇ πεποίηκε ψεύδεσθαι ὁ συκοφάντης. Καὶ τό γε παράδοξον, πᾶσαι πρὸς ἑαυτὰς αἱ αἱρέσεις μαχόμεναι περὶ ὧν ἔπλασεν ἐκάστη κακῶν, ἐν μόνῳ τῷ ψεύδεσθαι συνεδέθησαν ἀλλήλαις· ἕνα γὰρ ἔχουσι πατέρα τὸν πάσαις ἐπισπείραντα τὸ ψεῦδος. Ὁ μὲν οὖν πιστὸς καὶ τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου μαθητῆς, ἔχων χάριν τοῦ διακρίνειν τὰ πνευματικὰ, ‘καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν πέτραν οἰκοδομήσας ἑαυτοῦ’ τὴν τῆς πίστεως ‘οἰκίαν,’ ἔστηκεν ἐδραῖος, καὶ ἀσφαλὴς ἀπὸ τῆς τούτων ἀπάτης διαμένων· ὁ δὲ ἀπλοῦς, ὡς προείπον, καὶ μὴ κατηχηθεὶς ἰσχυρῶς, ὁ τοιοῦτος τὰ λεγόμενα μόνον σκοπῶν, καὶ μὴ τὴν διάνοιαν θεωρῶν, εὐθὺς ὑποσύρεται ταῖς ἐκείνων μεθοδεῖαις. Διὰ τοῦτο καλὸν ἐστὶ καὶ ἀναγκαῖον εὐχεσθαι λαμβάνειν ‘χάρισμα διακρίσεως πνευμάτων,’ ἵνα ἕκασ- τος γνώσκη κατὰ τοῦ Ἰωάννου παραγγελίαν, τίνας μὲν ἀποβάλλειν ὀφείλει, τίνας δὲ προσλαμβάνεσθαι, ὡς φίλους καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ὄντας πίστεως. Πολλὰ μὲν οὖν ἂν τις γράψειεν, εἰ

Cp. de Syn. 45.

Rom. i. 25.

Prov. xiv. 15.

Matt. xxiv. 24.

Matt. vii. 24.

1 Cor. xii. 10.

Cp. 1 John iv. 1.

Ep. ad Ep.
Æg.

βούλοιτο περὶ τούτων ἐπεξεργάσασθαι· πολλή γὰρ καὶ ποικίλη τῶν αἵρέσεων ἢ ἀσέβεια καὶ ἡ κακοφροσύνη φανήσεται, καὶ δεινὴ λίαν ἡ τῶν ἀπατώντων πανουργία. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡ θεία

Cp. de Syn.
6.

γραφὴ πάντων ἐστὶν ἱκανωτέρα, τούτου χάριν τοῖς βουλομένοις τὰ πολλὰ περὶ τούτων γινώσκειν συμβουλεύσας ἐντυγχάνειν τοῖς θείοις λόγοις, αὐτὸς νῦν τὸ κατεπείγον ἐσπούδασα δηλῶσαι, διὸ μάλιστα καὶ οὕτως ἔγραψα.

5. Ἦκουσα ἐν τοῖς μέρεσι τούτοις διατρίβων, ἀδελφοὶ γὰρ γνήσιοι καὶ τῆς ὀρθῆς δόξης ὄντες ἀπήγγειλαν, ὥς ἄρα τινὲς συνελθόντες τῶν τὰ Ἀρείου φρονούντων ἔγραψαν δῆθεν περὶ πίστεως, ὥς ἡθέλησαν, καὶ θέλουσιν ἀποστείλαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἵνα ἡ ὑπογράψῃτε κατὰ τὸ δοκοῦν αὐτοῖς, μᾶλλον δὲ καθὸ ἐνέπνευσεν αὐτοῖς ὁ διάβολος, ἢ ὁ ἀντιλέγων ὑπερόριος γένηται. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ τοὺς ἐπισκόπους τῶν μερῶν τούτων ἤδη διοχλεῖν ἄρχονται. Ἐντεῦθεν οὖν ὁ τρόπος τῶν γραφόντων δῆλος γίνεται. Οἱ γὰρ οὕτω γράφοντες, ὥστε τὸ τέλος τῶν γραμμάτων αὐτῶν ἐξορισμὸν καὶ ἄλλας τιμωρίας ἔχειν, τί ἂν εἶεν οἱ τοιοῦτοι ἢ Χριστιανῶν μὲν ἀλλότριοι, διαβόλου δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐκεῖνου δαιμόνων φίλοι; μάλιστα ὅτι, τοῦ θεοσεβεστάτου βασιλέως Κωνσταντίου φιλανθρώπου ὅτος, παρὰ γνώμην αὐτοῦ θρυλλοῦσιν ἃ θέλουσιν αὐτοί· καὶ γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο ποιοῦσι μετὰ πολλῆς μὲν πανουργίας, δύο δὲ τούτων μάλιστα χάριν, ὥς γέ μοι φαίνεται· ἐνὸς μὲν, ἵνα καὶ, ὑμῶν ὑπογραψάντων, δόξωσι παύειν μὲν τὴν Ἀρείου κακωνυμίαν, λανθάνειν δὲ αὐτοὶ ὥς μὴ τὰ Ἀρείου φρονούντες· ἑτέρου δὲ, ἵνα ταῦτα γράφοντες, δόξωσι πάλιν ἐπικρύπτειν τὴν ἐν Νικαίᾳ γενομένην σύνοδον, καὶ τὴν ἐκτεθεῖσαν ἐν αὐτῇ κατὰ τῆς Ἀρειανῆς αἵρέσεως πίστιν. Ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο μᾶλλον ἐλέγχει αὐτῶν τὴν κακοήθειαν καὶ τὴν ἑτεροδοξίαν· εἰ γὰρ ἐπίστευον ὀρθῶς, ἠρκοῦντο τῇ ἐν Νικαίᾳ ἐκτεθείσῃ πίστει παρὰ πάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης συνόδου· καὶ εἰ ἐνόμιζον ἑαυτοὺς συκοφαντεῖσθαι καὶ μάτην λεγομένους Ἀρειανούς, ἔχρην αὐτοὺς μὴ σπουδάζειν ἐναλλάττειν τὰ κατὰ Ἀρείου γραφέντα, ἵνα μὴ ὥς κατ' αὐτῶν ἢ ὀρισθέντα τὰ κατ' ἐκείνων γραφέντα. Νῦν δὲ τοῦτο μὲν οὐ ποιοῦσιν, ὥς δὲ αὐτοὶ ὄντες Ἀρειοὺς ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν ἀγωνίζονται. Σκοπεῖτε γὰρ ὥς οὐκ ἀληθείας μέλει τούτοις, ἀλλὰ πάντα διὰ τὴν

Cp. c. 23.
Apol. ad
Const. 32.

De Syn. 7.

Ἀρειανὴν αἵρεσιν καὶ λέγουσι καὶ πράττουσιν. Οἱ γὰρ τολμῶντες διαβάλλειν τὰ καλῶς ὀρισθέντα, καὶ γράφειν ἐπιχειροῦντες ἄλλα παρ' ἐκεῖνα, τί ἕτερον ποιοῦσιν, ἢ κατηγοροῦσι μὲν τῶν πατέρων, προΐστανται δὲ τῆς αἵρέσεως, καθ' ἧς ἐκεῖνοι γεγόνασιν τε καὶ ἀπεφάνησαν ; Καὶ γὰρ καὶ νῦν ἂ γράφουσιν, οὐκ ἀληθείας φροντίζοντες γράφουσι, καθὰ προείπον, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον παίζοντες καὶ τέχνη τοῦτο ποιοῦντες, πρὸς ἀπάτην τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἵν' ἐν τῷ διαπέμπεσθαι τὰς ἐπιστολὰς, τὰς μὲν τῶν λαῶν ἀκοὰς ἀπασχολεῖσθαι περὶ ταῦτα ποιήσωσι, κερδάνωσι Cp. de Syn. 12.
δὲ τὸν χρόνον τοῦ κατηγορεῖσθαι αὐτοὶ, καὶ λαθόντες ὥς ἀσεβοῦντες, ἔχωσι χώραν ἐπεκτείνειν τὴν αἵρεσιν, ὥς γάγγραι- 2 Tim. ii. 17.
ναν,' ἔχουσιν νομὴν πανταχοῦ.

6. Πάντα γοῦν κινουσι καὶ ταραττουσι, καὶ οὐδὲ οὕτω τοῖς Cp. de Syn. 14, 20, 32, 38.
ἑαυτῶν ἀρκοῦνται· κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν γὰρ, ὥς οἱ τὰς διαθήκας γράφοντες, συνερχόμενοι καὶ αὐτοὶ, προσποιοῦνται περὶ πίστεως γράφειν, ἵνα καὶ ἐν τούτῳ γέλωτα μᾶλλον καὶ αἰσχύνῃν ὀφλήσωσιν, ὅτι μὴ παρ' ἑτέρων, ἀλλὰ παρ' αὐτῶν τὰ αὐτῶν ἐκβάλλεται. Εἰ γὰρ ἐθάβρουν οἷς ἔγραφον προτέροις, οὐκ ἂν δευτέρα γράφειν ἐζήτουν· οὐδὲ πάλιν ἀφέντες ἐκεῖνα, ταῦτα νῦν ἔγραφον ἅπερ, πάντως τοῦτο μελετήσαντες, πάλιν ἀλλάξουσιν, ἐὰν ὀλίγος πᾶν παρέλθῃ χρόνος, καὶ πρόφασιν λάβωσι τοῦ συνήθως τισὶν ἐπιβουλεύειν. Τότε γὰρ, ὅταν ἐπιβουλεύσωσι, μάλιστα προσποιοῦνται περὶ πίστεως γράφειν, ἵνα, ὥς ὁ Πιλᾶτος ἐνίψατο τὰς χεῖρας, οὕτω καὶ οὗτοι γράφοντες ἀποκτείνωσι τοὺς εἰς Χριστὸν εὐσεβοῦντας· καὶ ἵνα, ὥς περὶ πίστεως ὀρίζοντες δόξωσιν, ὥς πολλάκις εἶπον, φεύγειν τὸ τῆς ἑτεροδοξίας ἔγκλημα. Ἄλλ' οὔτε λαθεῖν, οὔτε φυγεῖν δυνήσονται· ἕως γὰρ ἑαυτοῖς ἀπολογοῦνται, ἑαυτῶν αἰὲ κατήγοροι γίνονται, καὶ δικαίως γε· οὐ γὰρ τοῖς ἐλέγχουσιν αὐτοὺς ἀποκρίνονται, ἀλλ' ἑαυτοὺς, ὥς βούλονται, πείθουσι. Πότε οὖν, τοῦ ὑπευθύνου κρίνοντος ἑαυτὸν, λύσις γίνεται τοῦ ἐγκλήματος ; Διὰ τοῦτο γοῦν αἰὲ γράφουσι, καὶ αἰὲ τὰ ἴδια μεταποιοῦντες, ἄδηλον ἔχουσι τὴν πίστιν, μᾶλλον δὲ φανεράν ἔχουσι τὴν ἀπιστίαν καὶ τὴν κακοφροσύνην. Πάσχειν δέ μοι τοῦτο δοκοῦσιν εἰκότως. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ, τῆς ἀληθείας ἀποστάντες, καὶ θέλοντες ἀνατρέψαι τὴν ἐν Νικαίᾳ πίστιν γραφεῖσαν καλῶς, 'ἠγάπησαν,'

Ep. ad Ep.
Æg.
Jer. xiv. 10.

κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον, 'κινεῖν πόδας ἑαυτῶν' διὰ τοῦτο καὶ οὗτοι, ὡς ἢ ποτε Ἱερουσαλὴμ, κεκοπίακασι καὶ κάμνουσιν ἐν ταῖς μεταβολαῖς, ἄλλοτε ἄλλα γράφοντες, μόνον ἵνα τοὺς χρόνους κερδάνωσι, καὶ διαμείνωσι Χριστομάχοι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους πλανῶντες.

c. 19.
De Syn. 15.
Apol. c. Ari.
24. Hist.
Ari. 65.

7. Τίς οὖν, ᾧ μάλιστα μέλει ἀληθείας, ἔτι τούτων ἀνέχεσθαι θελήσει; τίς γράφοντας αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἀποστραφῆσεται δικαίως; τίς οὐκ ἂν καταγνώσεται τῆς τόλμης αὐτῶν; Ὅλγιοι γὰρ ὄντες τὸν ἀριθμὸν, θέλουσι τὰ ἑαυτῶν ὑπὲρ πάντων ἰσχύειν· τὰ τε ἑαυτῶν συγκροτήματα ἐν γωνίαις γινόμενα καὶ ὑποπτα τυγχάνοντα βουλόμενοι κρατεῖν, βιάζονται λύειν καὶ ἀκυροῦν τὴν οἰκουμένην γενομένην ἄδολον καὶ καθαρὰν σύνοδον· καὶ ἄνθρωποι, διὰ τὸ συνηγορεῖν τῇ Χριστομάχῃ αἰρέσει προαχθέντες παρὰ τῶν περὶ Εὐσέβιον, τολμῶσιν ὀρίζειν περὶ πίστεως, καὶ ὀφείλοντες ὡς ὑπεύθυνοι κρίνεσθαι, κρίνουν, ὡς οἱ περὶ Καϊάφαν, ἐπιχειροῦσι καὶ αὐτοί· καὶ 'Θαλίαν' ποιοῦσι πιστεῦσθαι θέλונτες, οἱ μὴδὲ πῶς πιστεύουσι γινώσκοντες. Τίς

c. 19.
Apol. c. Ari.
24. Hist.
Ari. 65.

γὰρ οὐκ οἶδεν, ὅτι διὰ τὴν τοῦ Ἀρείου μανίαν Σεκοῦνδος μὲν ὁ Πενταπολίτης, ὁ πάλαι πολλάκις καθαιρεθεὶς, ἐδέχθη παρ' αὐτῶν, προεβλήθησαν δὲ Γεώργιος, ὁ νῦν ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ, καὶ Λεόντιος ὁ ἀπόκοπος, καὶ πρὸ αὐτοῦ Στέφανος, καὶ Θεόδωρος ὁ ἐν Ἡρακλείᾳ; Καὶ γὰρ καὶ πρότερον ἀπὸ τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου καθαιρεθέντες, ὕστερον διὰ τὴν ἀσεβείαν ἐκλήθησαν ἐπίσκοποι

Cp. Apol. c.
Ari. 13.

Οὐρσάκιός τε καὶ Οὐάλης, οἵτινες καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν, ὡς νεώτεροι, παρ' Ἀρείου κατηχήθησαν· Ἀκάκιός τε καὶ Πατρόφιλος καὶ Νάρκισσος, οἱ πρὸς πᾶσαν ἀσεβείαν τολμηρότατοι· οὗτοι μὲν οὖν καὶ ἐν τῇ κατὰ Σαρδικὴν γενομένῃ μεγάλῃ συνόδῳ καθηρέθησαν· Εὐστάθιος τε ὁ νῦν ἐν Σεβαστείᾳ, Δημόφίλος τε καὶ Γερμίνιος, καὶ Εὐδόξιος, καὶ Βασίλειος, συνήγοροι τῆς ἀσεβείας ὄντες, εἰς τοῦτο προήχθησαν. Περὶ γὰρ τῶν νῦν Κεκρο-

Hist. Ari. 74.
Æ.

πίου, καὶ τοῦ λεγομένου Αὐξεντίου, καὶ Ἐπικτήτου τοῦ ὑποκριτοῦ, περιττόν ἐστι καὶ λέγειν, φανεροῦ πᾶσι ὄντος, πῶς καὶ διὰ ποίας προφάσεις καὶ παρὰ τίνων ἐχθρῶν καὶ οὗτοι προεβλήθησαν ὑποκρίνασθαι τὰς κατὰ τῶν ἐπιβουλευθέντων ἐπισκόπων ὀρθοδόξων συκοφαντίας· ὅτι καὶ οὗτοι, καίτοι ἀπὸ ὀγδοήκοντα μουῶν τυγχάνοντες, καὶ μὴ γινωσκόμενοι παρὰ τῶν

Apol. de
Fuga, 6.
Hist. Ari. 75.

λαῶν, ὅμως διὰ τὴν ἀσέβειαν ἐπραγματεύσαντο ἑαυτοῖς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ἐπισκόπου. Διὰ τοῦτο γοῦν καὶ Γεώργιον ἀπὸ τῆς Hist. Ari. 75.
 Καππαδοκίας τινὰ μισθωσάμενοι, θέλουσι νῦν ἀποστεῖλαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς. Ἄλλ' οὐδὲ περὶ τούτου λόγος οὐδεὶς. Φήμη γὰρ ἐν τοῖς μέρεσιν ἐστὶ τούτοις, ὅτι μηδὲν Χριστιανὸς ἐστὶν οὗτος, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τὰ τῶν εἰδώλων ἐζήλωσε, καὶ τὸν τρόπον ἐστὶ δῆμιος· διὸ καὶ τοιοῦτον αὐτὸν ὄντα προσελάβοντο, ὥστε ἀδι- Cp. Apol. de Fuga, 6.
 κεῖν, ἀρπάζειν, φονεύειν δύνασθαι· ταῦτα γὰρ πλέον ἤσκησε, καὶ οὐδὲν οἶδε τὰ ἴδια τῆς εἰς Χριστὸν πίστεως.

8. Ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὖν τοιαῦτα μηχανῶνται κατὰ τῆς ἀληθείας· ἡ δὲ γνώμη τούτων ἐκδηλος ἐστὶ πᾶσι, καὶ μυριάκις ὡς ἐγ- χέλυνες ἐξελεῖν ἐπιχειρῶσι καὶ λανθάνειν ὡς Χριστομάχοι. Διὰ τοῦτο παρακαλῶ, μηδεὶς ὑμῶν ἀπατάσθω, μηδεὶς ὑμῶν ὑφαρπαξέσθω· ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον, ὡς Ἰουδαϊκῆς ἀσεβείας ἐπιβαι- c. 13. Hist. 19.
 νούσης κατὰ τῆς εἰς Χριστὸν πίστεως, πάντες ζηλώσατε τῷ Κυρίῳ· καὶ κατέχων ἕκαστος τὴν ἐκ πατέρων πίστιν, ἣν καὶ οἱ ἐν Νικαίᾳ συνελθόντες ὑπέμνησαν γράψαντες, μὴ ἀνασχέ- σθω τῶν κατ' αὐτῆς καινοτομεῖν ἐπιχειρούντων. Καὶ γὰρ τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν γραφῶν λέξεις γράφωσι, μὴ ἀνέχεσθε τῶν γραφόν- των· καὶ τὰ ῥήματα τῆς ὀρθοδοξίας φθέγγονται, μὴδ' οὕτως τοῖς λαλοῦσι προσέχετε. Οὐ γὰρ ὀρθῇ διανοίᾳ λαλοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐνδυμα προβάτου τὰ ῥήματα περιβαλλόμενοι, ἐνδοθεν τὰ τοῦ Ἀρείου φρονοῦσιν, ὡς ὁ τῶν αἱρέσεων καθηγεμὼν διά- βολος. Καὶ γὰρ κακεῖνος ἐλάλει μὲν τὰ ἐκ τῶν γραφῶν, ἐφι- Matt. iv. 6.
 μώθη δὲ παρὰ τοῦ Σωτῆρος. Εἰ γὰρ ἂν ἔλεγε, καὶ ἐφρόνει, οὐκ ἂν ἐξέπεσεν ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν· νῦν δὲ, τῷ φρονήματι πεσὼν, Luke x. 18.
 ὑποκρίνεται τοῖς ῥήμασιν ὁ πανοῦργος· πολλάκις δὲ καὶ δι' Ἑλληνικῆς κομψολογίας, καὶ τοῖς αὐτῆς σοφίσμασι πειράζει πλανᾶν ὁ κακοθελής. Εἰ μὲν οὖν παρὰ ὀρθοδόξων ἦν τὰ γρα- φόμενα, οἷα ἂν ἐγεγόνει παρὰ τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ ὁμολογητοῦ Ὁσίου, καὶ Μαξιμίνου τοῦ τῆς Γαλλίας, ἢ τοῦ διαδεξαμένου Hist. Ari. 42.
 τοῦτον, ἢ παρὰ Φιλογογνίου καὶ Εὐσταθίου τῶν τῆς Ἀνατολῆς, ἢ Ἰουαίου καὶ Λιβερίου τῶν ἐπισκόπων Ῥώμης, ἢ Κυριακοῦ τοῦ τῆς Μυσίας, ἢ Πιστοῦ καὶ Ἀρισταίου τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλά-δος ἐπισκόπων, ἢ Σιλβέστρου καὶ Πρωτογένους τοῦ τῆς Δα-κίας, ἢ Λεοντίου καὶ Εὐψυχίου τῶν τῆς Καππαδοκίας ἐπισκό-

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πων, ἡ Κεκικλιανοῦ τοῦ τῆς Ἀφρικῆς, ἡ Εὐστοργίου τοῦ τῆς Ἰταλίας, ἡ Καπίτωνος τοῦ τῆς Σικελίας, ἡ Μακαρίου τοῦ τῆς Ἱερουσαλὴμ, ἡ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, ἡ Παιδέρωτος τοῦ τῆς Ἡρακλείας, ἡ τῶν μεγάλων Μελετίου καὶ Βασιλείου, καὶ Λογγιανοῦ, καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτοῖς τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀρμενίας καὶ τοῦ Πόντου, ἡ Λούπου καὶ Ἀμφίλωνος τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Κιλικίας, ἡ Ἰακώβου καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς μέσης τῶν ποταμῶν, ἡ τοῦ ἡμετέρου τοῦ μακαρίου Ἀλεξάνδρου, καὶ τῶν ὁμοδόξων αὐτοῖς, οὐδὲν ἦν ἐν τοῖς γραφομένοις ὑποπτεύειν· ἄδολος γὰρ καὶ ἀπλοῦς ἐστὶν ὁ τῶν ἀποστολικῶν ἀνδρῶν τρόπος.

9. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ παρὰ τῶν συνηγορεῖν τῇ αἵρέσει χάριν μισθω-
 Prov. xii. 6. θέντων ἐστὶ τὰ γραφέντα, κατὰ δὲ τὴν θέλειαν παροιμία, 'Οἱ
 Prov. xv. 28. λόγοι τῶν ἀσεβῶν εἰσι δόλιοι,' καὶ, 'Στόμα ἀσεβῶν ἀποκρίνε-
 Prov. xii. 5. ται κακὰ,' καὶ, 'Κυβερνῶσιν ἀσεβεῖς δόλους,' γρηγορεῖν δεῖ,
 ὥς εἶπεν ὁ Κύριος, ἀδελφοί, καὶ νῆφειν, μὴ τις ἐκ τῆς κομψο-
 λογίας καὶ πανουργίας ἀπάτη γένηται, μὴ τῷ ὀνόματί τις ἔλθῃ
 λέγων, ὅτι 'Κἀγὼ τὸν Χριστὸν καταγγέλλω,' καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον
 Ἀντίχριστος γνωσθῇ. Ἀντίχριστοι δὲ οὗτοι τυγχάνουσιν,
 ὅσοι διὰ τὴν Ἀρείου μανίαν ἔρχονται πρὸς ὑμᾶς. Τί γὰρ
 λείπει παρ' ὑμῖν, ἵνα ἐξωθέν τις ὑμῖν ἐπιδημήσῃ; Ἡ τίνος αἱ
 κατ' Αἴγυπτον καὶ Λιβύας καὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἐκκλησίαι
 Cp. Apol. ad Const. 28. χρεῖαν ἔχουσιν, ἵνα, ἀντὶ ξύλων καὶ φορτίων πραγματευόμενοι
 τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν, ἐπιβαλῶσι ταῖς μὴ προσηκούσαις αὐτοῖς ἐκκλη-
 σίαις; Τίς οὐκ οἶδε, τίς οὐ θεωρεῖ λευκῶς, ὅτι ταῦτα πάντα
 πράττουσι διὰ τὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀσεβείας σύστασιν; Διὰ τοῦτο,
 Matt. xxiii. 5. κὰν ἐνεοὺς ἑαυτοὺς ποιῶσι, κὰν μείζονα κράσπεδα τῶν Φαρι-
 σαίων περιδήσωσιν ἑαυτοῖς, καὶ πλατύνωσιν ἑαυτοὺς τοῖς φθέγ-
 μασι, καὶ τὸν τόνον ἀσκήσωσι τῆς φωνῆς, οὐκ ὀφείλουσι πισ-
 τεύεσθαι· οὐ γὰρ ἡ λέξις, ἀλλ' ἡ διάνοια καὶ ἡ μετ' εὐσεβείας
 ἀγωγή συνίστησι τὸν πιστόν. Διὰ τοῦτο οἱ Σαδδουκαῖοι καὶ
 οἱ Ἡρωδιανοὶ, καίπερ τὸν νόμον διὰ χειλέων ἔχοντες ἐνετρά-
 Matt. xxii. 29. πησαν παρὰ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἀκούσαντες· 'Πλανᾶσθε μὴ εἰδότες
 τὰς γραφὰς μηδὲ τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ Θεοῦ.' Καὶ δέδεικται πᾶ-
 σιν, ὅτι καὶ οἱ δοκοῦντες τὸν νόμον λαλεῖν ἠλέγχθησαν τὴν
 διάνοιαν ὄντες αἰρετικοὶ καὶ θεομάχοι. Ἄλλους μὲν οὖν

ἐπλάνησαν τοιαῦτα λέγοντες· τὸν δὲ Κύριον γενόμενον ἄνθρωπον οὐκ ἠδυνήθησαν ἀπατήσαι· ὁ Λόγος γὰρ σὰρξ ἐγένετο, ὁ
 ‘γινώσκων τοὺς διαλογισμοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὅτι εἰσὶ μάταιοι.’ ^{Ps. xciii.}
 οὕτω γὰρ καὶ Ἰουδαίους ὑφαρπάζοντας ἤλεγξε, λέγων· ‘Εἰ ὁ ^{(xciv). 11.}
 Θεὸς Πατὴρ ὑμῶν ἦν, ἡγαπᾶτέ με ἄν· ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ^{John viii. 41.}
 ἐξῆλθον, καὶ ἤκω πρὸς ὑμᾶς.’ Οὕτω μοι καὶ νῦν οὗτοι δοκοῦσι
 ποιεῖν· κρύπτουσι γὰρ ἃ φρουοῦσι, καὶ λοιπὸν εἰς τὸ γράφειν
 χρῶνται παρὰ τῶν γραφῶν τὰς λέξεις, ἵν’ ἐν αὐταῖς δελεάσαν-
 τες ὑποσύρῳσιν εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν κακίαν τοὺς ἀγνοοῦντας.

10. Θεάσασθε δὲ, εἰ μὴ οὕτως ἔχει. Εἰ μὲν γὰρ, μηδενὸς
 ὑποκειμένου, γράφουσι περὶ πίστεως, περιττὸν τὸ ἐπιχειρήμα,
 τάχα δὲ καὶ ἐπιβλαβὲς, ὅτι, μηδεμιᾶς ζητήσεως οὔσης, αὐτοὶ
 πρόφασιν λογομαχίας παρέχουσιν ἀνασκευάζοντες τὰς ἀκάκους
 τῶν ἀδελφῶν καρδίας, καὶ παρασπείρουντες ἃ μὴδὲ εἰς νοῦν αὐ-
 τῶν ποτε ἀνέβη· εἰ δὲ διὰ τὴν Ἀρειανὴν αἵρεσιν ἀπολογού-
 μενοι γράφειν ἐπιχειροῦσιν, ἔδει τῶν φύντων κακῶν τὰ σπέρ-
 ματα προανελεῖν, καὶ τοὺς τὰ σπέρματα παρασχόντας στηλι-
 τεῦσαι, καὶ οὕτως τὰ αὐτ’ ἐκείνων γράφειν ὀρθῶς, ἢ ἐκδικεῖν
 φανερώς τὰ Ἀρείου, ἵνα μὴ κεκρυμμένως, ἀλλὰ φανερώς χρισ-
 τομάχοι δεικνύωνται, καὶ πάντες αὐτοὺς φεύγωσιν ὡς ἀπὸ
 προσώπου ὄψεως. Νῦν δὲ κάκεῖνα κρύπτουσι, καὶ περὶ ἄλλων
 προσποιούμενοι γράφουσι· καὶ ὥσπερ ἱατρὸς κληθεὶς πρὸς
 πληγέντα καὶ κάμνοντα, καὶ εἰσελθὼν περὶ μὲν τῶν τραυμάτων
 μὴδὲν λέγοι, περὶ δὲ τῶν ὑγαινούντων μελῶν διαλέγοιτο, πολ-
 λὴς ἂν ἐμβρονησίᾳ καταγνωσθείη, ὅτι ὦν μὲν χάριν εἰσῆλθε,
 σιωπᾷ, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων, ὦν οὐκ ἔστι χρεῖα αὐτοῦ, διαλέγεται·
 τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ οὗτοι τὰ μὲν τῆς αἱρέσεως αὐτῶν ἀφιᾶ-
 σιν, ἕτερα δὲ γράφειν ἐπιχειροῦσιν. Ἔδει δὲ, εἴπερ περὶ
 πίστεως ἐφρόντιζον, καὶ τὸν Χριστὸν ἡγάπων, πρῶτον τὰ κατ’
 αὐτοῦ βλάσφημα ῥήματα προανελεῖν, καὶ οὕτως αὐτ’ ἐκείνων
 τοὺς ὑγιεινοὺς λέγειν τε καὶ γράφειν λόγους. Ἀλλ’ οὔτε αὐ-
 τοὶ τοῦτο ποιοῦσιν, οὔτε τοὺς θέλοντας ποιεῖν ἐπιτρέπουσιν, ἢ
 ἀγνοοῦντες, ἢ τέχνη πανουργίας χρώμενοι.

11. Εἰ μὲν οὖν ἀγνοοῦντες τοῦτο πάσχουσι, προπετείας ἂν
 ἐγκαλοῖντο, ὅτι περὶ ὧν οὐκ ἴσασι, διαβεβαιοῦνται· εἰ δὲ
 γινώσκοντες ἃ προσποιοῦνται, μείζων κατ’ αὐτῶν ἢ κατὰγνωσις,

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ὅτι περὶ μὲν τῶν ἰδίων βουλευόμενοι, πάρεργον οὐδὲν τίθενται· περὶ δὲ τῆς εἰς τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν πίστεως γράφοντες, παίζουσι, καὶ πάντα μᾶλλον ἢ ἀληθεύουσι· καὶ κρύπτουσι μὲν περὶ ὧν ἡ αἵρεσις αὐτῶν ἐγκαλεῖται, λέγουσι δὲ τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν γραφῶν λέξεις. Ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο κλοπὴ τῆς ἀληθείας ἀντικρυς, καὶ πάσης ἀδικίας μεστόν· καὶ τοῦτο εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι καὶ ἡ ὑμετέρα θεοσέβεια συνορᾷν ἐκ τούτων καλῶς δυνήσεται. Οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἐγκαλούμενος περὶ μοιχείας ἀπολογεῖται περὶ κλοπῆς, οὐδὲ φόνου τις ἐγκλημα διώκων ἀνέχεται τῶν κατηγορουμένων, εἰ ἀπολογοῦντο λέγοντες, 'Οὐκ ἐπιωρκήσαμεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν παρακαταθήκην ἐφυλάξαμεν' μᾶλλον γὰρ ἔστι τοῦτο παῖγνιον ἢ λύσις ἐγκλήματος καὶ ἀληθείας ἀπόδειξις. Τί γὰρ φόνος πρὸς παρακαταθήκην; ἢ τί μοιχεία πρὸς κλοπὴν; Εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἀλλήλων ἔχονται αἱ κακίαι ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς καρδίας ἐξερχόμεναι, ἀλλ' ὥς πρὸς τὸ λύσαι τὸ πλημμεληθέν, οὐδεμίαν εἰς τοῦτο πρὸς ἑαυτὰς ἔχουσι τὴν κοινωνίαν. Ὁ οὖν Ἀχαρ, ὡς ἐν τῷ

Josh. vii. 20-25.

Ἰησοῦ τῷ τοῦ Ναυῆ γέγραπται, ἐγκαλούμενος περὶ κλοπῆς, οὐ τὴν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις εὐνοίαν προφέρων ἀπελογεῖτο, ἀλλ' ἐλεγχεῖς ἐν τῷ κλέμματι, λίθοις ἐβλήθη παρὰ πάντων. Καὶ

1 Kings (1 Sam.) xv. 15.

Σαουλ δὲ ὀλιγωρίας καὶ παρανομίας ἐγκαλούμενος, οὐδὲν ὦνησεν ἐν ἄλλοις προφασιζόμενος. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡ ἐν ἄλλοις ἀπολογία λύσιν ἄλλων ἐγκλημάτων ἐργάζεται· ἀλλ' εἰ ἄρα δεῖ νομίμως καὶ δικαίως πάντα πράττειν, προσήκει περὶ ὧν ἐγκαλεῖται τις, περὶ τούτων καὶ ἀπολογεῖσθαι, καὶ ἡ δεικνύειν ὅτι μὴ πεποίηκεν, ἢ ὁμολογεῖν, εἰ ἐλέγχοιτο, μηκέτι δρᾶν μηδὲ ποιῆσειν τὰ αὐτά. Ἄν δὲ ἄρα πεποίηκε καὶ δέδρακε, καὶ μήτε ὁμολογήσῃ, ἀλλὰ καὶ κρύπτων, ἕτερα ἀνθ' ἑτέρων λέγοι· δηλὸς ἐστὶν οὐκ ὀρθῶς πράξας, ἀλλὰ καὶ συνειδὼς αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ παρανομῶν. Τί δὲ δεῖ λόγων μακρῶν, ὅπου γε καὶ αὐτοὶ οὗτοι κατήγοροι τῆς Ἀρειανῆς αἰρέσεώς εἰσιν; Εἰ γὰρ οὐ θαρρόσιν εἰπεῖν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον κρύπτουσι τὰ ἐκείνων τῆς βλασφημίας ῥήματα, δηλοῖ εἰσι γινώσκοντες ξένην καὶ ἄλλοτριαν τῆς ἀληθείας εἶναι τὴν αἵρεσιν ταύτην. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ κρύπτουσιν αὐτοὶ καὶ φοβοῦνται λέγειν, ἀναγκαῖον ἡμᾶς ἀποδοῦσαι τὸ κάλυμμα τῆς ἀσεβείας, καὶ δειγματίσαι τὴν αἵρεσιν, εἰδότας δὲ τότε οἱ περὶ Ἀρείου ἔλεγον, καὶ πῶς ἐξεβλήθησαν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας,

καὶ καθηρέθησαν ἀπὸ τοῦ κλήρου· συγγνώμην μέντοι πρότερον αἰτησαμένους, ἐφ' οἷς μέλλομεν προφέρειν ῥυπαροῖς ῥήμασιν· ὅτι μὴ φρονούντες, ἀλλὰ ἐλέγχοντες τοὺς αἰρετικούς, λέγομεν ταῦτα.

12. Ὁ τοίνυν μακαρίτης Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ ἐπίσκοπος ἐξέβαλε Cp. De Syn. 14, 15.
 τὸν Ἀρειὸν τῆς ἐκκλησίας φρονούντα καὶ λέγοντα ταῦτα· ‘Οὐκ αἰεὶ ὁ Θεὸς Πατὴρ ἦν, οὐκ αἰεὶ ἦν ὁ Υἱός· ἀλλὰ πάντων ὄντων ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων, καὶ ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων ἐστὶ· καὶ πάντων ὄντων κτισμάτων, καὶ αὐτὸς κτίσμα καὶ ποίημά ἐστι· καὶ πάντων οὐκ ὄντων πρότερον, ἀλλ’ ἐπιγενομένων, καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγος ἦν ποτε, ὅτε οὐκ ἦν πρὶν γεννηθῆναι, ἀλλ’ ἀρχὴν ἔχει τοῦ εἶναι· τότε γὰρ γέγονεν, ὅτε βεβούληται αὐτὸν ὁ Θεὸς δημιουργῆσαι· ἐν γὰρ τῶν πάντων ἔργων ἐστὶ καὶ αὐτός· καὶ ὅτι τῇ μὲν φύσει τρεπτός ἐστι, τῷ δὲ ἰδίῳ αὐτεξουσίῳ, ὡς βούλεται, μένει καλός· ὅτε μέντοι θέλει, δύναται τρέπεσθαι καὶ αὐτὸς ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ πάντα. Διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς, προκινώσκων ἔσεσθαι καλὸν αὐτὸν, προλαβὼν ταύτην αὐτῷ τὴν δόξαν δέδωκεν, ἣν ἂν καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἔσχε μετὰ ταῦτα· ὥστε ἐξ ἔργων αὐτοῦ, ὧν προέγνω ὁ Θεὸς, τοιοῦτον αὐτὸν νῦν γεγενῆναι.’ Λέγουσι γοῦν, ὅτι ‘Οὐδὲ Θεὸς ἀληθινός Cp. De Syn. 17.
 ἐστὶν ὁ Χριστὸς, ἀλλὰ μετοχῇ καὶ αὐτὸς, ὥσπερ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες, λέγεται Θεός.’ Προστιθέασι δὲ καὶ τοῦτο, ὅτι ‘Οὐκ ἐστὶν αὐτὸς ὁ ἐν τῷ Πατρὶ φύσει, καὶ ἴδιος τῆς οὐσίας αὐτοῦ Λόγος, καὶ ἡ ἰδία Σοφία, ἐν ἣ καὶ τοῦτον πεποίηκε τὸν κόσμον· ἀλλ’ ἄλλος μὲν ἐστὶν ὁ ἐν τῷ Πατρὶ ἴδιος αὐτοῦ λόγος, καὶ ἄλλη ἡ ἐν τῷ Πατρὶ ἰδία αὐτοῦ σοφία, ἐν ἣ σοφία καὶ τοῦτον τὸν Λόγον πεποίηκεν· αὐτὸς δὲ οὗτος ὁ Κύριος κατ’ ἐπίνοιαν λέγεται Λόγος διὰ τὰ λογικὰ, καὶ κατ’ ἐπίνοιαν λέγεται Σοφία διὰ τὰ σοφισζόμενα.’ Ἀμέλει φασιν, ὅτι ‘Ξένων πάντων καὶ ἁλλοτρίων ὄντων κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν τοῦ Πατρὸς, οὕτω καὶ αὐτὸς ξένος μὲν καὶ ἁλλότριος κατὰ πάντα τῆς τοῦ Πατρὸς οὐσίας ἐστὶ, τῶν δὲ γεννητῶν καὶ κτισμάτων ἴδιος καὶ εἰς τυγχάνει· κτίσμα γάρ ἐστι καὶ ποίημα καὶ ἔργον.’ Πάλιν τέ φασιν, ὅτι ‘Οὐχ ἡμᾶς ἔκτισε δι’ ἐκείνον, ἀλλ’ ἐκείνον δι’ ἡμᾶς. Ἦν γὰρ, φασί, μόνος ὁ Θεὸς, καὶ οὐκ ἦν ὁ Λόγος σὺν αὐτῷ· εἰτα θελήσας ἡμᾶς δημιουργῆσαι, τότε πεποίηκε τοῦτον, καὶ ἀφ’ οὗ

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γέγονεν, ὠνόμασεν αὐτὸν Λόγον, καὶ Υἱὸν, καὶ Σοφίαν, ἵνα ἡμᾶς δι' αὐτοῦ δημιουργήσῃ· καὶ ὥσπερ τὰ πάντα βουλήματι τοῦ Θεοῦ, οὐκ ὄντα πρότερον, ὑπέστη, οὕτω καὶ αὐτὸς τῷ βουλήματι τοῦ Θεοῦ, οὐκ ὦν πρότερον, γέγονεν. Οὐ γάρ ἐστι τοῦ Πατρὸς ἴδιον καὶ φύσει γέννημα ὁ Λόγος, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς χάριτι γέγονεν. 'Ο γὰρ ὦν Θεὸς τὸν μὴ ὄντα Υἱὸν πεποίηκε τῇ βουλῇ, ἐν ᾗ καὶ τὰ πάντα πεποίηκε, καὶ ἐδημιούργησε, καὶ ἔκτισε, καὶ γενέσθαι ἠθέλησε.' Καὶ γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο λέγουσιν, ὅτι 'Οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ Χριστὸς ἡ φυσικὴ καὶ ἀληθινὴ δύναμις τοῦ Θεοῦ· ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἡ κάμψη καὶ ὁ βροῦχος λέγονται δύναμις, οὕτω καὶ αὐτὸς λέγεται δύναμις τοῦ Πατρὸς.' Πρὸς τούτοις ἔλεγεν, ὅτι 'Τῷ Υἱῷ ὁ Πατὴρ ἀρρήτος ὑπάρχει· καὶ οὔτε ὁρᾷ, οὔτε γινώσκειν τελείως καὶ ἀκριβῶς δύναται ὁ Υἱὸς τὸν Πατέρα. 'Ἀρχὴν γὰρ ἔχων τοῦ εἶναι, οὐ δύναται τὸν ἀναρχον γινώσκειν· ἀλλὰ καὶ ὃ γινώσκει καὶ βλέπει, ἀναλόγως οἶδε τοῖς ἰδίοις μέτροις, καὶ βλέπει, ὥσπερ καὶ ἡμεῖς γινώσκουμεν καὶ βλέπομεν κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν δύναμιν.' Προστίθεται δὲ καὶ τοῦτο, ὅτι 'Ὁ Υἱὸς οὐ μόνον τὸν Πατέρα τὸν ἴδιον οὐκ οἶδεν ἀκριβῶς, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὴν ἰδίαν ἑαυτοῦ οὐσίαν οἶδεν.'

Joel ii. 25.
Cp. De Syn.
18.

13. Ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα λέγων μὲν ὁ Ἄρειος, αἰρετικὸς ἀπεδείχθη. Ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ μόνον γράφων, ἐκάθαιρον ἑμαυτὸν ἐνθυμούμενος τὰ κατὰ τούτων, καὶ κρατῶν τὴν τῆς εὐσεβείας διάνοιαν. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐν τῇ κατὰ Νίκαιαν συνόδῳ οἱ συνελθόντες πάντες πανταχόθεν ἐπίσκοποι τὰς μὲν ἀκοὰς ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐκράτουν, παμψηφεί δὲ πάντες καὶ διὰ ταῦτα κατέκριναν τὴν αἵρεσιν ταύτην, καὶ ἀνεθεμάτισαν, εἰπόντες ἀλλοτρίαν εἶναι καὶ ξένην ταύτην τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς πίστεως. Οὐκ ἀνάγκη δὲ τοὺς κρίναντας ἦγεν ἐπὶ τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ πάντες προαιρέσει τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐξεδίκουν· πεποιήκασι δὲ τοῦτο δικαίως καὶ ὀρθῶς. Ἀθεότης γὰρ ἐκ τούτων εἰσάγεται, καὶ μᾶλλον παρὰ τὰς Γραφὰς Ἰουδαϊσμός, ἔχων ἐγγὺς ἐπακολουθοῦντα τὸν Ἑλληνισμόν, ὥστε τὸν ταῦτα φρονοῦντα μηκέτι μηδὲ Χριστιανὸν καλεῖσθαι· ταῦτα γὰρ πάντα τῶν Γραφῶν ἐστιν ἐναντία. 'Ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ἰωάννης φησὶν· 'Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ Λόγος· οὗτοι δὲ φάσκουσιν· 'Οὐκ ἦν, πρὶν γεννηθῆναι.' Καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ πάλιν ἔγραψε· 'Καὶ ἔσμεν ἐν τῷ ἀληθινῷ, ἐν τῷ Υἱῷ αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ· οὗτός

c. 17.

John i. 1.

1 John v. 20.

ἐστιν ὁ ἀληθινὸς Θεὸς καὶ ἡ ζωὴ ἡ αἰώνιος.' Οὗτοι δὲ ὥσπερ ἀντιμαχόμενοι φάσκουσι μὴ εἶναι τὸν Χριστὸν ἀληθινὸν Θεόν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ μετοχὴν καὶ αὐτὸν ὡς τὰ πάντα λέγεσθαι Θεόν. Καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἀπόστολος αἰτιᾶται τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ὅτι κτίσματα σέβουσι, λέγων· 'Ἐλάτρευσαν τῇ κτίσει παρὰ τὸν κτίσαντα Rom. i. 25. Θεόν' οὗτοι δὲ κτίσμα λέγοντες τὸν Κύριον εἶναι, καὶ ὡς κτίσματι λατρεύοντες αὐτῷ, τί διαφέρουσιν Ἑλλήνων; Πῶς Hist. Ari. 80. γὰρ, εἰ τοῦτο φρονοῦσιν, οὐχὶ καὶ κατ' αὐτῶν ἐστὶ τὸ ἀνάγνωσμα, καὶ ὡς αὐτοὺς μεμφόμενός ἐστιν ὁ μακάριος Παῦλος; Καὶ ὁ μὲν Κύριός φησιν· 'Ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ Πατὴρ ἕν ἐσμεν' καὶ, John x. 30. 'Ὁ ἐμὲ ἑωρακὼς ἑώρακε τὸν Πατέρα' καὶ ὁ παρ' αὐτοῦ δὲ κη- John xiv. 9. ρύττειν ἀποσταλεῖς Ἀπόστολος γράφει· 'Ὅς ὦν ἀπαύγασμα Heb. i. 3. τῆς δόξης, καὶ χαρακτὴρ τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ' οὗτοι δὲ τολμῶσι διαιρεῖν, καὶ ἀλλότριον αὐτὸν τῆς τοῦ Πατρὸς οὐσίας καὶ αἰδιότητος λέγειν, καὶ τρεπτὸν εἰσάγειν οἱ ἄθεοι, οὐ βλέποντες ὅτι, ταῦτα λέγοντες, οὐκέτι ποιοῦσιν αὐτὸν ἕν μετὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τῶν κτισμάτων. Τίς γὰρ οὐχ ὀρᾷ, ὅτι ἀδιαρετόν ἐστι τὸ ἀπαύγασμα πρὸς τὸ φῶς, καὶ ἴδιον αὐτοῦ συνυπάρχον τούτῳ φύσει, καὶ οὐκ ἐπιέγγονεν ὕστερον; Εἴτα τοῦ Πατρὸς λέγοντος, 'Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός,' Matt. xvii. 5. καὶ τῶν Γραφῶν λεγουσῶν τοῦτον εἶναι τὸν τοῦ Πατρὸς Λόγον, ἐν ᾧ καὶ 'οἱ οὐρανοὶ ἐστερεώθησαν, καὶ' ἀπλῶς 'πάντα δι' Ps. xxxii. (xxxiii). 6. αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο' οὗτοι, καινῶν ἐφευρεταὶ δογμάτων καὶ πλασμάτων γενόμενοι, ἕτερον ἐπεισάγουσι λόγον, καὶ ἄλλην σοφίαν τοῦ Πατρὸς εἶναι, τοῦτον δὲ κατ' ἐπίνοιαν διὰ τὰ λογικὰ λέγεσθαι Λόγον καὶ Σοφίαν, οὐχ ὁρῶντες ἐκ τούτου τὸ ἄτοπον.

14. Εἰ γὰρ δι' ἡμᾶς λέγεται κατ' ἐπίνοιαν Λόγος καὶ Σοφία, τί ἂν εἴη αὐτὸς, οὐκ ἂν εἴποιεν. Εἰ γὰρ ταῦτα αὐτὸν λέγουσιν εἶναι αἱ γραφαί, οὗτοι δὲ ταῦτα εἶναι τὸν Κύριον οὐ θέλουσι, φανερώς οὐδὲ ὑπάρχειν αὐτὸν θέλουσιν οἱ ἄθεοι καὶ τῶν γραφῶν ἐναντίοι. Καὶ τοῦτο οἱ μὲν πιστοὶ δύνανται παρ' αὐτῆς τε τῆς πατρικῆς φωνῆς, καὶ παρὰ τῶν προσκυνούντων αὐτὸν ἀγγέλων, καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτοῦ γραψάντων ἁγίων μαθεῖν· οὗτοι δὲ, ἐπεὶ τὴν διάνοιαν οὐκ ἔχουσι καθαρὰν, οὐδὲ δύνανται θείων ἐπακούειν καὶ θεολόγων ἀνδρῶν, δύνανται καὶ παρὰ τῶν ὁμοίων αὐτοῖς δαιμόνων μαθεῖν, ὅτι μὴ ὡς πολλῶν ὄντων ἀνε-

- ΕΡ. AD ΕΡ. *ÆG.* φώνουν, ἀλλὰ τοῦτον μόνον εἰδότες ἔλεγον· ‘Σὺ εἶ ὁ ἅγιος τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ.’ Καὶ γὰρ καὶ ὁ τὴν αἵρεσιν αὐτοῖς ὑποβαλὼν, πειράζων ἐν τῷ ὄρει, οὐκ ἔλεγεν· ‘Εἰ καὶ σὺ Υἱὸς εἶ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὡς ὄντων ἄλλων’ ἀλλ’, ‘Εἰ σὺ εἶ ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ,’ ὡς μόνου ὄντος αὐτοῦ. ‘Ἀλλ’ οἱ θαυμαστοί, ὥσπερ Ἕλληνες, ἐκπεσόντες τῆς περὶ τοῦ ἐνὸς Θεοῦ ἐννοίας, εἰς πολυθεότητα κατήλθον, οὕτω καὶ οὗτοι, μὴ πιστεύοντες ἕνα εἶναι τὸν τοῦ Πατρὸς Λόγον, εἰς πολλῶν ἐπίνοιαν πεπτώκασιν· καὶ τὸν μὲν ὄντως ὄντα Θεὸν καὶ ἀληθινὸν Λόγον ἀρνοῦνται, κτίσμα δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ ἐνθυμείσθαι τετολμήκασιν, οὐ βλέποντες ὅσης ἀσεβείας μεστόν ἐστι τὸ φρόνημα. Εἰ γὰρ κτίσμα ἐστὶ, πῶς αὐτὸς τῶν κτισμάτων ἐστὶ δημιουργός; ἢ πῶς αὐτὸς ὁ Υἱὸς καὶ Σοφία, καὶ Λόγος; Λόγος γὰρ οὐ κτίζεται, ἀλλὰ γεννᾶται· καὶ τὸ κτίσμα οὐχὶ υἱὸς, ἀλλὰ ποίημα. Καὶ εἰ τὰ κτίσματα δι’ αὐτοῦ γέγονε, κτίσμα δὲ ἐστὶ καὶ αὐτός· διὰ τίνος ἄρα καὶ αὐτὸς γέγονεν; Ἀνάγκη γὰρ τὰ ποιήματα διὰ τίνος γίνεσθαι, ὥσπερ οὖν καὶ γέγονε διὰ τοῦ Λόγου, ὅτι μὴ αὐτὸς ἦν ποίημα, ἀλλὰ Λόγος τοῦ Πατρὸς. Καὶ πάλιν, εἰ ἄλλη ἐστὶν ἢ ἐν τῷ Πατρὶ σοφία παρὰ τὸν Κύριον, καὶ ἡ Σοφία ἐν σοφίᾳ γέγονεν. Εἰ δὲ Σοφία ἐστὶν ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγος, εἴη ἂν καὶ ὁ Λόγος ἐν λόγῳ γεγινώς· καὶ εἰ ὁ Λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐστὶν ὁ Υἱὸς, εἴη ἂν καὶ ὁ Υἱὸς ἐν τῷ υἱῷ ποιηθείς.
- John xiv. 10. 15. Πῶς τοίνυν ὁ Κύριος ἔλεγεν· ‘Ἐγὼ ἐν τῷ Πατρὶ, καὶ ὁ Πατὴρ ἐν ἐμοί,’ ὄντος ἐτέρου ἐν τῷ Πατρὶ, ἐν ᾧ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Κύριος γέγονε; Πῶς δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἰωάννης, ἀφελὺς ἐκείνων, περὶ τούτου διηγεῖται λέγων· ‘Πάντα δι’ αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο, καὶ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο οὐδὲ ἓν;’ Εἰ δὲ πάντα τὰ βουλήματι γενόμενα δι’ αὐτοῦ γέγονε, πῶς καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς τῶν γενομένων ἐστὶ; Πῶς δὲ καὶ τοῦ Ἀποστόλου λέγοντος, ‘Δι’ ὃν τὰ πάντα καὶ δι’ οὗ τὰ πάντα,’ οὗτοι λέγουσιν· Οὐχ ἡμεῖς δι’ αὐτὸν, ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖνος δι’ ἡμᾶς γέγονεν; Ἐδεῖ γὰρ, εἴπερ οὕτως ἦν, εἰπεῖν αὐτὸν, Δι’ οὗ γέγονεν ὁ Λόγος. Νῦν δὲ μὴ τοῦτο λέγων, ἀλλὰ, ‘Δι’ ὃν τὰ πάντα καὶ δι’ οὗ τὰ πάντα,’ δείκνυσιν τούτους αἰρετικούς καὶ συκοφάντας. Ἄλλως τε, εἰ τεθαρβήκασιν ἄλλον εἶναι Λόγον ἐν τῷ Θεῷ, ἐπεὶ μὴ φανερὰς ἔχουσι τὰς ἐκ τῶν γραφῶν ἀποδείξεις, καὶ ἐν ἔργον αὐτοῦ δεικνύτωσαν, ἢ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἔρ-
- De Syn. 36.
- John i. 3.
- Heb. ii. 40.

γον χωρὶς τούτου τοῦ Λόγου γεγονός, ἵνα τινὰ δοκῶσι πρόφα-
σιν ἔχειν τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἐπινοίας. Τοῦ μὲν γὰρ ἀληθινοῦ Λόγου
πᾶσιν ἐστι φανερά τὰ ἔργα, ὥς καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν αὐτὸν ἀναλόγως
θεωρεῖσθαι· ὥς γὰρ τὴν κτίσιν ὁρῶντες, διανοούμεθα τὸν ταύ-
την κτίσαντα Θεὸν, οὕτω βλέποντες μηδὲν ἄτακτον ἐν τοῖς
γενομένοις, ἀλλὰ πάντα τάξει καὶ προνοίᾳ κινούμενά τε καὶ
μένοντα, ἐνθυμούμεθα Λόγον εἶναι τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸν ἐπὶ πάντων
ὄντα τε καὶ ἡγεμονεύοντα. Τοῦτο καὶ αἱ θείαι γραφαὶ μαρτυ-
ροῦσι, λέγουσαι αὐτόν τε εἶναι τὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγον, καὶ ὅτι ‘δι’
αὐτοῦ τὰ πάντα γέγονε, καὶ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο οὐδὲ ἓν.’
Ἐκείνου δὲ, περὶ οὗ λέγουσιν, οὐδὲν οὔτε ῥητὸν οὔτε ἔργον ὑπ’
αὐτῶν δεικνύται. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Πατὴρ λέγων, ‘Οὗτός Matt. iii. 17.
ἐστιν ὁ Υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός,’ οὐδένα ἕτερον εἶναι παρ’ αὐτὸν
σημαίνει.

16. Οὐκοῦν κατὰ τοῦτο καὶ Μανιχαίοις οἱ θαυμαστοὶ λοιπὸν
προσετέθησαν. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐκεῖνοι μόνον ἄχρις ὀνόματος ἀγα-
θὸν θεὸν ὀνομάζουσι, καὶ ἔργον μὲν αὐτοῦ οὔτε βλεπόμενον
οὔτε ἀόρατον δεικνύειν δύνανται· τὸν δὲ ἀληθινὸν καὶ ὄντως
ὄντα Θεὸν, τὸν ποιητὴν οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς καὶ πάντων τῶν
ἀοράτων, ἀρνούμενοι, παντελῶς εἰσι μυθολόγοι. Τοῦτο δὲ καὶ
οὗτοι πάσχειν μοι δοκοῦσιν οἱ κακόφρονες. Τοῦ γὰρ ἀληθινοῦ
Λόγου καὶ μόνου ὄντος ἐν τῷ Πατρὶ τὰ ἔργα βλέπουσι, καὶ
τοῦτον μὲν ἀρνοῦνται, ἄλλον δὲ ἑαυτοῖς ἀναπλάττουνται λόγον,
ὃν οὔτε ἐξ ἔργων οὔτε ἐξ ἀκοῆς ἀποδεικνύειν δύνανται· εἰ μὴ
ἄρα σύνθετον τὸν Θεὸν, ὥς ἄνθρωπον, λαλοῦντα καὶ ἀμείβοντα
τοὺς λόγους, καὶ πάλιν οὕτω νοοῦντα καὶ σοφισζόμενον ὑπονο-
οῦντες μυθολογοῦσιν, οὐχ ὁρῶντες εἰς ὁσὴν ἀλογίαν ταῦτα λέ-
γοντες ἐκπεπτώκασιν. Εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐπισυμβαίνοντας ἔχει τοὺς
λόγους, πολὺ τοῦτο ἄνθρωπον νομίζουσιν· εἰ δὲ καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ
προφέρονται καὶ λοιπὸν ἀφανίζονται, μειζρόνως ἀσεβοῦσιν, ὅτι
τὰ ἐκ τοῦ ὄντος εἰς τὸ μὴ εἶναι ἀναλύουσιν. Εἰ γὰρ ὅλως
γεννᾷν αὐτὸν ὑπονοοῦσι, βέλτιόν ἐστι καὶ εὐσεβέστερον λέγειν
ἐνὸς εἶναι Λόγου γεννήτορα τὸν Θεὸν, ὃς ἐστι ‘τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς Cp. Col. ii. 9,
θεότητος αὐτοῦ, ἐν ᾧ καὶ οἱ θησαυροὶ τῆς γνώσεως πάσης εἰσὶν ³
ἀπόκρυφοι,’ καὶ τοῦτον λέγειν εἶναι τε καὶ συνυπάρχειν τῷ
ἑαυτοῦ Πατρὶ, δι’ οὗ καὶ τὰ πάντα γέγονεν· ἢ πολλῶν μὴ φαι-

- ΕΡ. AD ΕΡ. *ÆG.* νομένων Πατέρα νομίζειν τὸν Θεόν, ἢ ὡς ἐκ πολλῶν συγκείμενον, ὡς ἀνθρωποπαθὴ καὶ ποικίλον, τὸν ἀπλοῦν ὄντα τῇ φύσει φαντάζεσθαι. Εἴτα τοῦ Ἀποστόλου λέγοντος· ‘Χριστὸς Θεοῦ δύναμις καὶ Θεοῦ σοφία,’ οὗτοι ταῖς πολλαῖς δυνάμεσιν ἓνα καὶ τοῦτον συναριθμοῦσι, καὶ τό γε χερίστον, ὅτι
- 1 Cor. i. 24. τῇ κάμπῃ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀλόγοις, τοῖς δι’ ἐπιτιμίαν πεμπομένοις δι’ αὐτοῦ, παραβάλλουσιν αὐτὸν οἱ παράνομοι. Εἴτα,
- De Syn. 39. τοῦ Κυρίου λέγοντος· ‘Οὐδεὶς ἐπιγινώσκει τὸν Πατέρα εἰ μὴ ὁ Υἱὸς,’ καὶ πάλιν, ‘Οὐχ ὅτι τὸν Πατέρα τις ἑώρακεν εἰ μὴ ὁ ὢν παρὰ τοῦ Πατρός.’ πῶς οὐκ ἀληθῶς εἰσιν οὗτοι θεομάχοι, λέγοντες μήτε ὁρᾶσθαι μήτε ἐπιγινώσκεισθαι τὸν Πατέρα παρὰ
- Matt. xi. 27. τοῦ Υἱοῦ τελείως; Εἰ γὰρ ὁ Κύριος λέγει, ‘Καθὼς γινώσκει με ὁ Πατήρ, καγὼ γινώσκω τὸν Πατέρα.’ οὐκ ἐκ μέρους δὲ γινώσκει ὁ Πατήρ τὸν Υἱόν· πῶς οὐ μαίνονται φλυαροῦντες, ὅτι ἐκ μέρους καὶ οὐ πλήρης γινώσκει ὁ Υἱὸς τὸν Πατέρα; Εἴτα εἰ ἀρχὴν ἔχει ὁ Υἱὸς εἰς τὸ εἶναι, ἀρχὴν δὲ ἔχει καὶ τὰ πάντα εἰς τὸ γεγενῆσθαι, τί τίνος ἐστὶ πρῶτον, λεγέτωσαν. Ἄλλ’ οὔτε τι εἰπεῖν ἔχουσιν, οὔτε τοῦ Λόγου τοιαύτην ἀρχὴν δεικνύειν δύνανται οἱ πανοῦργοι. Τοῦ γὰρ Πατρός ἐστιν ἀληθινὸν καὶ ἴδιον αὐτοῦ γέννημα, καὶ ‘Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ Λόγος, καὶ ὁ Λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν Θεόν, καὶ Θεὸς ἦν ὁ Λόγος.’ Περὶ γὰρ τοῦ λέγειν αὐτοὺς μὴ εἰδέναι τὸν Υἱὸν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ οὐσίαν περιττόν ἐστιν ἀποκρίνασθαι, εἰ μὴ μόνον μανίας αὐτῶν καταγινώσκειν, εἰ γε ἑαυτὸν οὐκ οἶδεν ὁ Λόγος, ὁ τοῖς πᾶσι τὴν γυνώσκω τὴν περὶ τοῦ Πατρός καὶ ἑαυτοῦ χαριζόμενος, καὶ μεμφομένος τοὺς μὴ γινώσκοντας ἑαυτούς.
- John i. 1. 17. Ἀλλὰ γέγραπται, φασί· ‘Κύριος ἔκτισέ με ἀρχὴν ὁδῶν αὐτοῦ εἰς ἔργα αὐτοῦ.’ ἀπαίδευτοι καὶ τὰς φρένας ἐμβρονημένοι! Καὶ δούλος ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς ἐλέχθη, καὶ παιδίσκης υἱὸς, καὶ ἀρνίον καὶ πρόβατον, καὶ ὅτι κεκοπίακε, καὶ ἐδίψησε, καὶ ἐτυπτήθη, καὶ πέπονθεν. Ἀλλ’ ἔχει τὴν πρόφασιν καὶ τὸ αἴτιον εὐλογον ἐγγὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα πάλιν ἐκ τῶν γραφῶν σημαινόμενα. Ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο, διότι ἀνθρώπος καὶ Υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου γέγονε, λαβὼν τὴν τοῦ δούλου μορφήν, ἥτις ἦν ἡ ἀνθρωπίνη σὰρξ. ‘Ὁ γὰρ Λόγος,’ φησὶν ὁ Ἰωάννης, ‘σὰρξ ἐγένετο.’ Εἰ δὲ ἀνθρώπος γέγονεν, οὐ δεῖ τινος ἐπὶ ταῖς τοιαύ-
- John x. 15. *ÆG.*
- Prov. viii. 22.
- John i. 14.

ταῖς φωναῖς σκανδαλίζεσθαι· ἀνθρώπου γὰρ ἰδίον ἐστὶ τὸ κτίζεσθαι, τὸ γίνεσθαι, τὸ πλάττεσθαι, τὸ κοπιᾶν, τὸ πάσχειν, τὸ ἀποθνήσκειν, τὸ ἐκ νεκρῶν ἐγείρεσθαι. Καὶ ὥσπερ Λόγος ὢν καὶ Σοφία τοῦ Πατρὸς, ἔχει πάντα τὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς, τὸ αἰδίδιον, τὸ ἀτρεπτον, τὸ κατὰ πάντα καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν ὁμοιον, τὸ μὴ πρότερον καὶ ὕστερον, ἀλλὰ τὸ συνυπάρχειν τῷ Πατρὶ, καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ τῆς θεότητος εἶδος αὐτὸν εἶναι, καὶ τὸ δημιουργικόν, καὶ τὸ μὴ κτίζεσθαι· ὁμοιος γὰρ ὢν κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν τοῦ Πατρὸς, οὐκ ἂν εἴη κτιστὸς, ἀλλὰ κτίστης, ὡς αὐτὸς εἴρηκεν· ‘Ὁ Πατήρ μου ἕως ἄρτι ἐργάζεται, καὶ γὰρ ἐργάζομαι.’ οὕτως John v. 17. ἄνθρωπος γεγνηὼς, καὶ σάρκα φορέσας, ἐξ ἀνάγκης ‘κτίζεσθαι’ λέγεται καὶ ‘ποιεῖσθαι,’ καὶ πάντα τὰ τῆς σαρκὸς ἴδια, καὶ οὗτοι, ὡς Ἰουδαῖοι κἀπὶ ἡμεῖς, ‘τὸν οἶνον μίσγωσιν ὕδατι,’ ταῖς Is. i. 22. πεινῶντες τὸν Λόγον, καὶ τὴν θεότητα αὐτοῦ ταῖς τῶν γεννητῶν ἐννοαῖς ὑποβάλλοντες. Διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ εἰκότως καὶ δι-καλῶς οἱ μὲν πατέρες ἡγανάκτησαν, καὶ ἀνεθεμάτισαν τὴν ἀσεβεστάτην ταύτην αἵρεσιν, οὗτοι δὲ ὡς εὐέλεγκτον καὶ πανταχόθεν οὖσαν σαθρὰν φοβούνται καὶ κρύπτουσι. Καὶ γὰρ βραχέα μὲν ταῦτα πρὸς κατάγνωσιν αὐτῶν ἡμεῖς ἐγράψαμεν· ἐὰν δέ τις θελήσῃ πλατυτέρῳ τῷ κατ’ αὐτῶν ἐλέγχῳ χρῆσασθαι, εὐρήσει τὴν αἵρεσιν ταύτην Ἑλλήνων μὲν οὐ μακρὰν, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων αἱρέσεων ἐσχάτην καὶ τρυγίαν τυγχάνουσαν. Ἐκεῖναι μὲν γὰρ ἡ περὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν ἐνανθρώπησιν τοῦ Κυρίου πλανῶνται, αἱ μὲν οὕτως, αἱ δὲ ἐκείνως καταψευδόμεναι, ἡ μὴδὲ ἑπιδεδημηκέναι τὸν Κύριον, ὡς Ἰουδαῖοι νομίζοντες ἐπλανήθησαν· αὕτη δὲ μόνη μανικώτερον εἰς αὐτὴν τὴν θεότητα κατατετόλμηκε, λέγουσα μὴδὲ εἶναι τὸν Λόγον, καὶ μὴδὲ τὸν Πατέρα ἀεὶ Πατέρα εἶναι. Ὅθεν εὐλόγως ἂν τις κατ’ αὐτῶν ἐκείνον εἴποι γεγράφθαι τὸν ψαλμόν· ‘Εἶπεν Ps. xiii. (xiv). ἄφρων ἐν καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ, Οὐκ ἔστι Θεός· διεφθάρησαν καὶ ἔβδελύχθησαν ἐν τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασιν αὐτῶν.’

18. ‘Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἰσχύομεν,’ φασὶ, ‘καὶ δυνάμεθα ταῖς πανουργαῖς προστῆναι τῆς αἱρέσεως.’ Βελτίων δ’ ἂν γένοιτο αὐτῶν ἡ ἀπολογία, ἐὰν μὴ τέχνη τιμὴ μὴδὲ σοφίσμασιν Ἑλληνικοῖς, ἀλλ’ ἀπλῇ τῇ πίστει ταύτης προστῆναι δύνανται. Οὐκοῦν εἰ τεθαρρήκασιν καὶ γνώσκουσιν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν εἶναι ταύτην,

E.P. AD E.P.
ÆG.
Matt. v. 15.

λεγέτωσαν φανερώς τὸ φρόνημα· ‘οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἄψας λύχνον τίθῃσιν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τὸν μόδιον, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τὴν λυχνίαν, καὶ λάμπει πᾶσι τοῖς εἰσερχομένοις.’ Εἰ τοίνυν καὶ οὗτοι προστήναι δύνανται, γραψάτωσαν τὰ προειρημένα, καὶ δεξάτωσαν πᾶσιν, ὡς λύχνον, γυμνὴν τὴν ἑαυτῶν αἵρεσιν· φανερώς τε καὶ κατηγορεῖτωσαν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ μακαρίτου ἐπισκόπου, ὡς ἀδίκως ἐκβαλόντος τὸν Ἀρειὸν λέγοντα ταῦτα, καὶ μεμφέσθωσαν τὴν ἐν Νικαίᾳ σύνοδον, ἀντὶ τῆς ἀσεβείας ὑπομνήσασαν καὶ γράψασαν τὴν εὐσεβῇ πίστιν. Ἀλλ’ οὐ ποιήσουσιν, εὖ οἶδα, ὅτι οὐχ οὕτως εἰσὶν ἀγνώτες ὧν ἐπλάσαντο καὶ φιλονεικοῦσιν ἐπισπεῖραι κακῶν· ἀλλὰ καὶ μάλα γινώσκουσιν, ὅτι, κὰν κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν τοὺς ἀκεραίους διὰ κενῆς ἀπάτης ὑφαρπάσωσιν, ἀλλ’ εὐθὺς ἡ ξυνοία αὐτῶν ὡς

Job xviii. 5.

‘φῶς ἀσεβῶν σβέννυται,’ καὶ στηλιτεύονται πανταχοῦ, ὡς τῆς ἀληθείας ἐχθροί. Διὰ τοῦτο γοῦν πάντα μωρῶς ποιοῦντες,

Luke xvi. 8.

καὶ ὡς μωροὶ λαλοῦντες, τοῦτο μόνον, ὡς ‘υἱοὶ τοῦ αἰῶνος ὄντες τούτου, φρονίμως πεποιήκασιν,’ κρύπτουντες ὑπὸ τὸν μόδιον τὸν ἑαυτῶν λύχνον, ἵνα νομίζεται φαίνειν, καὶ μὴ φαινόμενος ἀποσβεσθῇ καταγινωσκόμενος. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς Ἀρειὸς ὁ τῆς μὲν αἵρέσεως ἑξαρχος, Εὐσεβίου δὲ

De Morte
Arii, 2, 3.

κοινωνός, κληθεὶς ἐκ σπουδῆς τότε τῶν περὶ Εὐσέβιον παρὰ τοῦ μακαρίτου Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ Αὐγουστοῦ, καὶ ἀπαιτούμενος εἰπεῖν ἐγγράφως τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πίστιν, ἔγραψεν ὁ δόλιος, κρύπτων μὲν τὰς ἰδίας τῆς ἀσεβείας λέξεις, ὑποκρινόμενος δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς, ὡς ὁ διάβολος, τὰ τῶν γραφῶν ῥήματα ἀπλᾶ, καὶ ὡς ἐστι γεγραμμένα. Εἰτα λέγοντος τοῦ μακαρίτου Κωνσταντίνου· ‘Εἰ μὴδὲν ἕτερον ἔχεις παρὰ ταῦτα ἐν τῇ διανοίᾳ, μάρτυρα τὴν ἀλήθειαν δός· ἀμύνεται γὰρ ἐπιорκήσαντά σε ὁ Κύριος.’ ὤμοσεν ὁ ἄθλιος μήτε ἔχειν, μήτε ἄλλα παρὰ τὰ νῦν γραφέντα κὰν εἰρησθαι πώποτε παρ’ αὐτοῦ ἢ πεφρονησθαι. Ἀλλ’ εὐθὺς ἐξελθὼν, ὥσπερ δίκην δούς, κατέπεσε, καὶ ‘πρηγῆς γενόμενος ἐλάκησε μέσος.’

Acts i. 18.

19. Πᾶσι μὲν οὖν ἀνθρώποις κοινὸν τοῦ βίου τέλος ὁ θάνατός ἐστι, καὶ οὐ δεῖ τινὰς ἐπεμβαίνειν, κὰν ἐχθρὸς ᾧ ὁ τελευτήσας, ἀδήλου ὄντος μὴ ἕως ἐσπέρας καὶ αὐτοὺς τοῦτο καταλάβῃ· τὸ δὲ τέλος Ἀρείου, ἐπεὶ μὴ ἀπλῶς γέγονε, διὰ

τοῦτο καὶ διηγήματος ἄξιόν ἐστι. Τῶν γὰρ περὶ Εὐσέβιον ἀπειλούντων εἰσαγαγεῖν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ὁ μὲν ἐπίσκοπος τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Ἀλέξανδρος ἀντέλεγεν, ὁ δὲ Ἄρειος ἐθάῤῥει τῇ βίᾳ καὶ ταῖς ἀπειλαῖς Εὐσεβίου· σάββατον γὰρ ἦν, καὶ προσεδόκα τῇ ἐξῆς συνάγεσθαι. Πολὺς τοίνυν ἦν ἄγων, ἐκείνων μὲν ἀπειλούντων, Ἀλεξάνδρου δὲ εὐχομένου· ἀλλ' ὁ Κύριος κριτὴς γενόμενος ἐβράβευσε κατὰ τῶν ἀδικούντων. Οὕτω γὰρ ὁ ἥλιος ἔδυ, καὶ χρείας αὐτὸν ἔλκυσάσης εἰς τόπον, ἐκεῖ κατέπεσε, καὶ ἀμφοτέρων τῆς τε κοινωρίας καὶ τοῦ ζῆν εὐθὺς ἐστερήθη. Καὶ ὁ μὲν μακαρίτης Κωνσταντῖνος εὐθὺς ἀκούσας ἐθαύμασεν, ἰδὼν ἐλεγχθέντα τοῦτον ἐπίορκον· πᾶσι δὲ γέγονε τότε φανερόν, ὅτι τῶν μὲν περὶ Εὐσέβιον ἡσθένησαν αἱ ἀπειλαί, καὶ ἡ ἐλπὶς Ἀρείου ματαία γέγονεν. Ἐδείχθη δὲ πάλιν, ὅτι παρὰ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἀκοινώητος γέγονεν ἡ Ἀρειανὴ μανία καὶ ᾧδε καὶ ἐν τῇ Heb. xii. 23. πρωτοτόκων ἐν οὐρανοῖς ἐκκλησίᾳ. Τίς οὖν οὐκ ἂν θαυμάσειεν ὁρῶν τούτους ἀδίκως φιλονεικούντας, οὓς ὁ Κύριος κατέκρινε, καὶ βλέπων αὐτοὺς ἐκδικούντας τὴν αἵρεσιν, ἣν ὁ Κύριος ἀκοινώητον ἡλεγξε, μὴ ἀφελὶς τὸν ταύτης ἐξάρχον εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ μὴ φοβουμένους τὸ γεγραμμένον, ἀλλ' ἀδυνάτοις ἐπιχειροῦντας; Ἄ γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς ὁ Isa. xiv. 27. ἅγιος βεβούλευται, τίς διασκεδάσει; καὶ ὃν ὁ Θεὸς κατέκρινε, τίς ὁ δικαίων; Ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὖν, ὡς ἰδίας φαντασίας ἐκδικούντες, γραφέτωσαν ἃ θέλουσιν· ὑμεῖς δὲ, ἀδελφοί, ὡς ἰσχυροὶ τοῦ Κυρίου σκεύη φέροντες, καὶ τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐκδικούντες δόγματα, παρακαλῶ, δοκιμασταὶ γίνεσθε τοῦ πράγματος· καὶ εἰ μὲν ἐτέρας παρὰ τὰς προειρημένας Ἀρείου λέξεις γράφουσιν, ἐντεῦθεν ὡς ὑποκριτῶν τούτων κατάγνωτε, κρυπτόντων μὲν τὸν ἰδὸν τοῦ φρονήματος, σαινόντων δὲ κατὰ τὸν ὄφιν τοῖς ἀπὸ χιλέων ῥήμασι. Καὶ γὰρ ταῦτα γράφοντες ἔχουσι μεθ' ἑαυτῶν τοὺς ἐκβληθέντας τότε μετὰ Ἀρείου, Σεκοῦνδον τὸν Πενταπολίτην, καὶ τοὺς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ποτὲ ἐλεγχθέντας κληρικοὺς, τούτοις τε γράφουσιν ἐν τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ· καὶ τό γε θαυμαστὸν, ἡμᾶς μὲν καὶ τοὺς μεθ' ἡμῶν ἐποίησαν διωχθῆναι, καίτοι τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου βασιλέως Κωνσταντίνου μετ' εἰρήνης ἀποστείλαντος ἡμᾶς c. 7.
Cp. Apol. c.
Ari. 24, Hist.
Ari. 65.

ΕΡ. AD ΕΡ. εἰς τὴν πατρίδα καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ κηδομένου τῆς ὁμο-
 ÆG. νοίας τῶν λαῶν· τούτοις δὲ παραδοθῆναι νῦν πεποιήκασι τὰς
 Hist. Ari. 54. ἐκκλησίας, καὶ πᾶσιν ἔδειξαν, ὅτι τούτων χάριν ἢ πᾶσα καθ’
 ἡμῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἐτέρων γέγονεν ἐπιβουλή.

20. Πῶς οὖν, ταῦτα ποιοῦντες, δύνανται ταῦτα γράφοντες
 πιστεῦεσθαι; Εἰ γὰρ ἔγραφον ὀρθῶς, ἐξήλειπον ἢ ἔγραψεν
 c. 7. ὁ Ἀρειος ‘Θαλεῖαν,’ καὶ ἀπέβαλλον ἂν τὰς τῆς αἵρέσεως
 De Syn. 15. παραφυάδας· μαθηταὶ γὰρ οὗτοι καὶ κοινωνοὶ τῆς τε ἀσε-
 βείας καὶ τῆς ἐπιτιμίας γεγόνασιν Ἀρείου· οὐκοῦν, μὴ ἀπο-
 βάλλοντες τούτους, ἔκδηλοι πᾶσιν εἰσι μὴ ἔχοντες ὀρθὸν τὸ
 φρόνημα, κἂν μυριάκις γράφωσι. Διὰ τοῦτο γρηγορεῖν προσ-
 ἡκει, μήποτε τῇ περιβολῇ τῶν γραμμάτων ἀπάτη τις γένηται,
 καὶ παρενέγκωσί τινας ἀπὸ τῆς εὐσεβοῦς πίστεως. Ἐὰν δὲ
 1 Tim. iv. 1. ἡμᾶς εἰπεῖν πρέπει· οἶδαμεν ὅτι, ὥς γέγραπται, ‘ἐν ἐσχάτοις
 καιροῖς ἀποστήσονται τινες τῆς ὑγιαίνουσας πίστεως, προσέ-
 Tit. i. 14. χοντες πνεύμασι πλάνης καὶ διδασκαλίαις δαιμόνων, ἀποστρε-
 2 Tim. iii. 12, 13. φόμενων τὴν ἀλήθειαν’ καί· ‘ὅσοι μὲν θέλουσιν εὐσεβῶς ζῆν
 ἐν Χριστῷ, διωχθήσονται· πονηροὶ δὲ ἄνθρωποι καὶ γόητες
 προκόψουσιν ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον, πλανῶντες καὶ πλανώμενοι.’
 Rom. viii. 35. Ἀλλ’ ἡμᾶς οὐδέν τι πείσει τούτων, οὐδὲ ‘χωρίσει τῆς ἀγά-
 πης τοῦ Χριστοῦ,’ κἂν οἱ αἵρετικοὶ θάνατον ἡμῖν ἀπειλῶσι·
 Χριστιανοὶ γάρ ἐσμεν, καὶ οὐχὶ Ἀρειανοί. Εἴθε δὲ μηδὲ οἱ
 ταῦτα γράψαντες ἐφρόνουν τὰ Ἀρείου. Ναί, ἀδελφοί, τοιαύ-
 Rom. viii. 15. τῆς παρῆρησίας χρεῖα νῦν· ‘οὐ γὰρ ἐλάβομεν πνεῦμα δουλείας
 Gal. vi. 13. πάλιν εἰς φόβον· ἀλλ’ ‘ἐπ’ ἐλευθερίᾳ κέκληκεν ἡμᾶς ὁ Θεός’
 καὶ ἔστιν ἀληθῶς αἰσχρὸν, καὶ λίαν αἰσχρὸν, ἔαν ἢ παρὰ τοῦ
 Σωτῆρος διὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἔσχομεν πίστιν, ταύτην διὰ
 Ἀρείου ἢ τοὺς τὰ Ἀρείου φρονούντας καὶ πρεσβεύοντας ἀπο-
 λέσωμεν. Ἦδη μὲν οὖν πλείστοι καὶ τῶν μερῶν τούτων,
 Heb. xii. 4. μαθόντες τὴν τῶν γραφόντων πανουργίαν, ἔτοιμοι ‘μέχρις
 αἱματός εἰσιν ἀντικαταστήναι’ πρὸς τὰς ἐκεῖνων μεθοδείας,
 ἀκούοντες μάλιστα περὶ τῆς ὑμῶν στερβρότητος· ἐπειδὴ δὲ

ἀφ' ὑμῶν ἐξήχηται ὁ κατὰ τῆς αἵρέσεως ἔλεγχος, καὶ ὡς ὄφεις ἐκ τῶν φωλεῶν ἢ αἵρεσις ἀποκεκάλυπται· παρ' ὑμῖν τετήρηται τὸ παιδίον, ὅπερ Ἑρώδης ἀνελεῖν ἐζήτει, καὶ ζῇ ἐν ὑμῖν ἡ ἀλήθεια, καὶ ὑγιαίνει παρ' ὑμῖν ἡ πίστις.

21. Διὰ τοῦτο, παρακαλῶ, ἔχοντες μετὰ χεῖρας τὴν ἐν Νικαίᾳ παρὰ τῶν πατέρων γραφεῖσαν πίστιν, καὶ ταύτην ἐκδικοῦντες πολλῇ τῇ προθυμίᾳ, καὶ τῇ εἰς τὸν Κύριον πεποιθήσει, τύπος γένεσθε τοῖς πανταχοῦ, δεικνύντες ἀγῶνα προκεῖσθαι νῦν πρὸς τὴν αἵρεσιν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀληθείας, καὶ ποικίλας εἶναι τοῦ ἐχθροῦ τὰς μεθοδείας. Οὐ γὰρ μόνον τὸ μὴ θῦσαι λίβανον δείκνυσι μάρτυρας· ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ μὴ ἀρνήσασθαι τὴν πίστιν ποιεῖ τὸ μαρτύριον τῆς συνειδήσεως λαμπρόν. Καὶ οὐχ οἱ κλίναντες εἰς εἰδῶλα μόνον κατεκρίθησαν ὡς ἀλλότριοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ προδεδωκότες τὴν ἀλήθειαν. Ἰούδας γοῦν οὐ θύσας ἀπεβλήθη τῆς ἀποστολικῆς τιμῆς, ἀλλὰ προδότης γενόμενος. Καὶ Ὑμέναιος δὲ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος οὐκ εἰς εἰδῶλα τραπέντες ^{1 Tim. i. 20,} ἀπεπήδησαν, ἀλλ' ὅτι περὶ τὴν πίστιν ἐνανάγησαν. ^{19.} Πάλιν τε Ἀβραὰμ ὁ πατριάρχης οὐκ ἀναιρεθεὶς ἐστεφανώθη, ἀλλ' ὅτι πιστὸς γέγονε τῷ Θεῷ. Οἱ τε ἄλλοι ἅγιοι, περὶ ὧν ὁ Παῦλος φησι, Γεδεὼν, Βαρὰκ, Σαμψὼν, Ἰεφθαῆ, Δαβὶδ τε καὶ ^{Heb. xi. 52} Σαμουὴλ, καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτοῖς, οὐχ αἵματος ἐκχυθέντος, ^{seqq.} ἐτελειώθησαν, ἀλλὰ διὰ πίστεως ἐδικαιώθησαν, καὶ μέχρι νῦν θαυμάζονται, ὅτι καὶ θάνατον ὑπομένειν ἦσαν ἐτοιμοὶ διὰ τὴν εἰς τὸν Κύριον εὐσέβειαν. Εἰ δὲ δεῖ προσθεῖναι καὶ τὸ γενόμενον ἐφ' ἡμῖν, οἴδατε πῶς ὁ μακαρίτης Ἀλέξανδρος μέχρι θανάτου κατὰ τῆς αἵρέσεως ταύτης ἡγωνίσατο, καὶ ὅσας θλίψεις καὶ πηλίκους πόνους, καίτοι γέρων ὢν, ὑπομείνας, ἐν τῇ πρεσβυτικῇ ἡλικίᾳ προσετέθη καὶ αὐτὸς πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας αὐτοῦ. Πόσοι δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι πόσους καμάτους ἐσχήκασιν, κατὰ τῆς ἀσεβείας ταύτης διδάσκοντες, καὶ τὸ καύχημα τῆς ὁμολογίας ἔχουσιν ἐν Χριστῷ. Οὐκοῦν καὶ ἡμεῖς, ὡς τοῦ περὶ παντὸς ὄντος ἡμῖν ἀγῶνος, καὶ προκειμένου νῦν ἢ ἀρνήσασθαι ἢ τηρῆσαι τὴν πίστιν, σπουδὴν ταύτην καὶ πρόθεσιν ἔχωμεν, ἃ μὲν παρελάβομεν φυλάττειν, ἔχοντες πρὸς ὑπόμνησιν τὴν ἐν Νικαίᾳ γραφεῖσαν πίστιν· τὰς δὲ καινοτομίας ἀποστρέφεισθαι, καὶ διδάσκειν τοὺς λαοὺς μὴ 'προσέχειν πνεύμασι πλάνης,' ἀλλὰ παντελῶς ἐκκλίνειν ἀπὸ τῆς

EP. AD EP.
ÆG.

ἀσεβείας τῆς τῶν Ἀρειομανιτῶν, καὶ τῆς τῶν Μελιτιανῶν πρὸς αὐτοὺς συνωμοσίας.

Luke xxiii.
12.

22. Ὅρατε γὰρ, ὡς τὸ πρότερον μαχόμενοι πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς, νῦν, ὡς Ἡρώδης καὶ Πόντιος, συνεφώνησαν εἰς τὴν κατὰ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ βλασφημίαν· ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ μισή-
σειεν ἂν τις αὐτοὺς δικαίως, ὅτι τῶν μὲν ἰδίων χάριν ἀπεχθά-
νουντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους, εἰς δὲ τὴν κατὰ τῆς ἀληθείας ἔχθραν καὶ
τὴν εἰς τὸν Θεὸν ἀσέβειαν φίλοι γεγόνασι καὶ ἀλλήλους δε-
ξιούνται, πάντα τε παρὰ γνώμην πάσχειν ὑπομένουσι, διὰ τὴν

Hist. Ari. 78.

ἰδίαν ἕκαστος τῆς προθέσεως ἡδονήν· Μελιτιανοὶ μὲν διὰ τὴν
προστασίαν καὶ τὴν μανίαν τῆς φιλαργυρίας, Ἀρειομανῖται δὲ
διὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ἀσέβειαν, ἢ ἐν τῇ τοιαύτῃ συνωμοσίᾳ καὶ τὴν
ἰδίαν ἀλλήλοις κακόνοιαν προσκίχρᾱν δύνωνται, καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν
τὴν ἀσέβειαν τούτων ὑποκρίνονται, οὗτοι δὲ τῇ πονηρίᾳ συν-
τρέχωσιν ἐκείνων τῇ κακίᾳ, καὶ λοιπὸν κοιῇ τὰ ἴδια ἑαυτῶν

Rev. xviii. 6.

πονηρεύματα, ὥσπερ τὸ τῆς Βαβυλῶνος ποτήριον κεράσαντες,
ἐπιβουλεύσωσι τοῖς εὐσεβοῦσιν ὀρθῶς εἰς τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν
Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν. Ἦν μὲν οὖν ἡ πονηρία καὶ ἡ συκοφαντία
τῶν Μελιτιανῶν καὶ πρὸ τούτων πᾶσι φανερά· ἦν δὲ καὶ ἡ
ἀσέβεια καὶ θεομάχος αἵρεσις τῶν Ἀρειανῶν πάλαι πανταχοῦ
καὶ πᾶσιν ἐκδηλος. Οὐ γὰρ ὀλίγος ἐστὶν ὁ χρόνος· ἀλλ' οἱ

Circ. A.D. 301.
A.D. 320.

μὲν πρὸ πεντήκοντα καὶ πέντε ἐτῶν σχισματικοὶ γεγόνασιν· οἱ
δὲ πρὸ τριάκοντα καὶ ἕξ ἐτῶν ἀπεδείχθησαν αἰρετικοὶ, καὶ τῆς
ἐκκλησίας ἀπεβλήθησαν ἐκ κρίσεως πάσης τῆς οἰκουμενικῆς
συνόδου. Ἐξ ὧν δὲ νῦν ἔδρασαν, δέδεικται λοιπὸν καὶ τοῖς
δοκοῦσιν αὐτῶν προσποιεῖσθαι φανερώς, ὡς δι' οὐδὲν ἕτερον

Apol. c. Ari.
85.

καθ' ἡμῶν καὶ κατὰ πάντων τῶν ὀρθοδόξων ἐπισκόπων τὴν ἐξ
ἀρχῆς ἐπιβουλήν πεποιήκασιν, ἢ διὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ἑαυτῶν τῆς ἀσε-
βείας αἵρεσιν. Ἴδον γὰρ τὸ πάλαι σπονδαζόμενον τοῖς περὶ
Εὐσέβιον γέγονε νῦν· καὶ ἀφ' ἡμῶν μὲν ἀρπασθῆναι πεποιή-
κασιν τὰς ἐκκλησίας, ἐπισκόπους τε καὶ πρεσβυτέρους μὴ κοι-
νωνοῦντας αὐτοῖς ἐξώρισαν, ὡς ἠθέλησαν, καὶ τοὺς λαοὺς ἀπο-

Apol. ad
Const. 27.
Hist. Ari. 71.

στρεφομένους αὐτοὺς ἐξέκλεισαν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, τοῖς δὲ
Ἀρειανοῖς τοῖς πρὸ τοσούτου χρόνου καταγνωσθεῖσι παραδε-
δώκασιν αὐτὰς, ἵνα, συνούσης αὐτοῖς καὶ τῆς τῶν Μελιτιανῶν
ὑποκρίσεως, ἐπ' ἀδείας ἔχωσιν ἐν αὐταῖς τὰ τῆς ἀσεβείας αὐ-
τῶν ἀποπτύειν ῥήματα, καὶ προκατασκευάζειν, ὡς γε νομίζουσι,

τῷ τὴν αἵρεσιν αὐτοῖς ἐπισπείραντι τῷ Ἀντιχρίστῳ, τὴν τῆς ἀπάτης ὁδόν.

23. Ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὖν τοσαῦτα νυστάζοντες φανταζέσθωσαν μάτην· οἶδαμεν γὰρ ὅτι καὶ ὁ φιλόανθρωπος βασιλεὺς, ἀκούσας, κωλύσει τὰς πονηρίας αὐτῶν, καὶ οὐ χρονιοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον, 'καρδίαι τῶν ἀσεβῶν ταχέως ἐκλείψουσιν' ^{Prov. x. 20.} ἡμεῖς δὲ ὡς πρὸς ἀποστάτας καὶ θέλοντας μανίαν ἐν οἴκῳ Κυρίου καταπῆξαι, 'ἡμφιεσμένοι,' κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον, τοῖς ^{4 Kings (2 Kings) xvii. 9, lxx.} 'λόγοις' τῶν θείων γραφῶν, ἀντικαταστῶμεν, καὶ μήτε θάνατον σωματικὸν φοβηθῶμεν, μήτε τὰς τούτων ὁδοὺς ζηλώσωμεν· ἀλλὰ πάντων μᾶλλον προκρινέσθω τῆς ἀληθείας ὁ λόγος. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἡμεῖς, ὡς οἶδατε πάντες, ἀξιούμενοι τότε παρὰ τῶν περὶ Εὐσέβιον, ἢ ὑποκρίνασθαι σὺν αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀσέβειαν, ἢ ^{Cp. Apol. c. Ari. 59.} προσδοκᾶν ἐπιβουλήν παρ' αὐτῶν, οὐκ ἠθελήσαμεν αὐτοῖς συγκαταθέσθαι, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον εἰλόμεθα διώκεσθαι παρ' αὐτῶν, ἢ τὸν τοῦ Ἰουδα μιμήσασθαι τρόπον. Ἀμέλει πεποιήκασιν ὅπερ ἠπέλησαν, καὶ μιμησάμενοι τὴν Ἰεζάβελ, ἐγκαθέτους ^{3 Kings (1 Kings) xx. (xxi.) 10.} ἑαυτοῖς τοὺς Μελιτιανοὺς κατεσκεύασαν· εἰδότες πῶς κατὰ τοῦ μακαρίου Πέτρου τοῦ μάρτυρος, καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν τοῦ μεγάλου ^{Apol. c. Ari. 11, 59.} Ἀχιλλᾶ, εἶτα κατὰ τοῦ μακαρίτου Ἀλεξάνδρου γεγόνασιν, ἵν' οὕτως καὶ καθ' ἡμῶν, ὥσπερ τοῦτο μελετήσαντες, ὑποκρίνωνται μὲν οὗτοι ἅπερ ἂν αὐτοῖς ὑποβληθῇ, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ πρόφασιν λάβωσι διώκειν καὶ ζητεῖν ἡμᾶς ἀποκτείνειν. Τοῦτο γὰρ διψῶσι, καὶ οὐ παύονται γε μέχρι νῦν τὸ αἷμα ἡμῶν θέλοντες ἐκχέειν. Ἀλλὰ τούτων οὐδεμία μοι φροντίς· οἶδα γὰρ καὶ πέπεισμαι ὅτι τοῖς ὑπομένουσιν ἔσται μισθὸς παρὰ τοῦ Σωτῆρος, καὶ ὅτι καὶ ὑμεῖς ὑπομείναντες, ὡς οἱ πατέρες, τύποι γενόμενοι τοῖς λαοῖς, καὶ ἀνατρέποντες τὴν ξένην καὶ ἀλλοτρίαν ταύτην ἐπίνοιαν τῶν ἀσεβῶν, ἔξετε μὲν τὸ καύχημα, λέγοντες· 'Τὴν πίστιν ^{2 Tim. iv. 7, 8.} τετηρήκαμεν'· 'ἀπολήψεσθε δὲ τὸν στέφανον τῆς ζωῆς, ὃν ἐπηγ- ^{James i. 12.} γείλατο ὁ Θεὸς τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν αὐτόν.' Γένοιτο δὲ καὶ μεθ' ὑμῶν τὰς ἐπαγγελίας κληρονομήσαι, τὰς 'μὴ μόνον τῷ Παύλῳ ῥηθείσας, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἡγαπηκόσι τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν' τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ Σωτῆρος καὶ Θεοῦ καὶ παμβασιλέως ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, δι' οὗ τῷ Πατρὶ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος ἐν Πνεύματι Ἁγίῳ καὶ νῦν καὶ εἰς τοὺς σύμπαντας αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.

ΤΟΥ ΕΝ ΑΓΙΟΙΣ ΠΑΤΡΟΣ ΗΜΩΝ

ΑΘΑΝΑΣΙΟΥ

ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΑΣ

ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΑ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΟΝ

ΑΠΟΛΟΓΙΑ.

[Spring of
A D. 356.]
Acts xxvi. 2.

Apol. c. Ari.
1, 58.

Apol. c. Ari.
13, 72 ff. 82.

1. 'Ἐκ πολλῶν ἐτῶν ὄντα σε' Χριστιανὸν, καὶ ἐκ προγόνων φιλόθεον ἐπιστάμενος, 'εὐθύμως τὰ περὶ ἔμαντοῦ νῦν ἀπολογούμαι' τοῖς γὰρ τοῦ μακαρίου Παύλου λόγοις χρώμενος, αὐτὸν σοι πρεσβευτὴν ὑπὲρ ἔμαντοῦ ποιούμεαι· εἰδὼς αὐτὸν μὲν κήρυκα τῆς ἀληθείας, σὲ δὲ τῶν αὐτοῦ ῥημάτων φιλήκοον, θεοφιλέστατε Αὔγουστε. Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν, καὶ τῆς κατ' ἐμοῦ γενομένης συσκευῆς, αὐτάρκη τὰ γραφέντα παρὰ τῶν τοσούτων ἐπισκόπων μαρτυρῆσαι τῇ σῇ εὐλαβείᾳ· ἱκανὰ καὶ τὰ τῆς μετανόας Οὐρσακίου καὶ Οὐάλεντος δεῖξαι πᾶσιν, ὅτι μηδὲν ὧν ἐπέστησαν καθ' ἡμῶν εἶχεν ἀληθές. Τί γὰρ τοσούτου ἄλλοι δύνανται μαρτυρεῖν, ὅσον οὗτοι γράφοντες εἰρήκασιν; 'Ἐψευσάμεθα, ἐπλάσάμεθα, καὶ πάντα τὰ κατὰ Ἀθανασίου συκοφαντίας γέμει.' Προσθήκη δὲ πρὸς φανεράν ἀπόδειξιν, εἰ καταξιώσεως μαθεῖν, ὅτι, παρόντων μὲν ἡμῶν, οὐδὲν ἀπέδειξαν οἱ κατηγοροῦντες κατὰ Μακαρίου τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου· ἀπόντων δὲ ἡμῶν, κατὰ μόνας ἔπραξαν ἅπερ ἠθέλησαν. Τὰ δὲ τοιαῦτα προηγουμένως μὲν ὁ θεῖος νόμος, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ οἱ ἡμέτεροι νόμοι μηδεμίαν ἔχειν δύναμιν ἀπε-

φήναντο. Ἀπὸ μὲν οὖν τούτων οἶδας, ὅτι καὶ ἡ σὴ εὐλάβεια, φιλαλήθης οὔσα καὶ φιλόθεος, ἡμᾶς μὲν ἐλευθέρους ἀπὸ πάσης ὑποψίας συννοῶ, τοὺς δὲ καθ' ἡμῶν γενομένους συκοφάντας ἀποφαίνει.

2. Περὶ δὲ τῆς διαβολῆς τῆς κατ' ἐμοῦ γενομένης παρὰ τῇ σῇ φιλανθρωπίᾳ διὰ τὸν εὖσεβέστατον Αὐγουστον καὶ μακαρίας μνήμης καὶ αἰωνίου Κώνσταντα τὸν ἀδελφόν σου (τοῦτο γὰρ οἱ ἐχθροὶ θρυλοῦσι, καὶ γράψαι τετολμήκασιν), ἱκανὰ τὰ πρῶτα δεῖξαι καὶ ταῦτα μὴ ἀληθῆ. Εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι τινὲς ἦσαν οἱ τοῦτο λέγοντες, δικάσιμον ἦν τὸ πρᾶγμα, χρεῖα τε πολλῆς ἀποδείξεως, καὶ τῶν εἰς πρόσωπον ἐλέγχων· εἰ δὲ οἱ τὰ πρῶτα πλάσαντες αὐτοὶ καὶ ταῦτα συνέθηκαν, πῶς οὐκ ἐξ ἐκεῖνων εἰκότως καὶ ταῦτα πεπλασμένα δέικνυται; Διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ πάλιν κατὰ μόνas λαλοῦσι, νομίζοντες ὑφαρπάξιν δύνασθαι τὴν σὴν θεοσέβειαν. Ἄλλ' ἐσφάλησαν· οὐ γὰρ ὡς ἠθέλησαν ἤκουσας, ἀλλὰ τῇ μακροθυμίᾳ δέδωκας καὶ ἡμῖν χώραν ἀπολογεῖσθαι. Τὰ γὰρ μὴ παραντῖκα κινηθῆναι καὶ τιμωρίαν ἀπαιτῆσαι, οὐδὲν ἦν ἕτερον, ἢ, ὡς δίκαιον βασιλέα, περιμεῖναι καὶ τὴν τοῦ διαβληθέντος ἀπολογίαν· ἥς ἐὰν καταξίωσης ἀκοῦσαι, τεθάρσενκα ὡς καὶ ἐν τούτοις καταγνώσῃ τῶν προπετευσσαμένων, καὶ μὴ φοβηθέντων τὸν Θεόν, ἐντειλάμενον Cp. Eccus. vii. 5. μηδὲν ψεῦδος ἀπὸ στόματος βασιλεῖ λέγεσθαι.

3. Αἰσχύνομαι μὲν οὖν ἀληθῶς καὶ ἀπολογούμενος περὶ τοιούτων, περὶ ὧν οὐδὲ αὐτὸν οἶμαι τὸν κατήγορον ἔτι παρόντων ἡμῶν μνημονεύσειν. Οἶδε γὰρ ἀκριβῶς, ὅτι τε αὐτὸς ψεύδεται, καὶ οὔτε ἐμάνην ἐγὼ, οὔτε τῶν φρενῶν ἐξέστηκα, ἵνα κἂν ὡς ἐνθυμηθεῖς τι τοιοῦτον ὑπονοηθῶ. Διὸ οὐδ' ἂν ἄλλοις ἐρωτῶσιν ἀπεκρινάμην, ἵνα μηδὲ ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τῆς ἀπολογίας οἱ ἀκούοντες κρεμωμένην ἔχωσι τὴν διάνοιαν· τῇ δὲ σῇ εὐλαβείᾳ μεγάλη καὶ λαμπρᾷ τῇ φωνῇ ἀπολογουμαι, καὶ τὴν χεῖρα ἐκτείνας, ὃ μεμάθηκα παρὰ τοῦ Ἀποστόλου, 'μάρτυρα τὸν Θεὸν ἐπικαλοῦμαι ἐπὶ τὴν ἐμαντοῦ ψυχὴν' 2 Cor. i. 23. καὶ, ὡς γέγραπται ἐν ταῖς Βασιλικαῖς ἱστορίαις· 'μάρτυς Κύριος, καὶ μάρτυς ὁ Χριστὸς αὐτοῦ' (κάμοι συγχώρησον εἰπεῖν), οὐδὲ πώποτε περὶ τῆς σῆς εὖσεβείας κακῶς ἐμνημόνευσα παρὰ τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου τῷ τῆς μακαρίας μνήμης Κών-

APOL. AD
CONST.

Hist. Ari. 22.
Apol. c. Ari.
51.

Eccles. x. 20.

Cp. Hist.
Ari. 20.

σταντι, τῷ εὐσεβεστάτῳ Αὐγούστῳ· οὐ παρώξυνα τοῦτον, ὥς οὗτοι διαβεβλήκασιν· ἀλλ' εἴ ποτε καὶ εἰσελθόντων ἡμῶν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐμνημόνευσεν αὐτὸς τῆς σῆς φιλανθρωπίας, (ἐμνημόνευσε δὲ καὶ ὅτε οἱ περὶ Θάλασσον ἦλθον εἰς τὴν Πιτυβίωνα, καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν τῇ Ἀκυλητᾷ διετρίβομεν·) μάρτυς ὁ Κύριος, ὅπως ἐμνημόνευον ἐγὼ τῆς σῆς θεοσεβείας, καὶ ταῦτα ἔλεγον, ἅπερ ὁ Θεὸς ἀποκαλύψῃ τῇ σῇ ψυχῇ, ἵνα καταγνῶς τῆς συκοφαντίας τῶν με διαβαλόντων παρὰ σοί. Συγχώρησον εἰπόντι μοι ταῦτα, φιλανθρωπότατε Αὐγουστε, καὶ πολλήν μοι συγγνώμην δός. Οὐ γὰρ οὕτως ἦν εὐχερὴς ὁ φιλόχριστος ἐκείνος, οὐδὲ τηλικούτος ἤμην ἐγὼ, ἵνα περὶ τοιούτων ἐκοινολογούμεθα, καὶ ἀδελφὸν ἀδελφῷ διέβαλλον, ἢ παρὰ βασιλεῖ περὶ βασιλέως κακῶς μνημονεύσω. Οὐ μαίνομαι, βασιλεῦ, οὐδὲ ἐπελαθόμην τῆς θέας φωνῆς λεγούσης·

‘Καὶ γε ἐν συνειδήσει σου βασιλέα μὴ καταράσῃ, καὶ ἐν ταμέοις κοιτῶνός σου μὴ καταράσῃ πλούσιον· ὅτι πετεινὸν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἀπολοῖ σου τὴν φωνήν, καὶ ὁ τὰς πτέρυγας ἀπαγγελεῖ λόγον σου.’ Εἰ δὲ τὰ κατ’ ἰδίαν λεγόμενα καθ’ ὑμῶν τῶν βασιλέων οὐ κρύπτεται, πῶς οὐκ ἄπιστον εἰ παρόντος βασιλέως, καὶ τοσούτων ἐστῶτων, ἔλεγον κατὰ σοῦ; Οὐ γὰρ μόνος ἑώρακά ποτε τὸν ἀδελφόν σου, οὐδὲ μόνῳ μοί ποτε ἐκείνος ὠμίλησεν· ἀλλ’ αἰετὰ μετὰ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τῆς πόλεως ἔνθα ἦν, καὶ ἄλλων τῶν ἐκεῖ παρατυγχανόντων εἰσ-ηρχόμεν· κοινῇ τε αὐτὸν ἐβλέπομεν, καὶ κοινῇ πάλιν ἀνεχωροῦμεν· δύναται Φουρτουνатиανὸς ὁ τῆς Ἀκυλητίας ἐπίσκοπος μαρτυρῆσαι περὶ τούτου, ἱκανὸς ἐστίν ὁ πατήρ Ὁσῖος εἰπεῖν, καὶ Κρισπῖνος ὁ τῆς Πατάβων, καὶ Λούκιλλος ὁ ἐν Βερωνί, καὶ Διονύσιος ὁ ἐν Λητίδι, καὶ Βικέντιος ὁ ἐν Καμπανίᾳ ἐπίσκοπος. Καὶ ἐπειδὴ τετελευτήκασιν Μαξιμῖνος ὁ Τριβέρεως, καὶ Προτάσιος ὁ τῆς Μεδιολάνου, δύναται καὶ Εὐγένιος ὁ γενόμενος μάγιστρος μαρτυρῆσαι· αὐτὸς γὰρ εἰστίκει πρὸ τοῦ βηλοῦ, καὶ ἤκουεν ἅπερ ἡξιούμεν αὐτὸν, καὶ ἅπερ αὐτὸς κατηξίου λέγειν ἡμῖν. Ταῦτα τοίνυν εἰ καὶ ἱκανὰ πρὸς ἀπόδειξιν ἐστί, συγχώρησον ὁμῶς διηγῆσασθαι καὶ τὸν λογισμὸν τῆς ἀποδημίας, ἵνα καὶ ἐκ τούτων καταγνῶς τῶν διαβαλλόντων ἡμᾶς μάτην.

4. Ἐξελθὼν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας, οὐκ εἰς τὸ στρατό-
 πεδον τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου, οὐδὲ πρὸς ἄλλους τινας, ἢ μόνον εἰς Apol. c. Ari.
20, 29.
 τὴν Ῥώμην ἀνῆλθον· καὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τὰ κατ' ἑμαυτὸν παρα-
 θέμενος (τούτου γὰρ μόνου μοι φροντὶς ἦν), ἐσχόλαζον ταῖς
 συνάξεσι. Τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου οὐκ ἔγραψα, ἢ μόνον ὅτε οἱ περὶ
 Εὐσέβιον ἔγραφαν αὐτῷ κατ' ἐμοῦ, καὶ ἀνάγκην ἔσχον ἔτι ὦν Ib. 3. Hist.
Ari. 9.
 ἐν τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ἀπολογήσασθαι· καὶ ὅτε, πυκτὰ τῶν θείων
 γραφῶν κελεύσαντος αὐτοῦ μοι κατασκευάσαι, ταῦτα ποιήσας
 ἀπέστειλα· χρή γὰρ ἀπολογούμενόν με ἀληθεύειν τῇ σῇ θεο-
 σεβείᾳ. Τριῶν τοίνυν ἐτῶν παρελθόντων, τετάρτῳ ἐνιαυτῷ [A.D. 343.]
 γράφει κελεύσας ἀπαντῆσαί με πρὸς αὐτόν· ἣν δὲ ἐν τῇ Με-
 διολάνῳ. Ἐγὼ δὲ, διερωτῶν τὴν αἰτίαν (οὐ γὰρ ἐγίνωσκον,
 μάρτυς ὁ Κύριος), ἔμαθον ὅτι ἐπίσκοποί τινες, ἀνελθόντες,
 ἠξίωσαν αὐτὸν γράφαι τῇ σῇ εὐσεβείᾳ, ὥστε σύνοδον γενέ-
 σθαι. Πίστευε, βασιλεῦ, οὕτω γέγονε, καὶ οὐ ψεύδομαι.
 Κατελθὼν τοίνυν εἰς τὴν Μεδιόλανον, εἶδον πολλὴν φιλαν-
 θρωπίαν· κατηξίωσε γὰρ ἰδεῖν με, καὶ εἰπεῖν ὅτι ἔγραψε καὶ
 ἀπέστειλε πρὸς σέ, ἀξιῶν σύνοδον γενέσθαι. Διάγοντα δέ με
 ἐν τῇ προειρημένῃ πόλει μετεπέμψατο πάλιν εἰς τὰς Γαλλίας,
 ἐκεῖ γὰρ καὶ ὁ πατὴρ Ὁσῖος ἤρχετο, ἵνα ἐκεῖθεν εἰς τὴν Σαρ- Apol. c. Ari.
36.
 δικὴν ὁδεύσωμεν. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν σύνοδον, ἐν τῇ Ναῖσσῳ μοι
 διάγοντι γράφει· καὶ ἀνελθὼν ἐν Ἀκυληῖᾳ λοιπὸν διέτριβον,
 ἔνθα με τὰ γράμματα τῆς σῆς θεοσεβείας κατέλαβεν. Κἀκεῖ-
 θεν κληθεὶς πάλιν παρὰ τοῦ μακαρίτου, καὶ ἀνελθὼν εἰς τὰς
 Γαλλίας, οὕτως ἦλθον παρὰ τὴν σὴν εὐσέβειαν.

5. Ποῖον τοίνυν τόπον, ἢ τίνα χρόνον φησὶν ὁ κατήγορος,
 ἐν ᾧ τοιαῦτά με εἰρηκέναι διέβαλλεν; ἢ τίνος παρόντος ἐμά-
 νην φθέγξασθαι τοιαῦτα, οἷα ὡς εἰπόντος μου κατεψεύσατο;
 ἢ τίς ἐστὶν ὁ τοῦτ' συνηγορῶν καὶ μαρτυρῶν; ἢ γὰρ εἶδον οἱ Prov. xxv. 8.
 ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτοῦ, ταῦτα καὶ ἄλλοι, ὡς ἡ θεία γραφὴ
 παρήγγειλεν. Οὐδένα μὲν οὖν οὗτος εὐρήσει μάρτυρα τῶν μὴ
 γενομένων· ἐγὼ δὲ, ὅτι οὐ ψεύδομαι, μάρτυρα μετὰ τῆς ἀλη-
 θείας καὶ τὴν σὴν εὐσέβειαν ἔχω. Ἀξιῶ γὰρ, γινώσκων σε
 μνημονικώτατον, ἀναμνησθῆναι τῶν λόγων, ὧν ἀνέφερον τότε,
 ὅτε κατηξίωσας ἰδεῖν με, πρῶτον μὲν ἐν Βιμινακίῳ, δεύτερον [A.D. 338 and
346.]
 δὲ ἐν Καισαρείᾳ τῆς Καππαδοκίας, καὶ τρίτον ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ.

APOL. AD
CONST.

Hist. Ari. 22,
Soc. ii. 23.

εἰ κὰν τῶν περὶ Εὐσέβιον τῶν με λυπησάντων κακῶς ἐμνημό-
νευσα παρὰ σοὶ, εἰ διέβαλλόν τινας τῶν ἀδικησάντων με. Εἰ
δὲ μὴδὲ καθ' ὧν ἔδει με λέγειν τούτους διέβαλον, ποίαν εἶχον
μανίαν βασιλέα βασιλεῖ διαβάλλειν, καὶ ἀδελφὸν ἀδελφῷ
συγκροῦσαι; Παρακαλῶ, ἡ παρόντα με ποιήσουν ἐλεγχθῆναι,
ἡ κατάγνωθαι τῶν διαβολῶν καὶ μίμησαι τὸν Δαβὶδ λέγοντα·
Psal. c.(ci).5. 'Τὸν καταλαλοῦντα λάθρα τοῦ πλησίον, τούτον ἐξεδίωκον.'
Wisd. i. 11. Τὸ μὲν γὰρ ὅσον εἰς αὐτοὺς ἦκε ἐφ' ὧν εὐενσαν 'στόμα' γὰρ
'καταψενσάμενον ἀνέϊλε ψυχὴν.' 'Ἡ δὲ σὴ μακροθυμία νενί-
κηκε, παρασχούσα παβήρησιαν ἀπολογίας, ἵνα καὶ καταγνω-
σθῆναι δυνηθῶσιν, ὥς φιλόνοικοι καὶ συκοφάνται. Περὶ μὲν
τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου σου ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ τῆς μακαρίας μνήμης
ταῦτα· δύνασαι γὰρ κατὰ τὴν δοθείσαν σοι σοφίαν παρὰ
Θεοῦ προλαμβάνειν τὰ πολλὰ ἐκ τῶν ὀλίγων τούτων, καὶ
γινώσκειν τὴν πλασθεῖσαν κατηγορίαν.

6. Περὶ δὲ τῆς ἐτέρας διαβολῆς, εἰ ἔγραψα τῷ τυράννῳ
(τοῦνομα γὰρ οὐδὲ λέγειν βούλομαι), παρακαλῶ, ὥς θέλεις
καὶ δι' ὧν ἂν δοκιμάσης, ἐξέταξε καὶ ἀνάκρινε· ἡ γὰρ ὑπερ-
βολὴ τῆς διαβολῆς ἐξίστησί με, καὶ εἰς πολλὴν ἀσάφειαν
ἄγει. Καὶ πίστευε, θεοφιλέστατε βασιλεῦ, πολλάκις κατ'
ἐμαυτὸν λογιζόμενος ἠπίστον, εἰ ἄρα τις ἐμάνη τοσοῦτον,
ὥστε καὶ τοιαῦτα ψεύσασθαι. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ παρὰ τῶν Ἀρειανῶν
ἐθρυλεῖτο καὶ τοῦτο, καὶ ὥς αὐτοὶ ἐπιδεδωκότες ἀντίγρα-
φον ἐπιστολῆς ἐκαυχῶντο, ἐξιστάμην μειζόνως, καὶ αὐπνους
νύκτας διατελῶν, ὥς πρὸς παρόντας τοὺς κατειπόντας ἐμαχό-
μην· καὶ κραυγὴν ἐξαπιναίως ἠφλείν μεγάλην, καὶ ἡνυχόμην
εὐθύς, στενάζων μετὰ δακρύων, εὑρεῖν τὰς σὰς ἀκοὰς εὐμενεῖς.
'Ἀλλὰ καὶ οὕτω τῇ χάριτι τοῦ Κυρίου ταύτας εὐρῶν, πάλιν
ἀπορῶ, ποίαν ἀρχὴν τῆς ἀπολογίας ποιήσομαι· ὅσakis γὰρ ἂν
ἐπιβάλωμαι λέγειν, ἐμποδίζομαι διὰ τὴν τοῦ πράγματος ἐκ-
πληξιν. Ὅλως μὲν γὰρ περὶ τοῦ μακαρίτου σου ἀδελφοῦ
πρόφασις ἦν πιθανὴ τοῖς συκοφάνταις, ὅτι τε κατηξιούμεθα
Cp. Soc. ii. 22. βλέπειν αὐτὸν, καὶ περὶ ἡμῶν ἡξίου γράφειν πρὸς τὴν σὴν
ἀδελφικὴν διάθεσιν, καὶ παρόντας μὲν ἐτίμα πολλάκις, καὶ
ἀπόντας δὲ μετεπέμπετο· τὸν δὲ διάβολον Μαγνέντιον, 'μάρτυς
ὁ Κύριος, καὶ μάρτυς ὁ Χριστὸς αὐτοῦ,' οὔτε γινώσκω, οὔτε

ὅλως ἠπιστάμην αὐτόν. Ποία τοίνυν συνήθεια τῷ μὴ γνωσκομένῳ πρὸς τὸν μὴ γινώσκοντα; ποία με πρόφασις εἴλκε γράφαι τῷ τοιούτῳ; ποῖον προοίμιον τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ἔτασσαν, γράφων αὐτῷ; ὅτι· 'Τὸν τιμῶντά με, οὗ τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν οὐκ ἂν ποτε ἐπιλαθούμην, τοῦτον φονεύσας καλῶς ἐποίησας; καὶ ἀποδέχομαι σε τοὺς γνωρίμους ἡμῶν Χριστιανούς καὶ πιστοτάτους ἄνδρας ἀνελόντα; καὶ ἀποδέχομαι σε σφάξαντα τοὺς ἐν Ῥώμῃ γνησίως ἡμᾶς ὑποδεξαμένους, τὴν μακαρίαν σου θείαν τὴν ἀληθῶς Εὐτρόπιον, καὶ Ἀβουτήριον τὸν γνήσιον ἐκείνον, καὶ Σπειράντιον τὸν πιστότατον, καὶ ἄλλους πολλοὺς καλοὺς;'

7. Ἄρ' οὐχὶ καὶ τὸ μόνον ὑποπτεύειν περὶ τούτων τὸν κατήγορον, ἐστὶ μανικόν; Τί γάρ με πάλιν θαρρῆναι ἐπειθεν αὐτῷ; ποίαν αὐτοῦ διάθεσιν ἐβλεπον ἀσφαλῆ; Ὅτι τὸν ἴδιον δεσπότην ἀνείλε, καὶ περὶ τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ φίλους ἀπιστος γέγονε, καὶ ὅρκους μὲν παρέβη, εἰς δὲ τὸν Θεὸν ἠσέβησε, φαρμακοὺς καὶ ἐπαιδοὺς ἐπινοῶν κατὰ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ κρίσεως; Ποίῳ δὲ συνειδῶτι χαίρειν ἔλεγον τούτῳ, οὗ ἡ μανία καὶ ἡ ὀμότης οὐκ ἐμὲ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς οἰκουμένην ἐλύπησε; Μεγάλην γε χάριν καὶ πολλὴν ἐκ τούτων ὤφειλον τούτῳ, ὅτι ὁ μὲν μακαρίτης ἀδελφός σου τὰς ἐκκλησίας ἀναθημάτων ἐπλήρωσεν, οὗτος δὲ αὐτὸν ἀποστέλλοντα πεφόνευκε. Καὶ οὔτε ταῦτα βλέπων ὁ μιὰρὸς ᾗδέσθη, οὔτε τὴν δοθεῖσαν χάριν τῷ μακαρίτῃ διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος πεφόβηται· ἀλλ' ὥς δαίμων τις ἀλάστωρ καὶ διαβολικὸς, ἐμάνη κατ' αὐτοῦ. Τῷ μὲν οὖν μακαρίτῃ τοῦτο γέγονεν εἰς μαρτύριον· ἐκείνος δὲ λοιπὸν ὥς δέσμιος κατὰ τὸν Καῖν 'στένων καὶ τρέμων' ἐδιώκετο, ἵνα καὶ τὸν Ἰούδαν ἐν τῷ θανάτῳ μιμήσῃται, δῆμιος καθ' ἑαυτοῦ γινόμενος, καὶ διπλὴν ἐποίσῃται καθ' ἑαυτοῦ τὴν τιμωρίαν ἐν τῇ μετὰ ταῦτα κρίσει.

8. Τοιούτῳ με φίλον ὁ διαβαλὼν ἐνόμισε γεγενῆσθαι· ἡ τάχα οὐδὲ νενόμικεν, ἀλλ' ὥς ἐχθρὸς ἀπιθάνως ἐπλάσατο· οἶδε γὰρ ἀκριβῶς, ὅτι κατεψεύσατο. Ἐβουλόμην δὲ αὐτὸν, ὅστις ἐστίν, ἐνταῦθα παρῆναι, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ἀληθείας ἐρωτῆσαι (ἃ γὰρ ὥς Θεοῦ παρόντος λαλοῦμεν, τοῦτον ὅρκον ἔχομεν ἡμεῖς οἱ Χριστιανοί) πότερος ἡμῶν ἔχαιρε, τοῦ μακαρίτου Κώνσταντος

[Feb. A.D. 350.]

Gen. iv. 12.
LXX.

[A.D. 353.]

APOL. AD
CONST.

ζῶντος, καὶ τίς μᾶλλον ἠΐχετο· καὶ ἡ πρώτη διαβολὴ δείκνυσιν, καὶ παντὶ τοῦτο δηλὸν ἐστίν. Εἰ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς οἶδεν ἀκριβῶς, ὅτι τῶν οὕτω διακειμένων, καὶ εἴ τις ἡγάπα τὸν μακαρίτην Κώνσταντα, οὐκ ἐγγίγνεται φίλος τῷ κατ' ἐκείνου γενομένῳ, εἰ δὲ ἄλλως διέκειτο ἢ ὡς ἡμεῖς, φοβοῦμαι μὴ ἅπερ ὁ μισῶν ἐκείνον ἐντεθύμῃται, ταῦτα κατεψεύσατο κατ' ἐμοῦ.

[A.D. 350.]

Ps. vi. 6.

9. Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν, ἐπὶ τούτῳ ξενιζόμενος, ὅσα χρὴ λέγειν ἀπολογούμενον, ἀπορῶ· καὶ μόνον ἐμαυτοῦ μυρίους καταψηφίζομαι θανάτους, ἐὰν καὶ ὅλως κἂν ὑποψία τις εἰς ἐμὲ περὶ τούτου γένηται· σοὶ δὲ, φιλάλθες βασιλεῦ, θαρρῶν ἀπολογούμαι· παρακαλῶ, καθὰ προεῖπον, ἐξέταξε· καὶ μάλιστα μάρτυρας ἔχων τοὺς ἀποσταλέντας ποτὲ παρ' ἐκείνου πρὸς σὲ πρέσβεις· εἰσὶ δὲ Σαρβάτιος καὶ Μάξιμος οἱ ἐπίσκοποι, καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτοῖς· καὶ Κλημέντιος καὶ Βάλης. Μάθε, παρακαλῶ, εἰ γράμματά μοι κεκομίσκασιν· ταῦτα γὰρ παρῆχε πρόφασιν κάμοι τοῦ γράφειν ἐκείνῳ. Εἰ δὲ μὴ ἔγραψε, μηδὲ ἐγίνωσκέ με, πῶς ἔγραφον ἐγὼ μὴ ἐπιστάμενος αὐτόν; Ἐρώτησαν· εἰ μὴ, ἑωρακὼς τοὺς περὶ Κλημέντιον, ἐμνήσθην τοῦ τῆς μακαρίας μνήμης, καὶ κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον, 'ἐν δάκρυσί μου τὰ ἱμάτια διέβρεχον,' ἐνθυμούμενος τὴν φιланθρωπίαν καὶ τὴν φιλόχριστον αὐτοῦ ψυχὴν. Μάθε πῶς, ἀκούσας περὶ τῆς ὀμότητος τοῦ θηρίου, καὶ ἰδὼν τοὺς περὶ Βάλεντα διὰ τῆς Λιβύης ἐλθόντας, ἐφοβούμεν μὴ κάκεῖνος πειράσῃ τολμήσαι, καὶ ὡς ληστῆς φονεύσῃ τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας καὶ μνημονεύοντας τοῦ μακαρίου· ὦν ἐμαυτὸν οὐδενὸς εἶναι δεύτερον τίθημι.

c. 23.

10. Ταῦτο οὖν δεδιὼς φρονούντας ἐκείνους, καὶ οὐ μᾶλλον ὑψόμην περὶ τῆς σῆς φιλανθρωπίας; καὶ τὸν μὲν φονεύσαντα ἐκείνον ἡγάπων, εἰς σὲ δὲ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ὄντα, καὶ ἐκδικοῦντα τὸν ἐκείνου θάνατον ἐλυπούμην; Ἄλλ' ἐκείνου μὲν τῆς παρανομίας ἐμνημόνεον, τῆς δὲ σῆς εὐεργεσίας ἐπελανθανόμην, ἣν καὶ μετὰ θάνατον τοῦ μακαρίτου τοιαύτην ἔσεσθαι περὶ ἐμὲ, οἷα ἦν καὶ περιόντος ἐκείνου, διὰ γραμμάτων δηλῶσαι κατηξίωσας; Ποίοις ὁμμασι τὸν ἀνδροφόνον ἔβλεπον; Ἡ πῶς οὐχ, ὑπὲρ σῆς σωτηρίας εὐχόμενος, ἐνόμιζον καὶ τὸν μακαρίτην ἐκείνον ὁρᾶν; Ἀδελφοὶ γὰρ διὰ τὴν φύσιν ἀλλήλων εἰσὶ κάτοπτρα. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ σὲ βλέπων ἐν ἐκείνῳ, οὐ ποτε ἂν διέβαλον·

κάκείνου ἐν σοὶ πάλιν ὀρών, οὗ ποτε ἂν ἔγραψα τῷ κατ' ἐκείνου γενομένῳ, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον περὶ τῆς σῆς σωτηρίας ἡυχόμεν. Καὶ μάρτυρες τούτων προηγουμένως μὲν ὁ Κύριος, ὁ ἐπακούσας καὶ χαρισάμενος ὁλόκληρόν σοι τὴν ἐκ προγόνων βασιλείαν· μάρτυρες δὲ καὶ οἱ τότε παρόντες, Φιληκῆσιμος ὁ γενόμενος δοῦξ τῆς Αἰγύπτου, καὶ Ῥουφῖνος, καὶ Στέφανος, ὧν ὁ μὲν καθολικὸς, ὁ δὲ μάγιστρος ἦν ἐκεῖ· καὶ Ἀστέριος ὁ κόμης, καὶ Παλλάδιος ὁ γενόμενος τοῦ παλατίου μάγιστρος, Ἀντίοχος τε καὶ Εὐάγριος οἱ ἀγεντισηρίβους. Μόνον γὰρ ἔλεγον· Ἐὐδῶμεθα περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου Αὐγούστου Κωνσταντίνου· καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς εὐθὺς μιᾷ φωνῇ ἔβόα· Ὁ Χριστέ, βοήθει Κωνσταντίῳ· καὶ διέμενεν οὕτως εὐχόμενος.

11. Ὅτι μὲν οὖν μήτε ἔγραψά ποτε ἐκείνῳ, μήτε ἐδεξάμην ποτὲ παρ' αὐτοῦ, μάρτυρα τὸν Θεὸν, καὶ τὸν τούτου Λόγον τὸν μονογενῆ αὐτοῦ Υἱὸν τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐπεκαλεσάμην· τὸν δὲ κατειπόντα, καὶ περὶ τούτου συγχώρησον ἐρωτηθῆναι δι' ὀλίγων, πόθεν εἰς τοῦτο παρῆλθεν; Ἐπιστολῆς ἀντίγραφα φήσειεν ἔχειν; τοῦτο γὰρ ἀπέκαμον οἱ Ἀρειανοὶ θρυλοῦντες. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν κἂν τὰ γράμματα τοῖς ἡμετέροις ὁμοία δεικνύη, οὕτω τε ἀσφαλὲς ἔχει· πλαστογράφοι γὰρ εἰσὶν οἷτινες καὶ τὰς ὑμῶν τῶν βασιλέων χεῖρας πολλάκις ἐμιμήσαντο· καὶ οὐχ ἡ μίμησις παρέχει τοῖς γράμμασι τὸ κύρος, ἐὰν μὴ καὶ οἱ τὰ τοιαῦτα γράφειν εἰωθότες μαρτυρῶσι ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς. Τοῦτο τοίνυν καὶ τοὺς διαβαλόντας πάλιν ἐρωτῆσαι βούλομαι, τίς ὁ παρασχὼν ταῦτά ποτε, καὶ πόθεν εὐρέθη ταῦτα· καὶ γὰρ κἀγὼ τοὺς γράφοντας εἶχον, κάκείνος πάλιν τοὺς λαμβάνοντας παρὰ τῶν κομιζόντων καὶ ἐπιδιδόντας αὐτῷ. Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἡμέτεροι πάρεισι· καταξίωσον δὲ κάκείνους καλέσαι· ζῆν γὰρ πάντως ἔξεστιν αὐτούς· καὶ μάθε περὶ τούτων τῶν γραμμάτων, ἐξέτασον ὡς ἀληθείας σοι συμπαρούσης· αὕτη γὰρ βασιλέων, καὶ μάλιστα Χριστιανῶν, ἐστὶ φυλακτήριον· μετὰ ταύτης βασιλεύειν ὑμᾶς ἐστὶν ἀσφαλὲς, λεγούσης τῆς θείας γραφῆς· Ὁ ἐλεημοσύνη καὶ ἀλήθεια, φυλακὴ βασιλεί, καὶ περικυκλώσει ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ τὸν θρόνον αὐτοῦ. Ταύτην προβαλὼν Ὁροβάβελ ὁ σοφὸς νενίκηκε· καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ἐφώνησε· Μεγάλη ἡ ἀλήθεια καὶ ὑπερισχύει.

Cp. Apol. c. Ari. 45.

Prov. xx. 28.

1 Esdr. iv. 41.

APOL. AD
CONST.

Acts xxv. 11.

John xiv. 6.

Prov. xvi. 13.

Prov. xxv. 5.

Prov. xv. 13.

Gen. xlii. 21.

Gen. xxxi. 5.

Prov. xxv. 18.

12. Εἰ μὲν οὖν παρ' ἄλλοις ἤμην διαβληθεὶς, τὴν σὴν εὐσέβειαν ἐπεκαλούμην· ὡς ὁ Ἀπόστολος 'ἐπεκαλέσατο' τότε τὸν 'Καίσαρα,' καὶ πέπνυται τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἢ κατ' αὐτοῦ ἐπιβουλὴ· ἐπειδὴ δὲ παρὰ σοὶ τετολμήκασι κατειπεῖν, τίνα ἀπὸ σοῦ ἐπικαλέσομαι; τὸν Πατέρα τοῦ λέγοντος, 'Ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡ ἀλήθεια,' ἵνα σου τὴν καρδίαν εἰς εὐμένειαν κλίνῃ. 'Δέσποτα παντοκράτωρ, βασιλεὺς τῶν αἰώνων, ὁ Πατὴρ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, σὺ διὰ τοῦ σοῦ Λόγου τὴν βασιλείαν ταύτην τῷ σῷ θεράποντι Κωνσταντίνῳ δέδωκας· σὺ λάμψον εἰς τὴν καρδίαν αὐτοῦ, ἵνα, γνοὺς τὴν καθ' ἡμῶν συκοφαντίαν, εὐμενῶς μὲν αὐτὸς δέξηται τὴν ἀπολογίαν, πάντας δὲ ποιήσῃ γινῶναι, ὅτι αἱ ἁκοαὶ αὐτοῦ ἠσφαλισθησάν ἐν ἀληθείᾳ, καὶ κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον· "Μόνα βασιλεῖ δεκτὰ χεῖλη δίκαιά ἐστιν." Οὕτω γὰρ καὶ κατορθοῦσθαι τὸν θρόνον τῆς βασιλείας διὰ Σολομῶντος λεχθῆναι πεποίηκας.' Οὐκοῦν ὅλως ἐρώτησον, μαθέτωσαν οἱ καπειρηκότες, ὅτι σοὶ μέλει περὶ τῆς ἀληθείας μαθεῖν. Καὶ εἰ μὴ τῷ χρώματι τοῦ προσώπου δείξουσιν τὴν συκοφαντίαν· τοῦτο γὰρ τοῦ συνειδότος ἐλεγχὸς ἐστὶ καὶ γέγραπται· 'Καρδίας εὐφραινομένης πρόσωπον θάλλει, ἐν δὲ λύπαις οὐσης σκυθρωπάζει.' Οὕτω τοὺς μὲν ἐπιβουλεύσαντας τῷ Ἰωσήφ ἡ συνείδησις ἤλεγξε· τοῦ δὲ Λάβαν ἡ κατὰ τοῦ Ἰακώβ πονηρία ἐκ τοῦ προσώπου δέδεικται. 'Ὁρᾷς γοῦν ἐκείνων μὲν τὴν ὑπόψιν, φευγόντων καὶ κρηπτομένων, ἡμῶν δὲ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀπολογουμένων. Οὐ γὰρ περὶ κτημάτων νῦν ἡ κρίσις, ἀλλὰ περὶ δόξης τῆς ἐκκλησίας. 'Ὁ λίθφ κρουόμενος ζητεῖ τὸν λατρόν· τῶν δὲ λίθων ὀξύτερα τὰ ἐκ τῆς διαβολῆς ἐστὶ πλήγματα· 'Ρόπαλόν ἐστιν ἡ διαβολή, καὶ μάχαιρα, καὶ τόξευμα ἀκιδωτὸν,' ὡς εἶπε Σολομῶν· καὶ ταῦτα μόνῃ ἡ ἀλήθεια ἰᾶσθαι δύναται· ταύτης δὲ παρορωμένης, αὐξάνει δεινότερον τὰ τραύματα.

13. Διὰ ταῦτα πάντα τὰ πανταχοῦ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν τετάρακται. Καὶ προφάσεις μὲν ἐπενόησαν, ἐπίσκοποι δὲ τηλικούτοι καὶ πολυτεῖς ἐξωρίσθησαν, διὰ τὴν πρὸς ἐμὲ κοινωνίαν. Καὶ εἰ μὲν μέχρι τοσούτου τοῦτο ἐγίνετο, προσδοκία τις ἦν ἀγαθῇ· φιλόανθρωπος γὰρ εἶ· ἵνα δὲ μὴ καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα διαβῇ τὸ κακὸν, κρατεῖτω ἡ ἀλήθεια παρὰ σοί· καὶ μὴ ἀφῇς ὑπόνοιαν

κατὰ πάσης ἐκκλησίας γενέσθαι, ὡς τοιαῦτα βουλευομένων καὶ γραφόντων τῶν Χριστιανῶν, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν ἐπισκόπων. Ἡ εἰ μὴ βούλει ἀνακρίνειν, δίκαιον καὶ ἡμᾶς πιστεῦσθαι μᾶλλον ἀπολογουμένους ἢ τοὺς διαβάλλοντας. Οὗτοι μὲν γὰρ, ὡς ἐχθροὶ, πονηρεύονται, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀγωνιῶντες τὰς ἀποδείξεις παρέχομεν. Ἀλλὰ δὲ θαυμάζω, πῶς ἡμεῖς μὲν μετ' εὐλαβείας φθεγγόμεθα, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ τοσαύτην ἔσχον ἀναισχυρτίαν, ὡς καὶ ψεύσασθαι βασιλεῖ. Ἀλλ' ἐξέτασον διὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν, καὶ ὥσπερ γέγραπται, 'ἐρευνῶν ἐρεύνησον' παρόντων ἡμῶν, πόθεν Joeli. 7. Lxx. ταῦτα λέγουσιν, ἢ πόθεν ἠρέθη τὰ γράμματα. Ἀλλ' οὔτε τῶν ἡμετέρων τις ἐλεγχθήσεται, οὔτε τῶν ἐκείνου φήσειε τις· πέπλασται γάρ. Καὶ πλέον οὐδὲν τάχα προσήκει ζητεῖν, οὐδὲ γὰρ βούλονται, ἵνα μὴ καὶ ὁ ταύτας γράψας ἐξ ἀνάγκης εὐρεθῇ. Ἰσασι γὰρ αὐτὸν οἱ διάβολοι μόνοι, καὶ ἄλλος οὐδεὶς.

14. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας κατειρή- [The Cæsa-
kασιν, ὡς δὴ συνάξεως ἐκεῖ γενομένης, πρὶν αὐτὴν τελειωθῆναι· reum.] Cp.
φέρει καὶ περὶ τούτου πάλιν ἀπολογησομαι τῇ σῇ εὐσεβείᾳ· εἰς Hist. Ari. 55.
ταῦτα γὰρ ἡμᾶς ἔλκουσιν οἱ φιλέχθρως διακεκείμενοι πρὸς ἡμᾶς. Ναὶ γέγονεν, ὁμολογῶ· καὶ γὰρ καὶ τὰ πρῶτα λέγων οὐκ ἐψευσάμην, καὶ τοῦτο νῦν οὐκ ἀρνήσομαι. Ἀλλ' ἄλλως πάλιν ἢ ὡς αὐτοὶ κατειρήκασιν ἔστι τὸ πρᾶγμα. Καὶ μοι συγχώρη-
σον εἰπεῖν, οὐκ ἐγκαινίων ἡμέραν ἐπετελέσαμεν, θεοσεβέστατε Αὐγουστε· τοῦτο γὰρ ἀθέμιτον ἦν ἀληθῶς πρὸ τῆς σῆς προ-
τάξεως ποιῆσαι· οὐδὲ ἐκ παρασκευῆς εἰς τοῦτο παρήλθομεν· οὐδὲ ἐπίσκοπός τις οὐδὲ ἄλλος κληρικὸς εἰς τοῦτο κέκληται, ἔλειπε δὲ πολλὰ καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ. Ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐκ παραγγελίας γέγονεν ἡ σύναξις, ἵνα πρόφασιν εὕρωσιν οὗτοι τοῦ κατειπεῖν. Ἀλλὰ τὸ γενόμενον Ἰσασι πάντες· ἄκουσον δὲ ὅμως τῇ σαυτοῦ ἐπιεικείᾳ καὶ μακροθυμίᾳ. Ἑορτὴ μὲν γὰρ ἦν τὸ Πάσχα, ὃ δὲ λαὸς πάνν πολὺς καὶ τοσοῦτος ἦν, ὅσον ἂν εὐξαιντο κατὰ πόλιν εἶναι Χριστιανῶν φιλόχριστοι βασιλεῖς. Τῶν τοίνυν ἐκκλησιῶν ὀλίγων καὶ βραχυτάτων οὐσῶν, θόρυβος ἦν οὐκ ὀλίγος, ἀξιούτων ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ συνελθεῖν, κακεῖ πάντας εὐχεσθαι ὑπὲρ τῆς σῆς σωτηρίας· ὅπερ καὶ γέγονεν. Ἀλλ' ἐμοῦ παρακαλοῦντος τέως ἐπισχεῖν, καὶ ὅπως δήποτε μετὰ θλίψεως ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐκκλησίαις συναχθῆναι, οὐχ

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ὑπήκουσαν, ἀλλ' ἔτοιμοι γεγύνασιν ἐξελθεῖν τὴν πόλιν, εἰς τοὺς ἐρήμους τόπους ἐν ἡλίῳ συνελθεῖν, βέλτιον ἡγαύμενοι κάματος ἐνεγκεῖν ὁδοῦ, ἢ μετὰ λύπης τὴν ἑορτὴν ποιῆσαι.

15. Πίστευε γὰρ, βασιλεῦ, καὶ περὶ τούτου πάλιν μάρτυρα δέξαι τὴν ἀλήθειαν· ὅτι ἐν ταῖς συνάξεσι τῆς Τεσσαρακοστῆς, διὰ τὸ τῶν τόπων στενὸν καὶ τὸ πολὺ πλῆθος τῶν λαῶν, πλείστα παιδία, καὶ οὐκ ὀλίγαι νεώτεραι γυναῖκες, πλείσταί τε γραῖδες, καὶ οὐκ ὀλίγοι νεανίσκοι θλιβέντες ἀπηνέχθησαν εἰς τοὺς οἴκους· καὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ παρασχόντος, τέθνηκε μὲν οὐδεὶς· πάντες δὲ ἐγόγγυσαν, καὶ ἠξίωσαν διὰ τὴν μεγάλην ἐκκλησίαν. Εἰ δὲ καὶ ἐν ταῖς προεόρτοις τοιαύτη γέγονε θλίψις, τί ἂν ἐγεγόνει ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἑορτῇ; Πάντως πάντα ἔτι τούτων χαλεπώτερα. Ἄλλ' οὐκ ἔπρεπεν ἀντὶ χαρᾶς λύπην, ἀντ' εὐφροσύνης πένθος, ἀντὶ τῆς ἑορτῆς κλαυθμὸν τοῖς λαοῖς γενέσθαι· εἰδὼς καὶ μάλιστα τύπον ἔχειν τῶν πατέρων. Ὁ γὰρ μακαρίτης Ἀλέξανδρος, στενῶν ὄντων τῶν ἄλλων τόπων, καὶ οἰκοδομῶν τὴν τότε μείζονα νομιζομένην ἐκκλησίαν τὴν καλουμένην Θεωνᾶ, συνῆγεν ἐκεῖ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος, καὶ συνάγων οὐκ ἡμέλει τῆς οἰκοδομῆς. Τοῦτο καὶ ἐν Τριβέροις, καὶ ἐν Ἀκυλητᾷ γενόμενον ἑώρακα· κακεῖ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς διὰ τὸ πλῆθος, ἔτι τῶν τόπων οἰκοδομουμένων, συνήγουν ἐκεῖ· καὶ οὐχ εὗρον τοιοῦτον κατήγορον. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ μακαρίτης σου ἀδελφός, ἐν Ἀκυλητᾷ, τοιαύτης οὔσης συνάξεως, συνήχθη. Οὕτω καὶ ἐγὼ πεποίηκα, καὶ γέγονεν οὐκ ἐγκαίνια, ἀλλὰ σύναξις εὐχῆς. Σὺ μὲν οὖν, εὖ οἶδα, ὅτι, φιλόθεος ὢν, τῶν μὲν λαῶν ἀποδέχῃ τὴν προθυμίαν, καὶ συγγινώσκεις ἑμοί, μὴ κωλύσαντι τοσούτου λαοῦ τὰς εὐχάς.

Cp. Encycl. 5.

Cp. Apol. de
Fuga, 24.

16. Ἐγὼ δὲ τὸν κατειπόντα πάλιν περὶ τούτου ἐρωτῆσαι βούλομαι, ποῦ νόμιμον ἦν εὐχεσθαι τὸν λαόν, ἐν ἐρήμοις, ἢ ἐν οἰκοδομουμένῳ τόπῳ τῆς εὐχῆς; Ποῦ πρέπον ἦν καὶ ὅσιον ἐπακοῦσαι τὸν λαόν τὸ Ἀμήν; ἐν ἐρήμοις, ἢ ἐν τῷ ἤδη λεχθέντι Κυριακῷ; Σὺ δὲ, θεοφιλέστατε βασιλεῦ, ποῦ τοὺς λαοὺς ἂν ἤθελες ἐκτεῖναι τὰς χεῖρας καὶ εὐξασθαι περὶ σοῦ; ἔνθα καὶ Ἕλληνες Ἰστανται παρερχόμενοι, ἢ ἐν τῷ ἐπωνύμῳ σου τόπῳ, ὃν ἤδη, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ἅμα τῷ θεμελίῳ, 'Κυριακὸν' πάντες ὀνομάζουσιν; Οἶδα, ὅτι τὸν σὸν τόπον προκρίνεις· μειδιᾷς

γὰρ, καὶ τοῦτο μειδιῶν σημαίνει. Ἄλλ' ἔδει, φησὶν ὁ κατε-
 πῶν, ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τοῦτο γενέσθαι. Μικραὶ μὲν οὖν καὶ
 στεναὶ πᾶσαι, καθὰ προείπον, πρὸς τοὺς λαοὺς εἰσιν. Ἐπειτα
 δὲ πῶς ἔπρεπε γενέσθαι τὰς εὐχάς ; καὶ πῶς ἦν βέλτιον κατὰ
 μέρος καὶ διηρημένως τὸν λαὸν μετ' ἐπικινδύνου συνοχῆς, ἢ
 ὅντος ἤδη τόπου τοῦ δυναμένου δέξασθαι πάντας, ἐν αὐτῷ
 συνελθεῖν καὶ μίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν μετὰ συμφωνίας τῶν λαῶν
 γενέσθαι τὴν φωνήν ; Τοῦτο βέλτιον ἦν· τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ τὴν
 ὁμοφυλίαν ἐδείκνυε τοῦ πλήθους· οὕτω καὶ ταχέως ὁ Θεὸς
 ἐπακούει. Εἰ γὰρ κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἐπαγγελίαν,
 'ἐὰν δύο συμφωνήσαιεν περὶ παντὸς, οὗ ἂν αἰτήσωνται, γενή-
 σεται αὐτοῖς·' τί, ἐὰν τοσοῦτων λαῶν συνελθόντων μία γέννηται
 φωνή, λεγόντων τῷ Θεῷ τὸ Ἀμήν ; Τίς γοῦν οὐκ ἐθαύμασε ;
 Τίς οὐκ ἐμακάρισέ σε, βλέπων τὸν τοσοῦτον λαὸν ἐν ἐνὶ
 συνελθόντα τόπῳ ; Πῶς ἔχαιρον οἱ λαοὶ βλέποντες ἀλλήλους
 τὸ πρότερον ἐν διηρημένοις συνερχόμενοι τόποις ; Τοῦτο πάν-
 τας ἠΐφρανε, καὶ μόνον τὸν διαβαλόντα ἐλύπησε.

Matt. xviii.
19.

17. Τὴν γοῦν ἐτέραν καὶ ὑπολειπομένην ἀντιλογίαν αὐτοῦ
 βούλομαι προλαβεῖν. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ κατειρηκῶς φησιν· Ὁὖπω
 τετελείωτο τὸ ἔργον, καὶ οὐκ ἔχρην εὐχὰς γενέσθαι· ὁ δὲ Κύ-
 ριος εἶπε· Σὺ δέ, ὅταν προσεύχῃ, εἰσελθε εἰς τὸ ταμεῖόν σου, Matt. vi. 6.
 καὶ ἀπόκλεισον τὰς θύρας· Τί τοίνυν φήσειεν ὁ κατήγορος ;
 Μᾶλλον δὲ τί ἂν εἴποιεν οἱ φρόνιμοι καὶ ἀληθῶς Χριστιανοί ;
 Τούτους γὰρ ἐρώτησον, βασιλεῦ· ἐπειδὴ γέγραπται περὶ μὲν
 ἐκεῖνων, ὅτι· Ὁ μωρὸς μωρὰ λαλήσει· περὶ δὲ τούτων, Παρὰ Isa. xxxii. 6.
 παντὸς φρονίμου συμβουλίαν λάμβανε· Tob. iv. 18.
 Τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν
 στενῶν οὐσῶν, καὶ τῶν λαῶν τοσοῦτων ὄντων, καὶ βουλομέ-
 νων εἰς τὰς ἐρήμους ἀπελθεῖν, τί ποιεῖν ἔχρην ; Ἡ μὲν γὰρ
 ἐρημος ἄθυρος, καὶ τῶν βουλομένων διόδός ἐστιν, ὁ δὲ Κυρια-
 κὸς τόπος καὶ τετελείωται καὶ τεθύρωται, καὶ τὴν διαφορὰν τῶν
 εὐσεβῶν καὶ τῶν βεβήλων δείκνυσιν. Ἀρα, βασιλεῦ, σὺ μετὰ
 τῆς σῆς εὐσεβείας πᾶς ὁστισοῦν· φρόνιμος· ἐπινεύει τούτῳ ;
 Ἰσασι γὰρ, ὅτι ᾧδε μὲν νόμιμος εὐχή, ἐκεῖ δὲ ἀταξίας ὑπο-
 ψία· εἰ μὴ ἄρα, τόπων μὴ ὄντων, μόνοι τὴν ἐρημίαν ἂν οἰκοῖεν
 οἱ εὐχόμενοι, ὥσπερ ἦν ὁ Ἰσραήλ· ἀλλὰ κἀκεῖνοις, τῆς σκηνῆς
 γενομένης, περιώριστο λοιπὸν τῆς εὐχῆς ὁ τόπος. Ὡ Δέσ-

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CONST.

ποτα καὶ ἀληθῶς βασιλεῦ τῶν βασιλευόντων Χριστέ, Ὡς τοῦ Θεοῦ μονογενὲς, Λόγος καὶ Σοφία τοῦ Πατρὸς, ἐπειδὴ τὴν σὴν φιλανθρωπίαν ὁ λαὸς ἠΐξαστο, καὶ διὰ σοῦ τὸν σὸν Πατέρα τὸν ἐπὶ πάντων Θεὸν παρεκάλεσε, περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας τοῦ σοῦ θεράποντος τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου Κωνσταντίνου, κατηγοροῦμαι. Ἀλλὰ τῇ σῇ ἀγαθότητι χάρις, ὅτι διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐν τοῖς σοῖς νόμοις διαβέβλημαι. Μειζόνως γὰρ ἂν διεβλήθην, καὶ ἦν ἀληθῶς ἐγκλημα, εἰ ὃν ὑποδόμησε τόπον ὁ βασιλεὺς παρηγχομέθα, καὶ ἔρημον ἐζητοῦμεν εἰς εὐχήν. Πῶς ἂν ὁ κατήγορος ἐφλυάρησε τότε· πῶς ἂν ἦν πιθανὸς λέγων· 'Ἐξουθένισέ σου τὸν τόπον· παρὰ γνώμην ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ τὸ γινόμενον· ἐγέλασε παρερχόμενος· ἔδειξε τὴν ἔρημον πληροῦσαν τοῦ τόπου τὴν χρεῖαν· θέλοντας εὐξασθαι λαοὺς κεκώλυνκε.' Ταῦτα ἤθελεν εἰπεῖν, ταῦτα ἐζήτη· καὶ μὴ εὐρὼν ἀχθεται, καὶ λοιπὸν λόγους πλάττει. Ταῦτα γὰρ εἰ ἔλεγεν, ἐδυσώπει κάμῃ· ὥσπερ νῦν ἀδικεῖ, τὸν διαβόλου τρόπον ἀναλαβὼν, καὶ παρατηρούμενος τοὺς προσευχομένους· διὸ καὶ ἐσφάλη παραγνοῦς τὸ τοῦ Δανιήλ· ἐνόμισε γὰρ ὁ ἀμαθὴς, ὅτι καὶ ἐπὶ σοῦ τὰ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων κρατεῖ, καὶ οὐκ ἔγνω, ὅτι φίλος εἶ τοῦ μακαρίου Δανιήλ, καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν αὐτῷ Θεὸν προσκυνεῖς, καὶ οὐ κωλύεις, ἀλλὰ θέλεις πάντας εὐχεσθαι, εἰδὼς ὅτι πάντων ἐστὶν εὐχή, σώζεσθαι σε καὶ βασιλεύειν ἐν εἰρήνῃ διαπαντός.

Dan. vi. 11.

18. Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν καὶ ταῦτα πρὸς τὸν κατειπόντα ἀποδύρομαι· σὺ δὲ, θεοφιλέστατε Αὐγουστε, ζήσεις πολλαῖς ἐτῶν περιόδοις, καὶ τὰ ἐγκαίνια ἐπιτελέσεις. Αἱ γὰρ γενόμεναι παρὰ πάντων περὶ τῆς σῆς σωτηρίας εὐχαὶ οὐκ ἐμποδίζουσι τὴν τῶν ἐγκαινίων πανήγυριν. Μὴ τοῦτο ψευδέσθωσαν οἱ ἀμαθεῖς· ἀλλὰ παρὰ μὲν τῶν πατέρων μαθέτωσαν, ἀναγνώτωσαν δὲ καὶ τὰς γραφάς· μᾶλλον δὲ παρὰ σοῦ μαθέτωσαν, φιλολόγος γὰρ εἶ, ὅτι καὶ Ἰησοῦς ὁ τοῦ Ἰωσεδεκ ὁ ἱερεὺς, καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ, καὶ Ζοροβάβελ ὁ Σαλαθιήλ ὁ σοφός, καὶ Ἐσδρας ὁ ἱερεὺς καὶ τοῦ νόμου γραμματεὺς, τοῦ ἱεροῦ μετὰ τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν οἰκοδομουμένου, καὶ ἐνστάσης τῆς Σκηνοπηγίας (ἐορτὴ δὲ ἦν αὕτη καὶ πανήγυρις καὶ εὐχὴ μεγάλη ἐν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ), συνήγαγον τὸν λαὸν ὁμοθυμαδὸν εἰς τὸ εὐρύχωρον τοῦ πρώτου πυλῶνος τοῦ πρὸς τῇ ἀνατολῇ, καὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον

Cp. 2 Esdr.
(Ezra) iii. 6
ff. (Neh. viii.)

τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡτοίμασαν, κακεῖ προσήνεγκαν, κακεῖ τὴν ἑορτὴν ἐπετέλεσαν. Καὶ λοιπὸν οὕτως τὰς κατὰ σάββατον καὶ νομηνίαν προσέφερον θυσίας, καὶ οἱ λαοὶ τὰς εὐχὰς αὐτῶν ἀνέφερον. Καὶ φανερώς φησιν ἡ γραφή, ὅτι ταῦτα ἐγίγνετο, καὶ ὁ ναὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ οὐπω ᾤκοδόμητο· ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τούτων οὕτως εὐχομένων ὁ οἶκος προέκοπτεν ὁ οἰκοδομούμενος· καὶ οὔτε διὰ τὴν προσδοκίαν τῶν ἐγκαινίων ἐκωλύθησαν αἱ εὐχαί, οὔτε διὰ τὰς γενομένας συνόδους τῶν εὐχῶν ἐμπεπόδισται τὰ ἐγκαίνια· ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ λαὸς οὕτως ἠύχετο· καὶ ὅτε τετέλεστο πᾶς ὁ οἶκος, ἐποίησαν τὰ ἐγκαίνια, καὶ προσήνεγκαν εἰς τὸν ἐγκαινισμὸν, ^{2 Esdr. vi. 17.} καὶ πάντες ἐώρτασαν ἐπὶ τῇ τελεσιουργίᾳ. Τοῦτο δὲ πάλιν καὶ ὁ μακαρίτης Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πατέρες πεποιήκασιν· συναγαγόντες γὰρ καὶ τελειώσαντες τὸ ἔργον, ἠυχάρστησαν τῷ Κυρίῳ, ἐγκαίνια ἐπιτελέσαντες. Τοῦτο καὶ σὲ ποιεῖν πρέπει, φιλομαθέστατε βασιλεῦ· ἔτοιμος γὰρ ὁ τόπος προαγνισθεὶς ταῖς προγενομέναις εὐχαῖς, ζητῶν παρουσίαν τῆς σῆς εὐσεβείας· τοῦτα γὰρ αὐτῷ λείπει πρὸς τὸν τέλειον κόσμον. Τοῦτο μὲν οὖν πληρώσεις, καὶ τὴν εὐχὴν ἀποδοῖς τῷ Κυρίῳ, ᾧ καὶ τὸν οἶκον πεποίηκας· τοῦτο γὰρ πάντων ἐστὶν εὐχή.

19. Δὸς δὴ, καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἴδωμεν διαβολὴν, καὶ συγχώρησον ἀπολογησασθαι καὶ περὶ αὐτῆς. Τετολμήκασιν γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο διαβάλλειν, ὥς ἀντιστάντος ἐμοῦ τοῖς σοῖς προστάγμασι, ὥστε μὴ ἐξελθεῖν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. Ἐκεῖνους μὲν οὖν θαυμάζω μὴ ἀποκάμνοντας ταῖς συκοφαντίαις· ἐγὼ δὲ ὅμως οὐδὲ οὕτως ἀποκάμνω, χαίρω δὲ μᾶλλον ἀπολογούμενος. Ὅσφ γὰρ ἀπολογίαι πολλαί, τοσούτῳ καὶ πλεον ἐκείνοι δύνανται καταγινώσκεσθαι. Οὐκ ἀντέστην προστάγματι τῆς σῆς εὐσεβείας, μὴ γένοιτο· οὐ γὰρ τηλικούτος ἦμην, ἵνα καὶ λογιστῇ πόλεως ἀντιστῶ, μήτιγε τηλικούτῳ βασιλεῖ· καὶ περὶ τούτου τοσούτων πλείστων παρ' ἐμοῦ λόγων· πᾶσα γὰρ ἡ πόλις μοι ^[Qu. τοσούτων οὐ δεῖ.] μαρτυρεῖ. Συγχώρησον δὲ ὅμως καὶ τοῦτο πάλιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς διηγήσασθαι τὰ πρᾶγμα· καὶ γὰρ ἀκούσας, θαυμάσεις, εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι, τῶν ἐχθρῶν τὴν εὐχέρειαν. Μοντάνος ὁ Παλατινὸς ἦλθε ^[May, 353.] κομίζων ἐπιστολὴν, ὥς ἐμοῦ γράψαντος, ἵνα εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἔλθω, καὶ ἃ νομίζω λείπειν τοῖς ἐκκλησιαστικοῖς, ταῦτα πλη-

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John xiv. 6.

[Lost.]

¹ Kings (1
Sam.) xxii. 9.
³ Kings (1
Kings) xx.
(xxi.)

Psal. c. (ci.)
5.

Exod. xxiii.
1.

Prov. xxx. 8.

ρωθῆναι δυνηθῇ. Τῇ μὲν οὖν σῇ εὐσεβείᾳ χάρις, ὅτι κατη-
ξίωσεν, ὥς ἐμοῦ γράψαντος, ἐπινεύσαι, καὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ πρόνοιαν
πεποιήκειν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ταύτην ἐλθεῖν, καὶ ἀκμητὶ διαυῖσαι με·
τοὺς δὲ ψευσαμένους τὰς σὰς ἀκοὰς τεθαύμακα πάλιν μὴ
φοβηθέντας, ὅτι τὸ ψεῦδος ἰδίον ἐστι τοῦ διαβόλου, καὶ οἱ
ψευδόμενοι ἀλλότριόι εἰσι τοῦ λέγοντος· ‘Ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡ ἀλή-
θεια.’ Οὐ γὰρ ἔγραψα, οὐδὲ τοιαύτην ἐπιστολὴν εὑρεῖν ὁ
κατήγορος δυνησεται· εἰ καὶ ἔδει με γράφειν καθήμεραν,
ἵνα τὴν ἀγαθὴν σου πρόσοψιν θεωρῶ· ἀλλ’ οὔτε τὰς ἐκκλη-
σίας καταλιμπάνειν ὅσιον, οὐδὲ δι’ ὄχλου τῇ σῇ εὐσεβείᾳ
γίνεσθαι δίκαιον ἦν· μάλιστα ὅτι καὶ ἀπόντων ἡμῶν ἐπινεύ-
εις ταῖς ἐκκλησιαστικαῖς ἀξιώσεσιν. Ἄ μὲν οὖν ἐκέλευσε
Μοντάνος, κέλευσον ἀναγνῶναί με· ἔστι γὰρ ταῦτα. . .

20. Πόθεν δὲ ἄρα καὶ ταύτην τὴν ἐπιστολὴν εἶρον οἱ κατει-
ρηκότες ; ἐβουλόμην παρ’ αὐτῶν ἀκοῦσαι, τίς αὐτοῖς καὶ ταύ-
την ἐπιδέδωκε. Ποίησον αὐτοὺς ἀποκρίνασθαι. Δυνήσῃ γὰρ
ἐκ τούτου μαθεῖν, ὅτι καὶ ταύτην ἐπλασαν, ὥσπερ κἀκεῖνην
ἐθρύλησαν περὶ τοῦ δυσωνύμου Μαγνηντίου. Καταγνωσθέν-
τες δὲ καὶ περὶ ταύτης, εἰς ποῖαν ἄρα μετὰ ταῦτα πάλιν ἔλ-
κουσιν ἡμᾶς ἀπολογίαν ; Τοῦτο γὰρ μεμελετήκασι, καὶ ταύτην
ἔχουσιν, ὥς ὁρῶ, σπουδῇν, πάντα κινεῖν καὶ θορυβεῖν. Τάχα
λέγοντες πολλὰ παροξύνουσί ποτε καθ’ ἡμῶν· ἀλλὰ τοὺς
τοιούτους καὶ ἀποστρέφειν καὶ μισεῖν δίκαιόν ἐστιν, ὅτι,
οἱοί εἰσι, τοιούτους καὶ τοὺς ἀκούοντας αὐτῶν ὑπολαμβά-
νουσι, καὶ νομίζουσι δύνασθαι τὰς διαβολὰς ἰσχύειν καὶ
παρὰ σοί. Ἰσχυσε γὰρ ποτε ἡ τοῦ Δωὴκ κατὰ τῶν ἱερέων
τοῦ Θεοῦ· ἀλλ’ ὁ ἀκούσας Σαοὺλ ἦν ὁ ἄδικος. Καὶ Ἰεζά-
βελ δὲ διαβαλοῦσα ἠδυνήθη βλάψαι τὸν θεοσεβεστάτον
Ναβουθαί· ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἀχαάβ ὁ πονηρὸς καὶ ἀποστάτης ὁ
ἀκούων. Ὁ δὲ ἀγιώτατος Δαβίδ, οὐ μιμητὴν εἶναι σε προσ-
ῆκει, καὶ πάντες εὐχονται, τοὺς τοιούτους οὔτε προσίεται,
ἀλλὰ καὶ ὥς λυσσῶντας κύνας ἀπεστρέφετο, λέγων· ‘Τὸν
καταλαοῦντα λάθρα τοῦ πλησίον αὐτοῦ, τοῦτον ἐξεδιώκων.’
Ἐφύλαττε γὰρ τὴν λέγουσαν ἐντολὴν· ‘Οὐ παραδέξῃ ἀκοὴν
ματαίαν.’ Μάταια δὲ καὶ τὰ τούτων ἐστὶ παρὰ σοί· ἤτησας
γὰρ, ὥς ὁ Σολομὼν, καὶ σὺ παρὰ Κυρίου, καὶ εἰληφέναι

πίστευε, τὸ μάταιον λόγον καὶ ψευδῇ μακρὰν ἀπὸ σοῦ Prov. xxx. 8.
γενέσθαι προσήκειν.

21. Διὰ τοῦτο τοῖνυν καὶ γὰρ, ἐπειδὴ ἐκ διαβολῆς ἦν ἐπιστολή, καὶ οὐκ εἶχεν οὐδὲ τοῦ ἐλθεῖν πρόσταξιν, ἔγνωσαν ὅτι προαίρεσις οὐκ ἦν τῆς σῆς εὐσεβείας ἐλθεῖν ἡμᾶς παρὰ σέ. Τὸ γὰρ μὴ κελεῦσαι πάντως ἐλθεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ γράψαι ὡς ἐμοῦ γράψαντος, καὶ θέλοντος διορθώσασθαι τὰ δοκοῦντα λείπειν, καίτοι μηδενὸς λέγοντος, φανερόν ἦν παρὰ γνώμην εἶναι τῆς σῆς ἡμερότητος τὴν κομισθεῖσαν ἐπιστολήν. Τοῦτο πάντες ἔγνωσαν· τοῦτο καὶ γράφων ἐδήλωσα· καὶ οἶδε δὲ Μουτάνος, ὅτι οὐ τὸ ἐλθεῖν παρητούμην, ἀλλὰ τὸ ὡς ἐμοῦ γράψαντος ἐλθεῖν ἀπρεπὲς ἡγούμην, ἵνα μὴ καὶ ἐν τούτῳ πρόφασιν εὗρωσιν οἱ συκοφάνται πάλιν, ὡς ὀχληροῦ γενομένου μου τῇ σῇ θεοσεβείᾳ. Ἀμέλει παρεσκευασάμην, καὶ τοῦτο οἶδεν αὐτὸς, ἵνα, ἔαν γράψαι καταξιώσης, εὐθὺς ἐξέλθω, καὶ φθάσω τῇ προθυμίᾳ τὸ προσταχθέν. Οὐ γὰρ ἐμαινόμεν ἀντειπεῖν τοιούτῳ σου προστάγματι. Μὴ γραψάσης τοῖνυν ὄντως τῆς σῆς εὐσεβείας, πῶς ἀντέστην μὴ κελευσθεῖς; ἢ πῶς λέγουσιν, οὐκ ἐπέισθην, καίτοι προστάξεως μὴ οὔσης; πῶς οὐ συκοφαντία καὶ τοῦτο τῶν ἐχθρῶν πλαττούντων τὸ μὴ γενόμενον ὡς γενόμενον; Φοβούμαι μὴ καὶ νῦν, ἀπολογουμένου μου, θρυλήσωσιν ὡς μὴ ἀξιώσαντος ἀπολογησάσθαι· οὕτως ἐγὼ μὲν εὐχερὴς εἰμι παρ' αὐτοῖς εἰς τὸ κατηγορεῖσθαι παρ' αὐτῶν· αὐτοὶ δὲ ταχεῖς εἰς τὸ συκοφαντεῖν καὶ καταφρονεῖν τῆς γραφῆς λεγούσης· 'Μὴ ἀγάπα καταλαλεῖν, ἵνα μὴ ἐξαρθῇς.' Prov. xx. 13. Lxx.

22. Μουτάνον τοῖνυν ἀποδημήσαντος, ἦλθε Διογένης ὁ νοτάριος μετὰ ἑξ καὶ εἴκοσι μῆνας· καὶ οὔτε αὐτὸς ἐπιστολὴν ἀπεδίδου, οὔτε ἐωράκαμεν ἀλλήλους, οὔτε ὡς προστάξεως οὔσης ἐνετεῖλατό μοι· ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅτε Συριανὸς ὁ στρατηλάτης εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, ἐπειδὴ παρὰ τῶν Ἀρειανῶν ἐθρυλεῖτό τινα, καὶ ἅπερ ἐβούλουντο, ἐπηγγέλλοντο γίνεσθαι, ἡρώτων εἰ γράμματα ἔχει περὶ ὧν θρυλοῦσι· γράμματα γὰρ ἀπῆτουν, ὁμολογῶ, τῆς προστάξεως. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ μὴ ἔχειν ἔλεγεν, ἠξίουσαν καὶ αὐτὸν Συριανόν, ἢ τὸν ἐπαρχον τῆς Αἰγύπτου Μάξιμον γράψαι μοι περὶ τούτου. Τοῦτο δὲ οὕτως ἀπῆτουν, ἐπειδὴ γράψασά μοι ἦν ἡ σὴ φιλάνθρωπία, ὥστε παρὰ

[July 355.]

Cp. Hist.

Ari. 52.

[Jan. 5, 356.]

APOL. AD.
CONST.

μηδενός με ταραττεσθαι, μηδὲ ἀνέχεσθαι τῶν θελούντων ἡμᾶς πτοεῖν, ἀλλὰ μένειν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἀμερίμνως. Οἱ μὲν οὖν κομίσαντες τὴν τοιαύτην ἐπιστολήν εἰσι Παλλάδιος, ὁ γενόμενος τοῦ παλατίου μάχιστρος, καὶ Ἀστέριος ὁ γενόμενος δοῦς Ἀρμενίας. Τὸ δὲ ἀντίγραφον τῆς ἐπιστολῆς συγχώρησον ἀναγνῶναι με· ἔστι γὰρ τοῦτο·

[Spring of
350.]

23. Ἀντίγραφον ἐπιστολῆς οὕτως ἔχον

Hist. Ari. 24,
51.

Κωνστάντιος νικητῆς Αὐγουστος Ἀθανασίῳ.

(Letter of
Constantius
to Athana-
sius.)

Εὐχέσθαι με αἰεὶ ὥστε πάντα αἷσια ἀποβαίνειν τῷ ποτε ἀδελφῷ ἐμῷ Κωνσταντί, οὐδὲ τὴν σὴν ὑπερέβη σύνεσιν. Ὅντινα ἐπειδὴ ἐξ ἀπάτης ἀτοπωτάτων ἀνηρῆσθαι ἔγνω, πόση εἰμὶ περιβληθεὶς στυγνότητι, εὐχερῶς ἡ ὑμετέρα φρόνησις δυνήσεται κρίνειν. Καὶ ἐπειδὴ τινές εἰσιν, οἵτινες ἐν τῷ παρόντι καιρῷ τῷ οὕτω δακρυτικῷ δράματι καταπτοεῖν σε πειράζουσι, διὰ τοῦτο τὰ παρόντα ταῦτα γράμματα πρὸς τὴν σὴν τιμιότητα στείλαι ἔκρινα· προτρέπων σε ἵνα, ὥσπερ πρέπει ἐπισκόπῳ, εἰς τὴν κεχρεωστημένην θρησκείαν συντρέχειν διδασκίας τὸν δῆμον, καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὸ ἔθος ταῖς εὐχαῖς σχολάσεις· ἡμῖν γὰρ τοῦτο ἀρέσκει τὸ, σὲ κατὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν βούλησιν, ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ ἐν τῷ σῷ τόπῳ ἐπίσκοπον εἶναι βουλόμεθα. Καὶ ἄλλῃ χειρὶ· Ἡ θεότης φυλάξεί σε πολλοῖς ἐνιαυτοῖς, πάτερ προσφιλέστατε.

Cp. Hist.
Ari. 24.

[Qu. 24.]

24. Περὶ ταύτης, ἐκεῖνοι μὲν καὶ τοῖς δικασταῖς εἰρήκασιν· ἐγὼ δὲ ταύτην τὴν ἐπιστολήν ἔχων, ἂρ' οὐκ εἰκότως ἀπήτουν γράμματα, καὶ οὐ προσεῖχον προφάσεις ἀπλῶς; ἐκεῖνοι δὲ μὴ δεικνύοντες πρόσταγμα τῆς σῆς εὐσεβείας, οὐκ ἀντικρυς ἐναντία ταύτης τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ἔπραττον; Ἐγὼ δὲ, ὅτι γράμματα οὐ παρέιχον, οὐκ ἀκολουθῶς ἡγοῦμένην ἐκτὸς αὐτῶν εἶναι τὰς φάσεις· τοῖς τοιούτοις γὰρ μὴ προσέχειν με προσέταττεν ἡ ἐπιστολὴ τῆς σῆς φιλανθρωπίας. Δικαίως οὖν τοῦτο ἐποίουν, θεοφιλέστατε Αὐγουστε, ἵνα, ὥσπερ ἔχων ἐπιστολὰς εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὴν πατρίδα, οὕτως ἔχων πρόσταξιν ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἐξέλθω· καὶ μὴ ὥς φυγὼν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ὑπεύθυνός ποτε γένωμαι, ἀλλ' ὥς κελευσθεὶς ἔχω πρόφασιν τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως. Ταῦτο· καὶ οἱ λαοὶ πάντες μετὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, καὶ πλείστον

δὲ τῆς πόλεως μέρος μετ' αὐτῶν, ἵνα μὴ λέγω πλέον, ἀπελθόν-
τες πρὸς Συριανὸν, ἡξίουν· ἐκεῖ δὲ ἦν καὶ ὁ ἑπαρχος τῆς Αἰ-
γύπτου Μάξιμος. Ἡ δὲ ἀξίωσις ἦν ἡ γράψαι καὶ ἀποστεῖλαι
μοι, ἡ μηκέτι διοχλεῖν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις, ἕως ἂν αὐτοὶ οἱ λαοὶ
περὶ τούτων πρεσβεύωνται παρὰ σοί. Ἐπὶ πολὺ τοῖνυν αὐτῶν
ἀξιούντων, συνιδὼν Συριανὸς τὸ εὐλογον, διεβεβαιώσατο μαρ-
τυρόμενος τὴν σὴν σωτηρίαν, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ παρῆν τότε καὶ
Ἰλάριος, μηκέτι μὲν διοχλεῖν, ἀναφέρειν δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν σὴν θεοσε-
βειαν. Τοῦτο οἶδεν ἡ τάξις τοῦ δουκὸς, καὶ ἡ τάξις τοῦ ἐπάρ-
χου τῆς Αἰγύπτου. Καὶ ὁ πρύτανις δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἔχει τὰς
φωνὰς, καὶ δύνασαι μαθεῖν ὅτι οὔτε ἐγὼ οὔτε τις ἕτερος ἀντι-
λέγων ἦν τῇ σῇ προστάξει.

25. Πάντες δὲ ἡξίουν γράμματα δειχθῆναι τῆς σῆς εὐσεβείας.
Καὶ φάσις μὲν γὰρ μόνῃ παρὰ βασιλέως τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχει δύνα-
μιν τοῖς γραφομένοις, ὅταν μάλιστα ταύτην ὁ κομίζων θαρρῆῃ
καὶ γραφῇ· προσταχθέν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὔτε φανερώς ἔλεγον εἶναι
πρόσταγμα, οὔτε, ὅπερ ἡξίουν, ἐγγράφως ἐπέστελλον, ἀλλ' ὡς
ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν πάντα πράττοντες ἦσαν· ὁμολογῶ, καὶ τοῦτο λέγω
μετὰ παρρησίας, ὑποπτος ἐγενόμην εἰς αὐτούς. Πολλοὶ γὰρ
ἦσαν οἱ περὶ αὐτοὺς Ἀρειανοὶ, τούτοις τε συνήσθιον, καὶ μετὰ
τούτων ἐβουλεύοντο· καὶ οὐδὲν μὲν μετὰ παρρησίας ἐπραττον,
ἐνέδρας δὲ καὶ δόλους ἐπιχειρεῖν ἐμελέτων κατ' ἐμοῦ. Καὶ οὐ-
δὲν μὲν ὡς βασιλέως προστάξας ἐποιοῦν, ὡς δὲ παρ' ἐχθρῶν
ἀξιούμενοι, ἠλεγχον ἑαυτούς. Τοῦτο γάρ με καὶ μᾶλλον
ἀπαιτεῖν γράμματα παρ' αὐτῶν ἠνάγκαζεν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ὑποπτα
ἦν ἅπερ ἐπεχείρουν καὶ ἐσκέπτοντο· καὶ ὅτι ἀπρεπὲς ἦν, μετὰ
τοσούτων γραμμάτων εἰσελθόντα με, χωρὶς γραμμάτων ἀναχω-
ρῆσαι τῆς ἐκκλησίας. Συριανοῦ τοῖνυν ἐπάγγελαιμένου, συνή-
γοντο πάντες ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις μετὰ χαρᾶς καὶ ἀμεριμνίας.
Ἀλλὰ μετὰ κ' καὶ γ' ἡμέρας τῆς ἐπαγγελίας ἐπέρχεται μετὰ
στρατιωτῶν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, καὶ ἡμεῖς μὲν ἠνυχόμεθα συνήθως·
οὕτω γὰρ ἐωράκασιν οἱ εἰσελθόντες, ἐπειδὴ παννυχὶς ἦν ἐσο-
μένης συνάξεως. Τοιαῦτα δὲ γέγονε τῇ νυκτὶ ἐκεῖνῃ, οἷα
ἠθέλον καὶ ἐπηγγέλλοντο, πρὶν γενέσθαι, οἱ Ἀρειανοὶ αὐτοὺς
γὰρ ἔχων μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ ἦλθεν ὁ στρατηλάτης· καὶ αὐτοὶ ἦσαν
οἱ ἑταῖροι καὶ σύμβουλοι τῆς τοιαύτης ἐφόδου. Καὶ τοῦτο

[Night of
Feb. 7, 356.]
Cp. Apol. de
Fuga, 24.

APOL. AD
CONST.

οὐκ ἄπιστον, θεοφιλέστατε Αὔγουστε· οὐ γὰρ ἔλαβον, ἀλλὰ πανταχοῦ κεκήρυκται. Ἐγὼ τοίνυν θεωρῶν τὴν ἐφοδον, παρακαλέσας πρότερον ἀναχωρῆσαι τοὺς λαοὺς, τότε καὶ γὰρ αὐτοὺς, τοῦ Θεοῦ καλύπτοντος καὶ ὀδηγοῦντος (καὶ τοῦτο γὰρ οἱ τότε μοι συνόντες ἐωράκασιν), ἀνεχώρησα· καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνου κατ' ἐμαντὸν ἔμεινα, ἔχων παρῥησίαν καὶ ἀπολογίαν προσηγυμένως μὲν πρὸς τὸν Θεόν, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὴν σὴν εὐσέβειαν, ὅτι οὐκ ἔφυγον καταλείψας τοὺς λαοὺς, ἀλλὰ μάρτυρα τῆς διώξεως ἔχω τὴν ἐφοδον τοῦ στρατηλάτου· ὃ μάλιστα καὶ πάντες ἐθαύμασαν. Ἔδει γὰρ ἢ μὴ ἐπαγγεῖλασθαι, ἢ, ἐπαγγεῖλάμενον, μὴ ψεύσασθαι.

26. Τί τοίνυν οὕτως ἐβουλεύοντο, ἢ διὰ τί μετὰ δόλου ἐνεδρεύειν ἐπεχείρουν, ἐξόν καὶ κελεῦσαι καὶ γράψαι; Βασιλέως γὰρ πρόσταξις μεγάλην ἔχει παρῥησίαν. Ἀλλὰ τὸ βούλεσθαι λαθεῖν λευκοτέραν ἐποίει τὴν ὑποψίαν τοῦ μὴ ἔχειν αὐτοὺς πρόσταγμα. Τί δὲ ἄτοπον ἀπήτουν, βασιλεῦ φιλάληθες; Πῶς οὐκ εὐλόγον ἐπισκόπῳ τὴν τοιαύτην ἀξίωσιν ἂν τις εἴποι; Οἶδας, ἀναγνούς τὰς γραφὰς, ἡλίκον ἐστὶ δὴ ἔγκλημα καταλιμπάνειν ἐπίσκοπον τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ ἀμελεῖν τῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ ποιμνίων. Ποιμένων γὰρ ἀπουσία πρόφασιν ἐφόδου τοῖς λύκοις παρέχει κατὰ τῆς ἀγέλης. Τοῦτο δὲ ἐζήτουν οἱ Ἀρειανοὶ, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες αἰρετικοὶ, ἵνα τῇ ἡμῶν ἀπουσίᾳ χώραν εὗρωσιν ἀπατᾶν τοὺς λαοὺς εἰς ἀσέβειαν. Εἰ τοίνυν ἡμῶν φυγὼν, ποῖαν ἀπολογίαν εἶχον παρὰ τοῖς ἀληθινοῖς ἐπισκόποις, μᾶλλον δὲ παρὰ τῷ πεπιστευκότῳ τὴν ἀγέλῃ; Ἔστι δὲ οὗτος ὁ κρίνων πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν, ὁ ἀληθινὸς παρβασιλεὺς καὶ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς, ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ. Πῶς οὐκ ἂν τις εὐλόγως τὴν ἀμέλειαν τῶν λαῶν εἰς ἐμὲ μετήνεγκε; πῶς δὲ οὐκ ἂν ἐπέμψατο καὶ ἡ σὴ εὐσέβεια δικαίως λέγουσα· Ὀ Διὰ τί, μετὰ γραμμάτων εἰσελθὼν, χωρὶς γραμμάτων ἀναχωρεῖς, καὶ κατέλειψας τοὺς λαοὺς; Πῶς δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ λαὸς εἰκότως ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κρίσεως τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀμέλειαν ἔρριψαν εἰς ἐμὲ, λέγοντες· Ὁ ἐπισκεπτόμενος ἡμᾶς ἔφυγε, καὶ ἡμελήθημεν, οὐκ ὄντος τοῦ ὑπομιμησκούτος; Εἰ ταῦτα ἔλεγον, τί ἂν ἀπεκρινάμην; Τοιαύτην γὰρ μέμφιν ἔσχον διὰ τοῦ Ἰεζεκιὴλ καὶ οἱ ποιμένες τῶν παλαιῶν. Τοῦτο γινώσκων καὶ ὁ μακάριος ἀπόστολος Παῦλος

Cp. John x.
12.

Ezek. xxxiv.
5.

ἐκάστῳ ἡμῶν διὰ τοῦ μαθητοῦ παρήγγειλε, λέγων· ‘Μὴ ἀμέλει 1 Tim. iv. 14. τοῦ ἐν σοὶ χαρίσματος, δ. ἐδόθη σοι μετὰ ἐπιθέσεως τῶν χειρῶν τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου.’ Τοῦτο καὶ γὰρ φοβούμενος οὐκ ἤθελον φυγεῖν, ἀλλὰ πρόσταξιν ἔχειν, εἴπερ ἦν βούλημα τῆς σῆς εὐσεβείας. ‘Αλλ’ οὔτε ἔλαβον ὑπερ· εὐλόγως ἀπήτουν, ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν μάτην κατηγορήθην παρὰ σοί· οὔτε γὰρ ἀντέστην προστάγματι τῆς σῆς εὐσεβείας, οὔτε νῦν εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν εἰσελθεῖν πειράσω, ἕως ἢ σὴ φιλανθρωπία τοῦτο βούληται. Καὶ τοῦτο δὲ προλαβὼν εἴρηκα, ἵνα μηδὲ περὶ τοῦτο πάλιν οἱ συκοφάνται πρόφασιν εὔρωσι κατεπιεῖν ἡμῶν.

27. Ταῦτα συνορῶν, οὐ κατεγίνωσκον ἔμαντοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταύτην ἔχων τὴν ἀπολογία, ἡπειρόμην πρὸς τὴν σὴν εὐσέβειαν, εἰδὼς τὴν σὴν φιλανθρωπίαν, διὰ μνήμης τε ἔχων τὰς σὰς ἀψευδεῖς ὑποσχέσεις, καὶ θαρρῶν, ὅτι, κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον ἐν ταῖς θείαις Παροιμίαις· ‘Παρὰ φιλανθρώπῳ βασιλεῖ Prov. xvi. 13. δεκτοὶ εἰσιν οἱ δίκαιοι λογισμοί.’ Ἦδη δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ μου ἐπιβάντος, καὶ τὴν ἔρημον ἐξελθόντος, ἀκοή τις γέγονεν ἐξαίφνης· ἦτις ἄπιστος μὲν εἶναι κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐδόκει, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἀληθὴς ἐδείχθη. Ἐθρυλεῖτο γὰρ πανταχοῦ, ὅτι Λιβέριος ὁ Cp. Apol. de Fuga, 4. Hist. Ari. 33. τῆς Ῥώμης ἐπίσκοπος, καὶ ὁ τῶν Σπανιῶν Ὅσιος ὁ μέγας, Παρλίνος τε ὁ τῶν Γαλλιῶν, καὶ Διονύσιος καὶ Εὐσέβιος οἱ τῆς Ἰταλίας, Λουκίφερός τε ἀπὸ Σαρδινίας, καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς ἐπίσκοποι, καὶ πρεσβύτεροι, καὶ διάκονοι ἐξωρίσθησαν, ὅτι μὴ ἠνέσχοντο καθ’ ἡμῶν ὑπογράψαι. Καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ἐξωρίσθησαν, Οὐϊκέντιος δὲ ὁ τῆς Καπύης, καὶ Φουρτουνατιανὸς ὁ τῆς c. 3. Ἀκυλίας, Ἡρέμιος τε ὁ τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης, καὶ πάντες οἱ κατὰ τὴν δύσιν ἐπίσκοποι, βίαν οὐ τὴν τυχούσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πλείστην ἀνάγκην καὶ δεινὰς ὕβρεις πεπόνθασι, ἕως ἐπαγγελῶνται μὴ κοινωνεῖν ἡμῖν. Εἰτα, θαυμαζόντων ἡμῶν καὶ διαπορούντων ἐπὶ τούτοις, ἰδοὺ πάλιν ἑτέρα τις κατέλαβεν ἀκοή περὶ τῶν κατ’ Αἴγυπτον καὶ τὰς Λιβύας· ὅτι οἱ μὲν ἐπί- Apol. de Fu- gā, 7. Hist. Ari. 72. κοποι ἐγγὺς ἐνενήκοντα ἐδιώχθησαν, αἱ δὲ ἐκκλησίαι τοῖς ὁμολογοῦσι τὰ Ἀρείου παρεδόθησαν· καὶ ἐξωρίσθησαν μὲν δέκα καὶ ἕξ, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων οἱ μὲν ἐφυγαδεύθησαν, οἱ δὲ ἠναγκάσθησαν ὑποκρίνασθαι. Τοσοῦτος γὰρ ἐλέγετο διωγμὸς Apol. de Fu- gā, 7. ἐκεῖ, ὥς, ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ εὐχομένων τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐν τῷ

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Πάσχα· καὶ ταῖς Κυριακαῖς ἐν ἐρήμῳ τόπῳ πλησίον τοῦ κοιμητηρίου, τὸν στρατηλάτην μετὰ πλήθους στρατιωτῶν πλείον τρισχιλίων, ὅπλα καὶ ξίφη γυμνὰ καὶ βέλη φερόντων, ἐπελθεῖν κατὰ τῶν Χριστιανῶν, καὶ λοιπὸν τοιαῦτα γενέσθαι, οἷα ἂν γένοιτο ἐκ τοιαύτης ἐπιδρομῆς, κατὰ γυναικῶν καὶ παιδῶν, οὐδὲν πλέον ποιοῦντων ἢ εὐχομένων τῷ Θεῷ. Διηγέσθαι δὲ αὐτὰ ὡς ἴσως ἀπρεπὲς, μὴ ἄρα καὶ μόνου τούτων ἢ μνήμη δάκρυα πᾶσι κινήσῃ. Καὶ γὰρ τοσαύτη ἦν ἡ ὁμότης, ὥς παρθένους μὲν γυμνοῦσθαι, τῶν δὲ ἀποθανόντων ἐκ τῶν πληγῶν μηδὲ τὰ σώματα παραυτὰ δοθῆναι εἰς ταφήν, ἀλλ' ἐξω ῥιπτεῖσθαι τοῖς κυσίν, ἕως μετὰ πολλῆς ζημίας κεκρυμμένως κλέψωσιν οἱ οἰκεῖοι τὰ τῶν ἰδίων σώματα, καὶ πολὺς κάματος γένηται τοῦ μηδένα γινῶναι περὶ τούτων.

28. Τὰ δὲ ἄλλα τὰ γενόμενα ἴσως μὲν ἄπιστα νομισθήσεται, καὶ πάντας ἐκπλήξῃ διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τοῦ μύθους. Ἀναγκαῖον δὲ ὁμῶς εἰπεῖν, ἵνα ἡ σὴ φιλόχριστος σπουδὴ καὶ θεοσέβεια μάθῃ, ὥς αἱ καθ' ἡμῶν διαβολαὶ καὶ συκοφανταί δι' οὐδὲν ἕτερον γεγόνασιν ἢ ἵνα ἡμᾶς μὲν ἐκβάλωσι τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, τὴν δὲ ἰδίαν ἀσεβείαν ἀντισταθύνωσιν. Τῶν γὰρ ἀληθινῶν καὶ πολυετῶν ἐπισκόπων τῶν μὲν ἐξορισθέντων, τῶν δὲ φυγαδευθέντων, ἐθνικοὶ λοιπὸν, κατηχούμενοι, καὶ οἱ τὰ πρῶτα τῆς βουλῆς ἔχοντες, καὶ οἱ ἐν πλούτῳ διαβόητοι ἀντὶ Χριστιανῶν εὐσεβῇ πίστιν παραγγέλλονται παρὰ τῶν Ἀρειανῶν ὁμιλήσωσι. Καὶ οὐκέτι μὲν, ὥς παρήγγειλεν ὁ Ἀπόστολος, εἴ τίς ἐστιν 'ἀνεπίληπτος,' ἐζητεῖτο· ὥς δὲ ὁ ἀσεβέστατος Ἱεροβοὰμ πεποίηκεν, ὁ πλείον διδοὺς χρυσίον ὠνομάσθη ἐπίσκοπος. Καὶ οὐ διέφερεν αὐτοῖς, εἰ καὶ ἐθνικὸς ἐτύγχανε, μόνου εἰ χρυσίου παρῆιχε. Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐπισκοποὶ, μονάζοντες καὶ ἀσκηταί, ἐξωρίσθησαν· οἱ δὲ σοφοὶ περὶ τὰς διαβολὰς διέφθειραν, τὸ ὅσον ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, τὴν ἀποστολικὴν διάταξιν, καὶ τὰς ἐκκλησίας ἐμίλαναν. Μεγάλα γε ἐκέρδησαν αὐτῶν αἱ συκοφανταί, ἵνα ἐξῇ αὐτοῖς παρανομεῖν, καὶ τοιαῦτα πράττειν ἐν τοῖς σοῖς καιροῖς· ὥστε κατ' αὐτῶν εἶναι τὸ γεγραμμένον· 'Οὐαὶ δι' οὗ τοῦ ὀνόματός μου βλασφημεῖται ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν.'

Apol. c. Ari.
85. Ep. AE
19.

Hist. Ari. 73.

1 Tim. iii. 2.

3 Kings (1
Kings) xiii.
33.

Rom. ii. 24.

29. Τοιούτων οὖν ὄντων τῶν θρυλουμένων, καὶ τῶν πραγ-

μάτων ἄνω καὶ κάτω πάντων ἀνατετραμμένων, ὅμως οὐκ ἀπέστην ἐγὼ τῆς προθυμίας, ἀλλὰ πάλιν εἰχόμεν τῆς ὁδοῦ πρὸς τὴν σὴν εὐσέβειαν· καὶ τοῦτο μᾶλλον σπουδαιότερον ἐπραττον, θαρρόων, ὅτι παρὰ γνώμην μὲν τῆς σῆς εὐσεβείας ἐπράττετο ταῦτα· εἰ μάθοι δὲ ἡ σὴ φιλανθρωπία τὰ γενόμενα, κωλύσει τοῦ λοιποῦ γενέσθαι· μὴ γὰρ εἶναι θεοσεβοῦς βασιλέως θέλειν ἐξορίζεσθαι ἐπισκόπους, καὶ γυμνοῦσθαι παρθένους, ἢ ὅλως τὰς ἐκκλησίας ταραττέσθαι. Ἄλλὰ τοιαῦτα λογιζομένους ἡμᾶς καὶ σπεύδοντας ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς, ἰδοὺ πάλιν τρίτη τις κατέλαβεν ἀκοή, ὅτι γέγραπται τοῖς ἐν Αὐξοῦμαι τυράννοις, ὥστε Φρουμέντιον τὸν ἐπίσκοπον τῆς Αὐξοῦμεως ἐκείθεν Cp. Soc. i. 19. ἀχθῆναι, καὶ ἐμὲ μὲν μέχρι τῆς βαρβάρων ζητεῖσθαι, καὶ εἰς τὰ λεγόμενα κομεντάρια τῶν ἐπάρχων παραπέμπεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ λαοὺς καὶ τοὺς κληρικοὺς πάντας ἀναγκάζεσθαι κοινωνεῖν τῇ Ἀρειανῇ αἰρέσει· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ὑπακούσωσιν, ἀποθνήσκειν τοὺς τοιούτους. Καὶ ὅτι οὐ λόγῳ μόνον ἐθρυλεῖτο ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ δὲ αὐτοῖς ἔργοις ἐδείκνυτο· ἐπειδὴ συνεχώρησεν ἡ σὴ φιλανθρωπία, ἰδοὺ καὶ ἡ ἐπιστολή· ταύτην γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι συνεχῶς ἀνεγίνωσκον, ἀπειλοῦντες ἐκάστῳ θάνατον.

30. Ἀντίγραφον ἐπιστολῆς·

Νικητῆς Κωνσταντίου μέγιστος Σεβαστὸς Ἀλεξανδρεῦσιν.

Ἡ μὲν πόλις τὸ πάτριον σχῆμα φυλάττουσα, καὶ τῆς τῶν οἰκιστῶν ἀρετῆς μεμνημένη, πειθνύαν ἑαυτὴν συνήθως καὶ νῦν παρέσχηκεν· ἡμεῖς δὲ, εἰ μὴ καὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἀποκρύνψαιμεν εὐνοίᾳ τῇ περὶ τὴν πόλιν τὴν ὑμετέραν, οὐ τὰ τυχόντα πλημμελεῖν συνεισόμεθα. Ὡς μὲν γὰρ σωφροσύνης ἴδιου, κοσμίαν ἑαυτῷ διὰ πάντων ἄγειν· βασιλείας δὲ, τῆς ἀρετῆς (δότε δὲ εἰπεῖν) τῆς ὑμετέρας πρὸ ἀπάντων ἀσπάζεσθαι· πρῶτους μὲν σοφίας ἐξηγητὰς καταστάντας, πρῶτους δὲ Θεὸν τὸν ὄντα συνιέντας, οἱ καὶ τῶν ἐξηγητῶν τοὺς ἄκρους εἰλεσθε, καὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν ψῆφον ἐκόντες ἐστέρξατε, τὸν μὲν ἀπατεῶνα καὶ φένακα δικαίως ἀποστραφέντες, τοῖς δὲ σεμνοῖς καὶ παντὸς ἐπέκεινα θαύματος δεόντως προσθέμενοι. Καίτοι τίς ἀγνοεῖ καὶ τῶν τὰς ἐσχατίας οἰκούντων τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς πραχθεῖσι φιλοτιμίαν; οἷς οὐκ ἴσμεν καὶ τί δεῖ παραβάλλεσθαι ὧν συμ-

(Letter of Constantius to Alexandrians.)

APOL. AD.
CONST.

(Letter of
Constantius
to Alexan-
drians.)

βέβηκεν. Ἐτύφλωττον μὲν γὰρ οἱ πλείστοι τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν· ἐπεκράτει δὲ ἀνὴρ βαράθρων ἀπὸ ἐσχάτων ὁρμώμενος, ὥσπερ ἐν σκότῳ τοὺς τῆς ἀληθείας ἐφιεμένους πρὸς τὸ ψεῦδος ἀπατῶν, λόγον μὲν ἔγκαρπον οὐδέποτε παρασχόμενος, τερθρείας δὲ, καὶ τηνάλλως τὰς ψυχὰς λυμαινόμενος· οἱ μὲν κόλακες ἐβόων καὶ ἐκρότουν· ἐξεπλήττοντο, οὓς ἔτι γρύζειν εἰκὸς ὑπὸ ὀδόντα· οἱ δὲ πλείστοι τῶν ἀφελεστέρων πρὸς τὸ τούτων ἕζων σύνθημα· τὰ δὲ πράγματα κατὰ ῥοὴν ἐφέρετο ὥσπερ ἐν κατακλυσμῷ, πάντων ἄρδην ὀλιγωρουμένων. Ἠγείτο δὲ ἀνὴρ τοῦ πλήθους (πῶς ἂν ἀληθέστερον αὐτὸ εἴποιμι;) οὐδὲν τῶν βαναύσων διαφέρων, τοῦτο μόνον τῇ πόλει συναράμενος, τὸ μὴ κατὰ βαράθρων ὦσαι τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ. Ἄλλ' ὁ γενναῖος καὶ λαμπρὸς οὐδὲ κρίσιν ἔμεινε κατ' αὐτοῦ, φυγὴν ἐν δίκῃ καταγνούς· ὥς ἔστι γε καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν βαρβάρων ὑφελέσθαι, μὴ τινὰς αὐτῶν δυσσεβείῳ ἀναπέσει, καθάπερ ἐν δράματι πρὸς τοὺς πρώτους ἐντυγχάνοντας ὀλοφυρόμενος. Τούτῳ μὲν οὖν μακρὰν χαίρειν εἰρήσεται· ὑμᾶς δέ με χρὴ μετ' ὀλίγων τάττειν, μᾶλλον δὲ μόνους πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων σεμνύνειν, οἷς τοσοῦτον ἀρετῆς καὶ νοῦ περλέστιν, ὅσων αἱ πράξεις κηρύττουσι, μικροῦ πᾶσαν τὴν οὖσαν ὑμνούμεναι. Εἴγε τῆς σωφροσύνης· εἰ γὰρ ἀγγέλων ἀκροασαίμην τοσοῦτων καὶ δεύτερον διεξιόντων τὰ ὑμέτερα καὶ σεμνυγόντων, ὧ καὶ τοὺς πρότερον ἀποκρύψαντες φιλοτιμία, καὶ τοῖς νῦν τε καὶ ὕστερον παράδειγμα καλὸν ἐσόμενοι· μόνοι τε καὶ τοῖς ἔθεσι λόγων καὶ ἔργων ἡγεμόνα τὸν τελειότατον τῶν ὄντων ἐλόμενοι, καὶ οὐδὲ πρὸς βραχὺ διστάσαντες, ἀλλ' ἀνδρείως μεταθέμενοι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις προσθέμενοι, ἀπὸ τῶν χαμαὶ τούτων καὶ περιγείων πρὸς τὰ κατουράνια ἐπειχθέντες, ξεναγούντος ἐπ' αὐτὰ τοῦ σεμνοτάτου Γεωργίου, ἀνδρὸς τοιαῦτα παντὸς μᾶλλον ἡκριβωκότος· δι' οὗ καὶ κατὰ τὸν ὕστερον βίον μετὰ καλῆς ἐλπίδος διάζετε, καὶ τὸν ἐν τῷ παρόντι μετὰ ῥαστώνης βιώσεσθε. Εἴη δὲ κοινῇ πάντας τοὺς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, ὥσπερ ἱερὰς ἀγκύρας, τῆς τούτου φωνῆς ἐξηρητῆσθαι, ἵνα μὴ τομῶν ἢ καύσεων δεηθῶμεν κατὰ τῶν τὰς ψυχὰς λελωβημένων· οἷς ὅτι μάλιστα παραινούμεν ἀφίστασθαι τῆς Ἀθυνασίου σπουδῆς, καὶ μηδὲ μεμνήσθαι τῆς περιττῆς ἐκείνης ἀδολεσχίας, ἣ λήσουσι τοῖς ἐσχάτοις ἔνοχοι

Cr. Ep. Æg.
7.

ὄντες κινδύνους, ὧν οὐκ ἴσμεν εἴ τις τῶν πάντων δεινῶν ἐξαιρήσεται τοὺς στασιάζοντας. Καὶ γὰρ ἄτοπον τὸν μὲν ὄλεθρον Ἀθανάσιον γῆν πρὸ γῆς ἀπεληλᾶσθαι, καὶ τοῖς αἰσχίστοις ἀλόντα, ὥς ποτε ἂν ἐκεῖνος τὴν ἀξίαν ἐκτίσειε, καὶ εἰ δέκατόν τις τοῦ ζῆν προσαφέληται· τοὺς δὲ ἐκεῖνου κόλακας καὶ θεραπευτὰς ἀγύρτας τινας, καὶ τοιοῦτους ἀνθρώπους, οἷους ὀνομάζειν αἰσχύνῃ, περιορᾶν σφαδάζοντας, οὓς πάλαι τεθνάναι διηγόρευται τοῖς δικασταῖς. Καὶ ἴσως οὐδέπω τεθνήξονται, ἢν μὴ, τῶν φθασάντων ἀποστάντες πλημμελημάτων, ὅψέ ποτε μεταθῶνται· ὧν ὁ μοχθηρότατος Ἀθανάσιος ἡγείτο, καὶ τῇ κοινῇ πολιτείᾳ λυμαινόμενος, καὶ τοῖς ἀγιωτάτοις δυσσεβεῖς καὶ ἐναγεῖς προσάγων τὰς χεῖρας.

31. Ἄ δὲ καὶ Φρουμεντίου χάριν τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τῆς Αὐξούμωως γέγραπται τοῖς ἐκεῖ τυράννοις, ἔστι ταῦτα·

Νικητῆς Κωνσταντίου μέγιστος Σεβαστὸς Ἀἰζανῶ καὶ Σαζανῶ.

Πάνυ διὰ φροντίδος καὶ διὰ σπουδῆς τῆς μεγίστης ἡμῖν ἔστιν ἢ τοῦ κρείττονος γνώσις. Δεῖ γὰρ, οἶμαι, τὸ κοινὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος τῆς Ἰσῆς ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις ἀξιοῦσθαι κηδεμονίας, ὥς ἂν μέχρι τῆς ἐλπίδος τὸν βίον διάγοιεν, τὰ τοιαῦτα περὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ γινώσκοντες, καὶ μηδὲν διαφωνοῦντες περὶ τὴν τοῦ δικαίου καὶ ἀληθοῦς ἐξέτασιν. Τῆς αὐτῆς τοίνυν προνοίας ἀξιοῦντες ὑμᾶς, καὶ τῶν ἰσῶν Ῥωμαίοις μεταδιδόντες, ἐν τι μετ' αὐτῶν δόγμα κρατεῖν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις κελεύομεν. Οὐκοῦν Φρουμέντιον τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ἐκπέμπετε τὴν ταχίστην εἰς Αἴγυπτον παρὰ τὸν σεμνότατον Γεώργιον τὸν ἐπίσκοπον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς κατ' Αἴγυπτον, οἱ τοῦ χειροτονεῖν καὶ κρίνειν τὰ τοιαῦτα κύριοι μᾶλλον εἰσιν. Ἴστε γὰρ δήπου καὶ μέμνησθε, εἰ μὴ λίαν τὰ παρὰ πᾶσιν ὁμολογούμενα μόνοι ἀγνοεῖν προσποιεῖσθε, ὅτι τὸν Φρουμέντιον τοῦτον εἰς ταύτην τὴν τάξιν τοῦ βίου κατέστησεν Ἀθανάσιος, μυρίοις ἐνοχος ὧν κακοῖς· ὃς οὐδὲν τῶν ἐπιφερομένων ἐγκλημάτων αὐτῷ δικαίως ἔσχεν ἐπιλύσασθαι, αὐτίκα τῆς μὲν καθέδρας ἐκπέπτωκε, καὶ τοῦ βίου τοῦ πάντῃ διαμαρτῶν ἀλάται, ἀπ' ἄλλης εἰς ἄλλην γῆν μετανιστάμενος, ὥσπερ ἐκ τούτου τὸ κακὸς εἶναι διαφευζόμενος. Εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐτοίμως ὑπακούσειεν ὁ Φρουμέντιος,

(Letter of
Constantius
to Aezanes
and Sazanes.)

APOL. AD
CONST.

(Letter of
Constantius
to Ezanes
and Sazanes.)

Cp. de Syn.
15.

εὐθύνας τῆς ὁλης καταστάσεως δώσω, δῆλος ἔσται παρὰ πάντων τῷ τῆς ἐκκλησίας νόμῳ καὶ τῇ κρατούσῃ πίστει κατ' οὐδὲν διαφωνῶν, κριθεῖς τε καὶ δοὺς πείραν ἑαυτοῦ τοῦ παντὸς βίου, καὶ λόγον τούτου παρασχόμενος παρὰ τῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα κρινόντων, καὶ καταστήσεται παρ' αὐτῶν, εἰ μέλλοι τῷ ὄντι κατὰ τὸ δίκαιον ἐπίσκοπος εἶναι δοκεῖν. Εἰ δὲ ἀναβάλλοιτο καὶ φεύγοι τὴν κρίσιν, εὐδηλον δῆπουθεν ὅτι τοῖς Ἀθανασίου τοῦ πονηροτάτου λόγοις ἡγμένους δυσσεβεῖ περὶ τὸ θεῖον, οὕτω προηρημένους ὥς ἐκεῖνος ἀπεδείχθη, πονηρὸς ὢν. Καὶ δέος μὴ, διαβὰς εἰς Αὐξουμιν, διαφθείρῃ τοὺς παρ' ὑμῖν, λόγους ἐναγείς καὶ δυσσεβεῖς παρεχόμενος, μὴ μόνον τὰς ἐκκλησίας συγχέων καὶ θορυβῶν, καὶ βλασφημῶν εἰς τὸν κρείττονα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς κατὰ τὸ ἔθνος ἐκ τούτων ἀνατροπὴν καὶ ἀνάστασιν παντελῇ προξενῶν. Ἴσμεν δὲ ὅτι, προσμαθὼν τι καὶ μέγα καὶ κοινὸν ὄφελος ἐκ τῆς τοῦ σεμνοτάτου Γεωργίου συνουσίας ἀπονάμενος, καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν, ὅσοι τὰ τοιαῦτα παιδεύειν ἄκρως ἴσασι, τὴν αὐτὴν ἐπανήξει, πάντα τὰ τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν εἰς ἄκρον ἡκριβωκώς. Ὁ Θεὸς ὑμᾶς διαφυλάττοι, ἀδελφοὶ τιμιώτατοι.

32. Ταῦτα ἀκούων ἐγὼ, καὶ σχεδὸν βλέπων ἀφ' ὧν οἱ ἀπαγγέλλοντες ὠδύροντο, ὁμολογῶ, πάλιν εἰς τὴν ἔρημον ὑπέστρεψα, τοῦτο λογισάμενος, ὅπερ καὶ ἡ σὴ θεοσέβεια συνορᾷ, ὅτι εἰ ζητούμεθα, ἵνα εὐρεθέντες παραπεμφθῶμεν πρὸς τοὺς ἐπάρχους, κώλυσίς ἐστι τοῦ μὴ παρὰ τὴν σὴν φιλανθρωπίαν ἐλθεῖν. Καὶ εἰ οἱ μὴ θελήσαντες ὑπογράψαι καθ' ἡμῶν τοιαῦτα καὶ τοσαῦτα πεπόνθασιν, οἳ τε μὴ θέλοντες τῶν λαϊκῶν κοινωνεῖν τοῖς Ἀρειανοῖς ἐκελεύσθησαν ἀποθνήσκειν· οὐκ ἀμφίβολουσιν ὅτι πάντως ἐπινοηθήσονται παρὰ τῶν συκοφαντῶν καινότεροι καὶ μυρίοι θάνατοι κατ' ἐμοῦ· καὶ μετὰ θάνατον κινήσουσι λοιπὸν οἷς βούλονται καὶ ἃ βούλονται πράγματα οἱ ἐχθροὶ, ψευδόμενοι καθ' ἡμῶν μειζόνως, ὥς μηκέτι ἔχοντες τοὺς ἐλέγχοντας αὐτούς. Οὐ γὰρ τὴν σὴν εὐσεβείαν δεδιὼς ἔφευγον (οἶδα γάρ σου τὴν ἀνεξικακίαν καὶ τὴν φιλανθρωπίαν), ἀλλ' ὁρῶν ἐκ τῶν γινομένων τὸν θυμὸν τῶν ἐχθρῶν, καὶ λογισόμενος ὅτι, φοβούμενοι μήποτε ἐλεγχθῶσιν ἐφ' οἷς ἔπραξαν παρὰ γνώμην τῆς σῆς καλοκάγαθίας, πάντα πράξουσιν ὥστε καὶ ἀποκτείναι. Ἴδού γὰρ ἡ μὲν σὴ φιλανθρωπία μόνον ἔξω

τῶν πόλεων καὶ τῆς ἐπαρχίας προσέταξεν ἐκβάλλεσθαι τοὺς ἐπισκόπους· οἱ δὲ θαυμαστοὶ, πλεόν τι τῆς σῆς προστάξεως τολμῶντες, ὑπὲρ τρεῖς ἐπαρχίας εἰς ἐρήμους καὶ ἀήθεις καὶ φοβεροὺς τόπους ἐξώρισαν γέροντας ἀνθρώπους καὶ πολυτεεῖς ἐπισκόπους. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς Λιβύης εἰς τὴν μεγάλην Hist. Ari. 72.

Ῥοασιν, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Θηβαΐδος εἰς τὴν Ἀμμωνιακὴν τῆς Λιβύης ἀπεστάλησαν. Καὶ οὐ δεδιὼς πάλιν ἀποθανεῖν, ἔφυγον· μὴ δειλίας ἐμοῦ τις αὐτῶν καταγινωσκέτω· ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ τοῦ Σωτῆρός ἐστι παράγγελμα, 'διωκομένους μὲν ἡμᾶς φεύγειν,' Matt. x. 23.
Cp. Apol. de Fuga, 11.

ζητουμένους δὲ κρύπτεσθαι, καὶ μὴ εἰς προῦπτον κίνδυνον ἑαυτοὺς ἐκδιδόναι, μηδὲ φαινομένους πλεόν ἐκκαλεῖν τὸν θυμὸν τῶν διωκόντων. Ἴσους γὰρ ἐστι τὸ φονεύειν ἑαυτὸν, καὶ διδόναι πάλιν ἑαυτὸν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς εἰς τὸ φονεύειν. Τὸ δὲ φεύγειν, ὡς παρήγγειλεν ὁ Σωτὴρ, γινώσκειν ἐστὶ τὸν καιρὸν, καὶ ἀληθῶς κήδεσθαι τῶν διωκόντων, ἵνα μὴ, καὶ μέχρις αἵματος φθάσαντες, ὑπεύθυνοι γένωνται τῷ, 'Μὴ φονεύσης·' εἰ καὶ τὰ μά- Exod. xx. 13.
Cp. Ep. Æg. 23.

λιστα καὶ τὸ παθεῖν ἡμᾶς διαβάλλοντες βούλονται. Ἄ γὰρ καὶ νῦν πάλιν πεποιήκασι, δείκνυσιν αὐτῶν ταύτην εἶναι τὴν σπουδὴν, καὶ μαιφόνον τὴν προαίρεσιν. Ἀκούσας δὲ, εὐ οἶδ' ὅτι, θεοφιλέστατε Αὔγουστε, θαυμάσεις· καὶ γὰρ ἄξιον ἀληθῶς ἐκπλήξεως τὸ τόλμημα. Ἠλίκον δ' ἐστὶ τοῦτο, ἀκουσον ἐν βραχεί λόγῳ.
33. Ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ Υἱὸς, ὁ Κύριος καὶ Σωτὴρ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς, ἀνθρωπος γενόμενος δι' ἡμᾶς, καὶ 'καταργήσας τὸν θάνατον,' ἐλευθερώσας· τε τὸ γένος ἡμῶν 'ἀπὸ τῆς δουλείας τῆς φθορᾶς,' ἐχαρίσατο πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις πᾶσι καὶ εἰκόνα τῆς τῶν ἀγγέλων ἀγιότητος ἔχειν ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ γῆς τὴν παρθενίαν. Τὰς γοῦν ταύτην ἐχούσας τὴν ἀρετὴν 'νύμφας τοῦ Χριστοῦ' καλεῖν εἴωθεν ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία. Ταύτας δὲ Ἕλληνες ὀρώντες, ὡς ναδὺν οὔσας τοῦ Λόγου θαυμάζουσι· παρ' οὐδενὶ γὰρ ἀληθῶς τοῦτο τὸ σεμνὸν καὶ οὐράνιον ἐπάγγελμα κατορθοῦται ἢ παρὰ μόνοις ἡμῖν τοῖς Χριστιανοῖς. Μάλιστα γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο μέγα τεκμήριόν ἐστι τοῦ παρ' ἡμῖν εἶναι τὴν ὄντως καὶ ἀληθῆ θεοσέβειαν. Ταύτας πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ ὁ τῆς μακαρίας μνήμης ὁ εὐσεβέστατός σου πατὴρ Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ Αὔγουστος ἐτίμα· ταύτας καὶ ἡ σὴ εὐσέβεια γράφουσα πολλάκις τιμίας καὶ ἀγίας ὠνόμασεν. Ἀλλὰ νῦν οἱ θαυμαστοὶ Ἀρειανοὶ οἱ καὶ ἡμᾶς διαβάλλοντες, δι' οὗς καὶ πλείστοι τῶν ἐπισκόπων ἐπεβουλεύθη-

2 Tim. i. 10.
Rom. viii. 27.

APOL. AD
CONST.
Apol. de
Fuga, 3.

σαν, ὑπουργοὺς ἔχοντες καὶ ὑπακούοντας αὐτοὺς τοὺς δικαστὰς, ταύτας γυμνώσαντες, ἐποίησαν ἐπὶ τῶν καλουμένων 'έρμητα-ρίων' κρεμασθῆναι, καὶ τοσοῦτον αὐτῶν τρίτον ἔξεσαν τὰς πλευρὰς, ὅσον οὐδὲ οἱ ἀληθῶς κακοῦργοι πώποτε πεπόνθασι.

John xix. 34. Πιλάτος μὲν οὖν, καθικετεύων τοῖς τότε Ἰουδαίοις, 'λόγῃ' μίαν 'πλευρὰν' τοῦ Σωτῆρος 'ἐνῆξεν'· οὗτοι δὲ καὶ τὴν μανίαν Πιλάτου νενικήκασιν, ὅτι μὴ μίαν, ἀλλ' ἀμφοτέρας ἔξεσαν· τὰ γὰρ μέλη τῶν παρθένων ἐξαιρέτως ἴδια τοῦ Σωτῆρός ἐστι. Πάντες μὲν οὖν, καὶ μόνον ἀπαγγελλόντων τινῶν, φρίττουσιν ἐπὶ τῇ τοιαύτῃ ἀκοῇ· μόνοι δὲ οὗτοι οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἐφοβήθησαν γυμνοῦντες καὶ ξέοντες ἄχραντα μέλη, ἀ μόνῳ τῷ Σωτῆρι ἡμῶν τῷ Χριστῷ ἀνατεθείκασιν· αἱ παρθένοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τό γε χεῖριστον, οὐκ εὐδοκίμοι παρὰ πάντων διὰ τὴν τοσαύτην ὁμότητα, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐρυθριᾶν, προφασίζονται τοῦτο πρῶσταγμα τῆς σῆς εὐσεβείας εἶναι· οὕτως εἰσὶ πρὸς πάντα τολμηροὶ καὶ τὴν προαίρεσιν πονηροί. Οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἐν τοῖς γενομένοις διωγμοῖς τοιοῦτον ἠκούσθη πραχθέν. Εἰ δὲ καὶ ἐγεγόνει ποτὲ τοιοῦτον, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔπρεπεν ἐπὶ σοῦ Χριστιανοῦ ὄντος οὔτε τὴν παρθενίαν τοσαύτην ὕβριν καὶ ἀτιμίαν παθεῖν, οὔτε τούτους τὴν ἑαυτῶν ὁμότητα εἰς τὴν σὴν εὐσεβείαν ἐπιβρίπτειν· μόνοις γὰρ αἱρετικοῖς οἰκείον τὸ τοιοῦτον κακόν, ἀσεβεῖν εἰς τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ πλημμελεῖν κατὰ τῶν ἁγίων αὐτοῦ παρθένων.

34. Τοιούτων δὲ πάλιν καὶ τοσοῦτων γενομένων παρὰ τῶν 'Αρειανῶν, οὐκ ἐσφάλην ἄρα πεισθεῖς τῇ θείᾳ γραφῇ λεγούσῃ·
Isa. xxvi. 20. 'Ἄλλ' ἀποκρύβηθι μικρὰν ὅσον ὅσον, ἕως παρέλθῃ ἡ ὀργὴ Κυρίου.' Καὶ αὕτη γάρ μοι πάλιν πρόφασις γέγονε τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως, θεοφιλέστατε Αὔγουστε· καὶ οὐ παρητησάμην οὔτε
2 Cor. xi. 33. εἰς τὴν ἔρημον ἀπελθεῖν, οὔτε, εἰ ἀνάγκη γένοιτο, 'διὰ σαργάνης ἀπὸ τείχους' χαλασθῆναι. Πάντα γὰρ ὑπέμεινα, καὶ θηρίους
[Qu. παρελθεῖν.] συνήκῃσα, καὶ ὑμᾶς περιελθεῖν, ἐκδεχόμενος τούτων τῶν λόγων καιρὸν, καὶ θαρρῶν ὅτι οἱ μὲν διαβάλλοντες καταγνώσθησονται, ἡ δὲ σὴ φιλανθρωπία δειχθήσεται. Ὡ μακάριε καὶ θεοφιλέστατε Αὔγουστε, τί ἐβούλου; ἔλθεῖν με φλεγμαινόντων καὶ ζητούντων ἀποκτεῖναι τῶν συκοφαντούντων ἡμᾶς, ἢ κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον, 'ἀποκρυβῆναι μικρὸν,' ἵνα ἐν τῷ τοσοῦτῳ διαστήματι οἱ μὲν συκοφάνται καταγνώσθῳσιν αἱρετικοί, ἡ δὲ σὴ

φιλανθρωπία δειχθήσεται ; Τί δὲ, ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐβούλου με ὀφθῆναι τοῖς σοῖς δικασταῖς, ἵνα, εἰ καὶ σὺ μέχρι μόνης ἀπειλῆς ἔγραψας, ἐκεῖνοι μὴ νοοῦντες τὴν σὴν διάνοιαν, ἔχοντες δὲ τοὺς Ἀρειανοὺς παροξύνοντας αὐτοὺς, ἐκ τῶν σου γραμμάτων ἀποκτείνωσι, καὶ εἰς σὲ τὸν φόνον ἀναθῶνται διὰ τὰ γράμματα ; Οὐκ ἔπρεπε οὕτε ἐμὲ αὐτομολεῖν, καὶ εἰς αἵματα ἑμαυτὸν ἀποδιδόναι, οὔτε σε φιλόχριστον ὄντα βασιλέα ἐπὶ φόνοις Χριστιανῶν, καὶ ταῦτα ἐπισκόπων, ἐπιγράφεσθαι.

35. Οὐκοῦν βέλτιον γέγονε τὸ κρυβῆναι, καὶ τοῦτον ἐκδέξασθαι τὸν καιρὸν. Ναὶ οἶδα ὅτι καὶ σὺ, γινώσκων τὰς θείας γραφὰς, ἐπινεύεις, καὶ ἀποδέχῃ με τοῦτο πράξαντα. Ἴδου γοῦν, τῶν παροξυνόντων πεπαυμένων, πέφηνεν ἡ σὴ θεοσεβὴς ἀνεξικακία, καὶ δέδεικται πᾶσιν, ὅτι μὴδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐδῶκες σὺ τοὺς Χριστιανούς· ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνοι ἦσαν οἱ τὰς ἐκκλησίας ἐρημώσαντες, ἵνα τὴν ἰδίαν ἀσέβειαν ἐπισπείρωσι πανταχοῦ, δι' ἣν καὶ ἡμεῖς, εἰ μὴ ἦμεν φυγόντες, πάλαι ἂν ἐπεβουλεύθημεν παρ' αὐτῶν. Οἱ γὰρ τοιαύτας διαβολὰς εἰπεῖν κατ' ἐμοῦ μὴ παραιτησάμενοι παρὰ τηλικούτῃ Αὔγουστῳ, οἱ τοιαῦτα κατ' ἐπισκόπων καὶ παρθένων ἐπιχειρήσαντες, εὐδηλον ὥς καὶ τὸν ἡμῶν θάνατον ἐθήρευον. Ἀλλὰ χάρις τῷ Κυρίῳ τῷ τὴν βασιλείαν σοι δεδωκότι· πάντες γὰρ ἐπιστάσαντο περὶ τε τῆς σῆς φιλανθρωπίας καὶ τῆς ἐκείνων πονηρίας, ἧς ἕνεκα καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔφυγον, ἵνα ταῦτα ἐγὼ μὲν τοι προσφωνήσω, σὺ δὲ εὖρης τίνα φιλανθρωπεύσῃ. Παρακαλῶ τοίνυν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ γέγραπται· Ὑποκρίσεις ὑποπίπτουσα ἀποστρέφει ὀργήν· καὶ, Δεκτοὶ βασιλεῖ λογισμοὶ δίκαιοι· δεξάμενος καὶ ταύτην τὴν ἀπολογίαν, ἀπόδος ταῖς πατρίσι καὶ ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις πάντας τοὺς ἐπισκόπους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους κληρικοὺς, ἵνα τῶν μὲν διαβαλλόντων ἡ πονηρία δειχθῇ, σὺ δὲ καὶ νῦν καὶ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κρίσεως ἔχῃς παρῆρσίαν εἰπεῖν τῷ Κυρίῳ καὶ Σωτῆρι ἡμῶν καὶ παμβασιλεῖ Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ· Ὅυδένα τῶν σῶν ἀπώλεσα· ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἐπιβουλεύσαντες πᾶσιν οὗτοί εἰσιν· ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς τετελευτηκόσι, καὶ ταῖς ξεσθείσαις παρθένοις, τοῖς τε ἄλλοις τοῖς κατὰ τῶν Χριστιανῶν γενομένοις ἡχθέσθην· τοὺς δὲ ἐξορισθέντας ἐπανήγαγον καὶ ἀποδέδωκα ταῖς ἰδίαις ἐκκλησίαις.

c. 18.

Prov. xv. 1.

Cp. ib. xvi. 13.

John xviii. 9.

ΤΟΥ ΕΝ ΑΓΙΟΙΣ ΠΑΤΡΟΣ ΗΜΩΝ

ΑΘΑΝΑΣΙΟΥ

ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΑΣ,

ΑΠΟΛΟΓΙΑ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΦΥΓΗΣ ΑΥΤΟΥ,

ΗΝΙΚΑ ΕΔΙΩΚΕΤΟ ΤΠΟ ΣΥΡΙΑΝΟΥ ΔΟΥΤΟΣ.

[A.D. 357-8.] I. Ἀκούω. Λεόντιον, τὸν νῦν ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ, καὶ Νάρκισσον, τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως Νέρωνος, καὶ Γεώργιον, τὸν νῦν ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ, καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτοῖς Ἀρειανούς πολλὰ περὶ ἐμοῦ θρυλοῦντας καὶ λοιδοροῦντας, ‘δειλίαν’ τε ἐγκαλοῦντας, ὅτι δὴ, ζητούμενος ἀναιρεθῆναι παρ’ αὐτῶν, οὐκ ἔκδοτον ἐμαυτὸν αὐτοῖς προσήγαγον. Πρὸς μὲν οὖν τὰς λοιδορίας καὶ τὰς συκοφαντίας αὐτῶν, καίτοι δυνάμενος πολλὰ γράφειν, ἃ μὴτ’ αὐτοὶ ἀρνεῖσθαι δύνανται, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντες ἐπιγινώσκουσιν οἱ κατ’ αὐτῶν ἀκούοντες, ὅμως οὐδὲν προαχθήσασμαι λέγειν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἢ μόνον τὸ τοῦ Κυρίου ῥῆμα, καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἀποστόλου ῥή-
John viii. 44. τὸν, ὅτι· ‘Τὸ μὲν ψεῦδος ἐκ τοῦ διαβόλου ἐστὶν’ καὶ, ‘Οὔτε
1 Cor. vi. 10. δὲ λοιδοροὶ βασιλείαν Θεοῦ κληρονομήσουσιν.’ Ἀρκεῖ γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐκ τούτων δευχθῆναι μηδὲν κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον μήτε φρονούντας μήτε πράττοντας, κατὰ δὲ τὰς ἰδίας ἡδονὰς οἰομένους εἶναι καλὸν, ὅπερ αὐτοὶ βούλονται.

2. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ προσποιούνται ‘δειλίαν’ ἐγκαλεῖν, ἀναγκαῖον ὀλίγα περὶ τούτου γράψαι· δευχθήσονται γὰρ καὶ ἐκ τούτου πονηροὶ τε τὸν τρόπον, καὶ μὴ ἐντετυχηκότες ταῖς θείαις γρα-

φαῖς· ἡ ἐντυχόντες μὲν, μὴ πιστεύοντες δὲ εἶναι θεόπνευστα τὰ λόγια τὰ ἐν αὐταῖς. Εἰ γὰρ ἐπίστευον, οὐκ ἂν παρὰ μὲν ταύτας ἐτόλμων, τὴν δὲ κακοήθειαν τῶν κυριοκτόνων Ἰουδαίων ἐζήλουν. Καὶ γὰρ τοῦ Θεοῦ δεδοκός ἐντολήν· *Ματθ. xv. 4.* 'Τίμα τὸν πατέρα σου καὶ τὴν μητέρα σου' καὶ 'Ὁ κακολογῶν πατέρα ἢ μητέρα θανάτῳ τελευτάτω·' ἀντενομοθέτουν κάκεῖνοι, τὴν τιμὴν εἰς ἀτιμίαν μεταφέροντες, καὶ ἀργυρίου τὸ πρὸς τοὺς γονέας καθῆκον παρὰ τῶν τέκνων ἀντικαταλλάσσοντες· καὶ ἀναγινώσκοντες δὲ τὰς τοῦ Δαβὶδ πράξεις, ἀντεμελέτων αὐταῖς, καὶ ἡτιῶντο τοὺς ἀναιτίους, 'τίλλοντας στάχνας καὶ *Λυκ. vi. 1.* ψάχοντας' ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ σαββάτου. Ἐμελε δὲ αὐτοῖς οὔτε τῶν νόμων, οὔτε διὰ τὸ σάββατον· ἐν αὐτῷ γὰρ μάλλον παρηνόμουν· ἀλλ' ὅτι τὰν τρόπον ὄντες. πονηροὶ, τοῖς τε μαθηταῖς ἐφθόουν σωζομένοις, καὶ μόνον ἡβδύλοντο τὰ τῆς ἰδίας γνώμης κρατεῖν. Ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὖν τῆς ἰδίας παρανομίας ἔχουσι τὰ ἐπίχειρα, ἀνιέροι γενόμενοι, καὶ λοιπὸν 'ἄρχοντες Σοδόμων καὶ λαὸς Γομόρρας' χρηματίζοντες. Καὶ *Ἰσα. i. 10.* οὗτοι δὲ οὐδὲν ἤττον ἐκείνων δοκοῦσί μοι τὴν ἐπιτιμίαν ἔχειν ἤδη, τὴν τῆς ἰδίας ἀλογίας ἄγνοϊαν. Οὔτε γὰρ 'νοοῦσιν ἃ *1 Tim. i. 7.* λέγουσιν,' ἀλλὰ καὶ νομίζουσιν εἰδέναι ἅπερ ἀγνοοῦσι· μόνῃ δὲ γνώσει ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐστὶ τοῦ κακοποιεῖν, καὶ καθ' ἡμέραν χείρονα χείροσιν ἐφευρίσκειν. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ τὴν νῦν φυγὴν ἡμῶν, οὐκ ἐπ' ἀρετῇ θέλοντες ἡμᾶς ἀνδραγαθήσασθαι, διαβάλλουσι· πόθεν γὰρ εὐχὴ τοιαύτη παρ' ἐχθροῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν 'μὴ συντρεχόντων' αὐτοῖς ἐν τῇ κακοφροσύνῃ; Ἀλλὰ κακοή- *1 Pet. iv. 4.* θεις ὄντες, σχηματίζονται τοιαῦτα περιβομβεῖν, νομίζοντες, εὐήθεις ὄντες ἀληθῶς αὐτοὶ, ὡς ἄρα δεῖ τῆς παρ' αὐτῶν λαιδορίας προσάξομεν ἑαυτοὺς ποτε αὐτοῖς. Θέλουσι γὰρ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πάντα περιτρέχουσι· καὶ ὑποκρίνονται μὲν ὡς φίλοι, ἐρευνῶσι δὲ ὡς ἐχθροί· ἵνα, αἱμάτων ἐμφορηθέντες, ἐκποδῶν ποιήσωσι καὶ ἡμᾶς, ἅτι κατὰ τῆς ἀσεβείας αὐτῶν ἐφρονήσαμεν ἀεὶ καὶ φρονοῦμεν, καὶ τὴν αἵρεσιν αὐτῶν ἐλέγχοντες στηλιτεύομεν.

3. Τίνα γάρ ποτε διώκοντες καὶ καταλαβόντες, οὐχ ὕβρισαν ὡς ἠθέλησαν; τίνα ζητοῦντες, καὶ εὐρόντες, οὐχ οὕτως διέθηκαν, ὡς ἡ τελευτῆσαι κακῶς, ἢ λωβηθῆναι πανταχόθεν; Ἄ

APOL. DE
FUGA.
Apol. ad
Const. 33.

γὰρ οἱ δικασταὶ δοκοῦσι ποιεῖν, ταῦτ' ἐκείνων ἐστὶν ἐνεργή-
ματα, καὶ μᾶλλον οὗτοι τῆς ἐκείνων προαιρέσεως καὶ πονηρίας
εἶσιν ὑπηρέται. Ποῖος τοίνυν τόπος οὐκ ἔχει τῆς κακίας αὐ-
τῶν ὑπόμνημα; τίνα φρονοῦντα κατ' αὐτῶν οὐ συνεσκευά-
σαντο, πλασάμενοι προσφάσεις κατὰ τὴν Ἰεζάβελ; Ποία
ἐκκλησία νῦν οὐ θρηνεῖ διὰ τὰς ἐκείνων κατὰ τῶν αὐτῶν
ἐπισκόπων ἐπιβουλὰς; Ἀντιόχεια μὲν δι' Εὐστάθιον τὸν
ὁμολογητὴν καὶ ὀρθόδοξον· Βαλανεῖαι δὲ δι' Εὐφρατίωνα τὸν
θαυμασιώτατον· καὶ Πάλτος μὲν καὶ Ἀντάραδος διὰ Κυμά-
τιον καὶ Καρτέριον· ἡ δὲ Ἀδριανούπολις δι' Εὐτρόπιον τὸν
φιλόχριστον, καὶ τὸν μετ' αὐτὸν Λούκιον, τὸν πολλάκις παρ'
αὐτῶν καὶ ἀλύσεις φορέσαντα, καὶ οὕτως ἀποθανόντα· καὶ
Ἀγκυρα μὲν διὰ Μάρκελλον, Βέβροια δὲ διὰ Κῦρον, καὶ
Γάζα δι' Ἀσκληπᾶν. Τούτους μὲν γὰρ πολλὰ πρότερον
ὑβρίσαντες, ἐξορισθῆναι πεποιήκασιν οἱ δούλιοι· Θεόδουλον
δὲ καὶ Ὀλύμπιον ἀπὸ τῆς Θράκης ἐπισκόπους, καὶ ἡμᾶς,
καὶ πρεσβυτέρους ἡμετέρους, οὕτως ἐποίησαν ζητηθῆναι,
ὥστε, εἰ εὐρεθείμεν, κεφαλῆς ὑποστῆναι τιμωρίαν. Καὶ
τάχα ἂν ἀπεθάνομεν οὕτως, εἰ μὴ παρὰ γνώμην αὐτῶν ἐφύ-
γομεν καὶ τότε. Τοιαῦτα γάρ ἐστι τὰ μὲν κατὰ τῶν περὶ
Ὀλύμπιον πρὸς τὸν ἀνθύπατον Δωνάτον, τὰ δὲ καθ' ἡμῶν
πρὸς Φιλάργιον δοθέντα γράμματα. Τὸν γὰρ τῆς Κωνσταν-
τινουπόλεως ἐπίσκοπον Παῦλον διώξαντες καὶ εὐρόντες, προ-
φανῶς ἀποπνιγῆναι πεποιήκασιν ἐν τῇ λεγομένῃ Κουκουσῷ
τῆς Καππαδοκίας, δῆμιον ἐσχηκότες εἰς τοῦτο Φίλιππον, τὸν
γενόμενον ἐπαρχον· ἦν γὰρ καὶ τῆς αἵρέσεως αὐτῶν προστά-
της, καὶ τῶν πονηρῶν βουλευμάτων ὑπηρέτης.

Hist. Ari. 4.
5.

De Syn. 17.

Hist. Ari. 19.

Cp. Apol. c.
Ari. 32, 44.
Hist. Ari. 6.
1b. 19.

Hist. Ari. 19.
Cp. Apol. c.
Ari. 40.

Hist. Ari. 7.
[A. D. 350.]

Prov. xxx.

Hist. Ari. 65.

Apol. ad
Const. 27.
Hist. Ari. 33.

4. Ἀρ' οὖν διὰ τὰ τοσαῦτα κόρον ἔχουσι, καὶ λοιπὸν ἡρέ-
μησαν; οὐδαμῶς. Οὔτε γὰρ ἐπαύσαντο, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν ἐν
ταῖς Παροιμίαις 'βδέλλαν,' μᾶλλον νεανιεύονται τοῖς κακοῖς,
ἐπιφνόμενοι κατὰ τῶν μεγάλων παροικιῶν. Οἷα γὰρ καὶ
τανῦν ἔδρασαν, τίς ἂν ἀξίως ἐξείποι; τίς τοσοῦτον δύναται
μνημονεῦσαι, ὅσον ἐκείνοι πεποιήκασιν; Ἄρτι γὰρ εἰρήνην
ἔχουσῶν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, καὶ τῶν λαῶν εὐχομένων ἐν ταῖς
συνάξεσιν, ὁ μὲν ἐπίσκοπος τῆς Ῥώμης Λιβέριος, καὶ Παν-
λῖνος ὁ τῆς μητροπόλεως τῶν Γαλλιῶν, καὶ Διονύσιος ὁ τῆς

μητροπόλεως τῆς Ἰταλίας, καὶ Λουκίφερ ὁ μητροπόλεως τῶν κατὰ Σαρδινίαν νήσων, καὶ Εὐσέβιος ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας, οἱ πάντες ἐπίσκοποι ἀγαθοὶ, καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας κήρυκες, ἀρπάζονται, καὶ ἐξορίζονται· πρόφασιν οὐδεμίαν ἔχοντες, ἥ ὅτι μὴ συνέθεντο τῇ Ἀρειανῇ αἰρέσει, μηδὲ ὑπέγραψαν αὐτοῖς καθ' ἡμῶν, ἐν αἷς ἐπλάσαντο διαβολαῖς καὶ συκοφανταῖς.

5. Περὶ γὰρ τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ εὐηγοτάτου καὶ ὁμολογητοῦ ἀληθῶς Ὁσίου, περιττόν ἐστιν ἐμὲ καὶ λέγειν· ἴσως γὰρ ἐγνώσθη πᾶσιν, ὅτι καὶ τοῦτον ἐξορισθῆναι πεποιθήκασιν. Οὐ γὰρ ἄσημος, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντων μάλιστα καὶ μᾶλλον ἐπιφανὴς ὁ γέρων. Ποίας γὰρ οὐ καθηγῆσατο συνόδου; Καὶ λέγων ὀρθῶς, οὐ πάντας ἐπεισε; Ποία τις ἐκκλησία τῆς τούτου προστασίας οὐκ ἔχει μνημεῖα τὰ κάλλιστα; Τίς λυπούμενός ποτε προσῆλθεν αὐτῷ, καὶ οὐ χαίρων ἀπῆλθε παρ' αὐτοῦ; τίς ᾔτησε δεόμενος, καὶ οὐκ ἀνεχώρησε τυχὼν ὧν ἠθέλησε; Καὶ ὁμως καὶ κατὰ τούτου τετολημήκασιν· ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς, εἰδὼς ὅς ποιοῦσι διὰ τὴν ἀσέβειαν ἑαυτῶν συκοφαντίας, οὐχ ὑπέγραψε ταῖς καθ' ἡμῶν ἐπιβουλαῖς. Εἰ γὰρ καὶ τὰ ὕστερον διὰ τὰς πολλὰς ὑπὲρ μέτρον ἐπιφερομένας αὐτῷ πληγὰς, καὶ συσκευὰς κατὰ τῶν συγγενῶν αὐτοῦ, εἶξεν αὐτοῖς πρὸς ὧραν, ὡς γέρων καὶ ἀσθενὴς τῷ σώματι· ὁμως τούτων ἡ πονηρία καὶ ἐκ τούτων δέικνυται, σπουδασάντων πανταχόθεν ἑαυτοὺς δεῖξαι μὴ εἶναι Χριστιανοὺς ἀληθῶς.

6. Ἐκεῖθεν γὰρ καὶ εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν πάλιν ἐπεφύησαν, ζητοῦντες πάλιν ἡμᾶς ἀποκτείνειν· καὶ γέγονε χεῖρονα τὰ νῦν τῶν προτέρων. Στρατιῶται γὰρ ἐξαίφνης τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐκύκλωσαν, καὶ τὰ τῶν πολέμων ἀντὶ τῶν εὐχῶν ἐγένετο. Εἴτ'· εἰσελθὼν τῇ Τεσσαρακοστῇ ὁ παρ' αὐτῶν ἀποσταλεὶς ἐκ Καππαδοκίας Γεώργιος ἠῤῥῆξεν ἃ παρ' αὐτῶν μεμάθηκε κακά. Μετὰ γὰρ τὰ ἑβδομα τοῦ Πάσχα παρθένοι εἰς δεσμωτήριον ἐβάλλοντο, ἐπίσκοποι ἦγοντο ὑπὸ στρατιωτῶν δεδεμένοι, ὀρφανῶν καὶ χηρῶν ἠρπάζοντο οἰκίαι καὶ ἄρτοι, ἐφοδοὶ κατὰ τῶν οἰκῶν ἐγίνοντο, καὶ νυκτὸς οἱ Χριστιανοὶ κατεφέροντο, ἐπεσφραγίσθησαν οἰκίαι, καὶ ἀδελφοὶ κληρικῶν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐκινδύνευον. Καὶ δεινὰ.

Hist. Ari. 42.

Apol. c. Ari.
89. Hist. Ari.
45.

[A.D. 357.]

c. 24.

[Before April
7, 356.]
Cp. Ep. Æg.
Ep. 7.
Hist. Ari. 75.
De Syn. 12.

Hist. Ari. 58.

APOL. DE
FUGA.

Apol. ad
Const. 27.
Hist. Ari. 59.
[Sunday,
June 2, 356.]

μὲν ταῦτα, δεινότερα δὲ τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα τολμήματα· τῇ γὰρ ἑβδομάδι μετὰ τὴν ἀγίαν Πεντηκοστὴν ὁ λαὸς νηστεύσας ἐξῆλθε περὶ τὸ κοιμητήριον εὐξασθαι, διὰ τὸ πάντας ἀποστρέφειν τὴν πρὸς Γεώργιον κοινωνίαν· ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μαθὼν ὁ παμπόνηρος αὐτὸς, παροξύνει τὸν στρατηλάτην Σεβαστιανὸν, Μανιχαῖον ὄντα, καὶ λοιπὸν αὐτὸς μετὰ πλήθους στρατιωτῶν, ὅπλα καὶ ξίφη γυμνὰ, καὶ τόξα καὶ βέλη φερόντων, ὥρμησεν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Κυριακῇ κατὰ τῶν λαῶν· καὶ ὀλίγους εὐρὼν εὐχομένους (οἱ γὰρ πλείστοι λοιπὸν διὰ τὴν ὄραν ἀναχωρήσαντες ἦσαν), τοιαῦτα εἰργάσατο, οἷα παρ' αὐτῶν ἔπρεπε ἀκούσαντα πρᾶξαι. Πυρκαϊὰν γὰρ ἀνάψας, καὶ στήσας παρθένους παρὰ τὸ πῦρ, ἠνάγκαζε λέγειν αὐτὰς τῆς Ἀρείου πίστεως εἶναι· ὥς δὲ νικώσας αὐτὰς ἔβλεπε, καὶ μὴ φροντισύσας τοῦ πυρὸς, γυμνώσας λοιπὸν, οὕτως κατέκοψεν εἰς τὰ πρόσωπα, ὥς μετὰ χρόνον μόγις αὐτὰς ἐπιγνωσθῆναι.

Hist. Ari. 72.

7. Ἄνδρας δὲ κρατήσας τεσσαράκοντα, καινότερφ τρόπῳ κατέκοψε· ῥάβδους γὰρ τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν φοινίκων εὐθύς τεμῶν, ἐν αὐταῖς ἐχούσαις ἔτι τοὺς σκόλοπας τὰ νῶτα τούτων οὕτως ἐξέδειρεν, ὥς τινὰς μὲν πολλακίς χειρουργηθῆναι διὰ τοὺς ἐναποπαγέντας ἐν αὐτοῖς σκόλοπας, τινὰς δὲ καὶ μὴ φέροντας ἀποθανεῖν. Πάντας μὲν οὖν τοὺς περιληφθέντας ἀθρόως, καὶ τὴν παρθένον, ἐξώρισαν εἰς τὴν μεγάλην Ὁασιν· τὰ δὲ σώματα τῶν τετελευτηκότων οὐδὲ τοῖς ἰδίῳις κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀποδοθῆναι πεποιήκασιν, ἀλλ' ἔκρυψαν ὥς ἠθέλησαν, ἄταφα βαλόντες, ὑπὲρ τοῦ δοκεῖν αὐτοὺς λανθάνειν τὴν τοσαύτην ὁμότητα. Πράττουσι δὲ τοῦτο πεπλανημένη τῇ διανοίᾳ οἱ παράφρονες· τῶν γὰρ οἰκείων τῶν τετελευτηκότων χαιρόντων μὲν διὰ τὴν ὁμολογίαν, θρηνοῦντων δὲ διὰ τὰ σώματα, μείζον ἐξηχεῖτο κατ' αὐτῶν ὁ τῆς ἀσεβείας καὶ ὁμότητος ἔλεγχος. Καὶ γὰρ εὐθύς ἀπὸ τῆς Αἰγύπτου καὶ τῶν Λιβυῶν ἐξώρισαν μὲν ἐπισκόπους Ἀμμώνιον, Μούιον, Γάιον, Φίωνα, Ἑρμῆν, Πλήνιον, Ψενόσιριν, Νειλάμμωνα, Ἀγαθὸν, Ἀνάγαμφον, Μάρκον, Ἀμμώνιον, ἕτερον Μάρκον, Δρακόντιον, Ἀδέλφιον, Ἀθηνόδωρον καὶ πρεσβυτέρους Ἰέρακα καὶ Διόσκορον· καὶ οὕτω πικρῶς ἤλασαν αὐτοὺς, ὥς τινὰς μὲν αὐτῶν

Cp. Apol. ad
Const. 27.
Hist. Ari. 72.

ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς, τινὰς δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἐξορισμῷ ἀποθανεῖν. Ἐφυγάδευαν δὲ ἐπισκόπους πλείους τριάκοντα· σπουδῇ γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὸν Ἀχαάβ, εἰ δυνατὸν, ἐξῆραι τὴν ἀλήθειαν. Ἴδου ταῦτα τῶν ἀσεβῶν τὰ τολμήματα.

8. Ταῦτα δρῶντες καὶ μὴ ἐντραπέντες ἐφ' οἷς πρότερον καθ' ἡμῶν ἐτύρευσαν κακοῖς, ἔτι καὶ νῦν κατηγοροῦσιν, ἐκφυγεῖν δυνηθέντας αὐτῶν τὰς ἀνδροφόνους χεῖρας· μᾶλλον δὲ ὀδύρονται πικρῶς, ὅτι μὴ καὶ ἐκποδὼν τέλεον πεποιήκασιν· καὶ λοιπὸν προφασίζονται 'δειλῶν' ὀνειδίζειν, ἀγνοοῦντες ὅτι, καὶ τοῦτο γογγύζοντες, εἰς ἑαυτοὺς ἐπιστρέφουσι μᾶλλον τὴν μέμψιν. Εἰ γὰρ φαῦλον τὸ φεύγειν, πολλῷ χεῖρον τὸ διώκειν· ὁ μὲν γὰρ, ἵνα μὴ ἀποθάνῃ, κρύπτεται, ὁ δὲ διώκει ζητῶν ἀποκτεῖναι· καὶ τὸ μὲν φεύγειν γέγραπται· ὁ δὲ ζητῶν ἀναιρῆσαι παραβαίνει νόμον, καὶ μᾶλλον αὐτὸς τὴν πρόφασιν τοῦ φεύγειν παρέχει. Εἴπερ οὖν τὴν φυγὴν ὀνειδίζουσι, ἐντρεπέτωσαν πλέον ἑαυτοὺς διώκοντας· πανέσθωσαν γὰρ ἐπιβουλεύοντες, καὶ παύσονται οἱ φεύγοντες εὐθύς. Ἀλλὰ τῆς μὲν ἰδίας πονηρίας οὐ παύονται, τοῦ δὲ καταλαβεῖν ἕνεκα πάντα πράττουσιν· οὐκ εἰδότες, ὅτι τῶν διωκομένων ἡ φυγὴ μέγας ἔλεγχός ἐστι κατὰ τῶν διωκόντων. Οὐδεὶς γὰρ τὸν πρῶον καὶ φιλόανθρωπον φεύγει, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τὸν ἄγριον καὶ πονηρὸν ὄντα τὸν τρόπον. 'Πᾶς γοῦν κατώδυνος καὶ ὑπόχρεως' ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ Σαουλ ἔφευγε, πρὸς δὲ τὸν Δαβὶδ κατέφευγε. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ οὗτοι τοὺς κρυπτομένους αὐτοὺς ἀναιρεῖν σπουδάζουσιν, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ δοκεῖν ἔχειν τῆς αὐτῶν πονηρίας τὸν ἔλεγχον. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τούτῳ δοκοῦσι τυφλώττειν οἱ αἰεὶ πλανώμενοι· ὅσῳ γὰρ ἡ φυγὴ πρόδηλος, τοσούτῳ καὶ πλέον ἢ ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς γινομένη παρ' αὐτῶν ἀναίρεσις, ἥ καὶ ἐξορία, προφανεστέρα γενήσεται· ἂν τε γὰρ ἀποκτείνωσιν, ὁ θάνατος μείζων ἡχῇσιν κατ' αὐτῶν· ἂν τε πάλιν ἐξορίσωσι, πανταχοῦ καθ' ἑαυτῶν αὐτοὶ μνημεῖα τῆς παρανομίας ἐξαποστέλλουσιν.

9. Εἰ μὲν οὖν ἔσωζον τὰς φρένας, ἔβλεπον ἑαυτοὺς ἐν τούτοις συνεχομένους, καὶ τοῖς ἑαυτῶν προσκόπτοντας λογισμοῖς· ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ τὸ σωφρονεῖν ἀπώλεσαν, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ διώκοντες ἐξάγονται, καὶ ζητοῦντες ἀνελεῖν, οὐχ ὁρῶσιν ἑαυτῶν τὴν ἀσέβειαν. Τάχα γὰρ καὶ τὴν Πρόνοιαν αὐτὴν αἰτιᾶσθαι τολμῶσιν

[Quoted in Soc. iii. 8.]

c. 23.

Matt. x. 23.

1 Kings (1 Sam.) xxii. 2.

Hist. Ari. 34.

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Cp. Matt. x.
29.

Isa. xlviii. 6.
Psalm. lxxviii.
(lxxix.) 26.

(οὐδὲν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἀτόλμητον), ἐφ' οἷς αὐτοῖς οὐ παραδίδωσι, προδήλου τούτου τυγχάνοντος κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Σωτῆρος φωνήν, ὅτι μὴδὲ στρουθίον ἄνευ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἡμῶν τοῦ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς ἔμπεσεῖν εἰς παγίδα δύναται. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ ὅτε παραλαμβάνουσιν οἱ ἀλάστορες, εὐθὺς ἐπιλανθάνονται τῶν τε ἄλλων, καὶ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἑαυτῶν· καὶ μόναις ταῖς ἀλαζονείαις τὰς ὀφρῦς ἀνασπάσαντες, οὔτε καιρὸν γινώσκουσιν, οὔτε ἀδικοῦντες ἀνθρώπους αἰδοῦνται τὴν φύσιν· κατὰ δὲ τὸν τύραννον τῆς Βαβυλῶνος ἀγριώτερον ἐπιφύονται, καὶ οὔτε τινας ἐλεοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ 'τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου τὸν ζυγὸν ἐπιβαρύνουσι,' καὶ 'ἐπὶ τὸ ἄλγος τῶν τραυμάτων,' ὥς γέγραπται, 'προστιθέασιν' οἱ ἀνηλεεῖς. Εἰ μὲν οὖν μὴ ταῦτα δρᾶσαντες ἦσαν, εἰ μὴ τοὺς κατὰ τῆς συκοφαντίας αὐτῶν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν λέγοντας ἐξορίσαντες ἦσαν, πιθανῶς ἂν λέγοντες παρὰ τισιν ἐνομίσθησαν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἄλλοις τοσοῦτοις καὶ τηλικούτοις ἐπισκόποις ἐπεβούλευσαν, καὶ οὔτε τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ ὁμολογητοῦ 'Οσίου, οὔτε τοῦ ἐπισκόπου 'Ρώμης, οὔτε τοσοῦτων ἀπὸ τῶν Σπανίων, καὶ Γαλλίων, καὶ τῆς Αἰγύπτου, καὶ Λιβύης, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων μερῶν ἐπισκόπων ἐφείσαντο, ἀλλὰ τοσαῦτα πεποιήκασιν κατὰ τῶν ὅλως ἐλεγχάντων αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν· πῶς οὐχὶ μᾶλλον ἡμᾶς πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἐβουλεύσαντο, καὶ μετ' ἐκείνους ἐπιθυμοῦσι δὲ κακῶς ἀνελεῖν; Εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ ἀγρυπνοῦσι, καὶ νομίζουσιν ἀδικεῖσθαι, ἂν βλέπωσι σωζομένους, οὓς οὐκ ἐβούλοντο ζῆν.

ΙΟ. Τίς τοίνυν οὐ συνορᾷ τὴν πανουργίαν αὐτῶν; 'τίνι τοῦτο' κατὰ δὲ ἄλλου οὐκ ἔστιν, ὅτι μὴ δι' ἀρετὴν ὀνειδίζουσι δειλίαν, ἀλλ' αἵματα διψῶντες, ὥσπερ σαγῆναις χρῶνται ταῖς ἰδίαις κακοτεχνίαις, νομίζοντες ἐν ταύταις συλλαμβάνεσθαι οὓς ἔαν ζητῶσιν ἀναιρῆσαι; Τοιούτους γὰρ αὐτοὺς αἱ πράξεις ἔδειξαν, καὶ ἤλεγξαν τὸν τρόπον αὐτῶν, θηρίων μὲν ἀγριώτερον, Βαβυλωνίων δὲ ὁμότερον. Καὶ εἰ καὶ αὐτάρκης ἐκ τούτων ἐστὶν ὁ κατ' αὐτῶν ἐλεγχος, ὅμως, ἐπειδὴ κατὰ 'τὸν πατέρα ἑαυτῶν τὸν διάβολον' ἀπαλοῖς τοῖς λογαρίοις σχηματίζονται, ὥστε 'δειλίαν' ἐγκαλεῖν, δειλότεροι λαγῶν ὄντες αὐτοί· φέρε καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῶν θείων γραφῶν περὶ τῶν τοιούτων γεγραμμένα θεωρήσωμεν. Δειχθήσονται γὰρ οὐδὲν ἥττον καὶ πρὸς ταύτας μὲν μαχόμενοι, τῶν δὲ ἁγίων τὰς ἀρετὰς διαβάλλοντες. Εἰ

John viii. 44.

γὰρ λοιδοροῦσι τοὺς κρυπτομένους ἀπὸ τῶν ζητούντων ἀνελεῖν, καὶ διαβάλλουσι τοὺς φεύγοντας ἀπὸ τῶν διωκόντων· τί ποιήσουσιν ὁρῶντες τὸν μὲν Ἰακώβ φεύγοντα τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἡσαΐ, τὸν δὲ Μωσῆν εἰς Μαδιὰμ ἀναχωροῦντα διὰ τὸν φόβον τοῦ Φαραώ; Τί δὲ, τοιαῦτα φλυαροῦντες, ἀπολογήσονται τῷ Δαβίδ, φεύγοντι τὸν Σαοὺλ ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκίας, ὅτε ἀπέστειλεν αὐτὸν ἀναιρεθῆναι, καὶ κρυπτομένῳ μὲν ἑαυτὸν ἐν τῷ σπηλαίῳ, 'ἄλλοιοῦντι δὲ τὸ πρόσωπον ἑαυτοῦ,' ἕως ἂν παρέλθῃ τὸν Ἀβι- [Achish,] μέλεχ, καὶ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν ἐκκλίνῃ; Τί δ' ἂν εἵποιεν οἱ πάντα ^{1 Sam. xxi. 13.} λέγοντες εὐχερῶς, βλέποντες τὸν μέγαν Ἡλίαν ἐπικαλούμενον μὲν τὸν Θεὸν καὶ νεκρὸν ἐγείραντα, κρυπτόμενον δὲ διὰ τὸν Ἀχαάβ, καὶ φεύγοντα διὰ τὰς ἀπειλὰς τῆς Ἰεζάβελ; τότε γὰρ ζητούμενοι καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ τῶν προφητῶν ἐκρύπτοντο, λανθάνοντες ἐν τοῖς σπηλαίοις διὰ τοῦ Ἀβδιοῦ. ^{Cp. Hist. Ari. 53.}

11. Ἡ τοῦτοις μὲν ὡς παλαιοῖς οὐκ ἐνέτυχον, τῶν δὲ κατὰ ^{3 Kings (1 Kings) xviii. 13.} τὸ εὐαγγέλιον οὐδὲ μίαν μνήμην ἔχουσι· καὶ γὰρ καὶ οἱ μαθη- ^{John xx. 19.} ται 'διὰ τὸν φόβον τῶν Ἰουδαίων,' ἀνεχώρουν κρυπτόμενοι, καὶ ^{2 Cor. xi. 33.} ὁ Παῦλος ἐν Δαμασκῷ, παρὰ τοῦ ἐθνάρχου ζητούμενος, 'ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ἐν σαργάνῃ κεχάλασται, καὶ ἐξέφυγε τοῦ ζητοῦντος τὰς χεῖρας.' Τῆς τοίνυν γραφῆς τοιαῦτα λεγούσης περὶ τῶν ἁγίων, ποίαν ἄρα πρόφασιν τῆς ἑαυτῶν προπετείας ἐξευρεῖν δυνησονται; Ἄν τε γὰρ 'δειλίαν' ὀνειδίσωσι κατ' αὐτῶν, μαινομένων τὸ τόλμημα· ἂν δὲ καὶ ὡς παρὰ τὸ βούλημα τοῦ Θεοῦ ποιοῦντας αὐτοὺς διαβάλλωσιν, οὐκ εἰδότες εἰσὶ παντελῶς τὰς γραφάς. Ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῷ νόμῳ πρόσταξις ἦν ἐκταγῆναι καὶ ^{Exod. xxi. 13.} πόλεις φυγαδευτηρίων, ὑπὲρ τοῦ τοὺς ζητουμένους εἰς θάνατον ὅπως δήποτε δύνασθαι διασῶζεσθαι· ἐπὶ δὲ συντελείᾳ τῶν αἰώνων παραγενόμενος αὐτὸς ὁ τῷ Μωσεῖ λαλήσας Λόγος τοῦ Πατρὸς, πάλιν ἐντολὴν ταύτην δίδωσι, λέγων· "Ὅταν δὲ διώ- ^{Matt. x. 23.} κωσιν ὑμᾶς ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ, φεύγετε εἰς τὴν ἑτέραν," καὶ μετ' ὀλίγα φησὶν· "Ὅταν οὖν ἴδητε τὸ βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώ- ^{Matt. xxiv. 15-18.} σεως, τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ Δανιὴλ τοῦ προφήτου, ἔστως ἐν τόπῳ ἁγίῳ, ὁ ἀναγινώσκων νοείτω· τότε οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ φευγέτωσαν ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη· ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ δώματος μὴ καταβήτω ἄραι τὰ ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας αὐτοῦ· καὶ ὁ ἐν τῷ ἀγρῷ μὴ ὑποστρεψάτω ὀπίσω ἄραι τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ." Ταῦτα γὰρ εἰδότες οἱ ἅγιοι, τοιαύτην εἶχον τὴν

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τῆς πολιτείας ἀγωγήν. Ἄ γὰρ νῦν προσέταξεν ὁ Κύριος, ταῦτα καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἐνσάρκου παρουσίας ἐν τοῖς ἁγίοις ἐλάλει· καὶ ἔστιν οὗτος ὁρος ἀνθρώποις εἰς τελειότητα φέρων, ὃ δ' ἂν ὁ Θεὸς προστάξῃ, τοῦτο ποιεῖν.

Matt. ii. 13,
23.

12. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Λόγος, δι' ἡμᾶς γενόμενος ἄνθρωπος, κατηξίωσε ζητούμενος, ὥς ἡμεῖς, κρυβῆναι· καὶ πάλιν διωκόμενος, φεύγειν καὶ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν ἐκκλίνειν. Ἐπρεπε γὰρ αὐτὸν, ὥς ἐκ τοῦ πεινῆν καὶ διψῆν, καὶ τοῦ παθεῖν, οὕτως καὶ ἐκ τοῦ κρύπτεσθαι καὶ φεύγειν, δεικνύειν ἑαυτὸν φοροῦντα σάρκα καὶ γενόμενον ἄνθρωπον. Ἐξ ἀρχῆς μὲν γὰρ ἅμα τῷ γενέσθαι ἄνθρωπος, ὅτε παιδίον ἦν, αὐτὸς διὰ τοῦ ἀγγέλου ἐνετείλατο τῷ Ἰωσήφ· Ἐγερθεὶς παράλαβε τὸ παιδίον καὶ τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ, καὶ φεύγε εἰς Αἴγυπτον· μέλλει γὰρ Ἡρώδης ζητεῖν τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ παιδίου. Καὶ ἀποθανόντος δὲ Ἡρώδου, φαίνεται δι' Ἀρχέλαον τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἀναχωρῶν εἰς τὴν Ναζαρέτ. Ὅτε δὲ λοιπὸν καὶ Θεὸν ἑαυτὸν ἐδείκνυε, καὶ

Matt. xii. 14,
15.

τὴν ξηρὰν χεῖρα πεποίηκεν ὑγιᾶ, οἱ μὲν Φαρισαῖοι, ἐξελθόντες, συμβούλιον ἔλαβον κατ' αὐτοῦ, ὅπως αὐτὸν ἀπολέσωσιν· ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς γνοὺς ἀνεχώρησεν ἐκεῖθεν. Καὶ γὰρ ὅτε τὸν Λάζαρον ἤγειρεν ἐκ νεκρῶν, ἅπ' ἐκείνης, φησὶ, τῆς ἡμέρας ἐβουλεύσατο, ἵνα ἀποκτείνωσιν αὐτόν. Ὁ οὖν Ἰησοῦς οὐκέτι παρρησία περιεπάτει ἐν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις, ἀλλ' ἀπῆλθεν ἐκεῖθεν εἰς τὴν χώραν ἐγγὺς τῆς ἐρήμου. Εἰτα λέγοντος τοῦ Σωτῆρος, Πρὶν Ἀβραὰμ γενέσθαι, ἐγὼ εἰμι, οἱ μὲν Ἰουδαῖοι ἦσαν λίθους, ἵνα βάλλωσιν ἐπ' αὐτόν· ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς ἐκρύβη, καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ· καὶ, διελθὼν διὰ μέσου αὐτῶν, ἐπορεύετο, καὶ παρήγεν οὕτως.

John xi. 53,
54.

John viii. 58,
59. Cp. Luke
iv. 30.

13. Ἄρα ταῦτα βλέποντες, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ἀκούοντες, ἐπεὶ μὴ βλέπουσι, πῶς κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον οὐ θελήσουσι γενέσθαι πυρίκαυστοι, ὅτι ἐναντία ᾧ ὁ Κύριος ποιεῖ καὶ διδάσκει, βουλεύονται καὶ φθέγγονται; Καὶ γὰρ ὅτε Ἰωάννης μεμαρτύρηκε, καὶ οἱ μαθηταὶ τὸ σῶμα ἔθαψαν, ἀκούσας ὁ Ἰησοῦς, ἀνεχώρησεν ἐκεῖθεν ἐν πλοίῳ εἰς ἔρημον τόπον κατ' ἰδίαν. Ὁ μὲν οὖν Κύριος ἐπολεῖ ταῦτα, καὶ οὕτως ἐδίδασκεν. Εἴθε δὲ οὗτοι καὶ οὕτως αἰσχυνηθῶσι, καὶ μέχρι τῶν ἀνθρώπων στήσωσιν ἑαυτῶν τὴν προπέτειαν, καὶ μὴ πλέον μανέντες ἐγκαλέσωσι

Isa. ix. 5.
LXX.

Matt. xiv. 13.

καὶ τῷ Σωτῆρι 'δειλίαν,' ἀπαξ κατ' αὐτοῦ βλασφημεῖν μελετήσαντες. 'Ἄλλ' οὔτε μαινομένων αὐτῶν τις ἀνέξεται· μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ τὰ εὐαγγέλια μὴ νοοῦντες ἐλεγχθήσονται. Ἔστι γὰρ ἡ πρόφασις τῆς τοιαύτης ἀναχωρήσεως καὶ φυγῆς εὐλογος καὶ ἀληθῆς, ἣν ἐπὶ τοῦ Σωτῆρος κειμένην οἱ εὐαγγελισταὶ ἀπεμνημόνευσαν. Δεῖ δὲ ἡμᾶς ἐκ τούτου καὶ ἐπὶ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων τὴν αὐτὴν λογίζεσθαι (ὃ γὰρ περὶ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἀνθρωπίνως γέγραπται, ταῦτα τῷ κοινῷ γένει τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀναφέρεσθαι προσήκει· τὸ γὰρ ἡμῶν ἐκεῖνος ἐφόρεσε σῶμα, καὶ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην ἀσθένειαν ἐνεδείκνυτο)· ἣν ὁ Ἰωάννης ἔγραψεν οὕτως· 'Ἐζήτουν αὐτὸν πιάσαι, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐπέβαλεν ἐπ' αὐτὸν John vii. 30. τὴν χεῖρα, ὅτι οὐπω ἐληλύθει ἡ ὥρα αὐτοῦ.' Καὶ γὰρ καὶ πρὸ ταύτης ἐλθεῖν, ἔλεγεν αὐτὸς τῇ μὲν μητρὶ· 'Οὐπω ἦκει ἡ ὥρα John ii. 4. μου·' τοῖς δὲ χρηματίσασιν ἀδελφοῖς αὐτοῦ· 'Ὁ ἐμὸς καιρὸς John vii. 6. οὐπω πάρεστι.' Πάλιν τε, ἐλθόντος τοῦ καιροῦ, ἔλεγε τοῖς μαθηταῖς· 'Καθεύδετε τὸ λοιπὸν καὶ ἀναπαύεσθε· ἰδοὺ γὰρ Matt. xxvi. 45. ἤγγικεν ἡ ὥρα, καὶ ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου παραδίδοται εἰς χεῖρας ἁμαρτωλῶν.'

14. Ὡς μὲν οὖν Θεὸς καὶ Λόγος ὢν τοῦ Πατρὸς, καιρὸν οὐκ εἶχεν· αὐτὸς γὰρ τῶν καιρῶν ἐστὶ δημιουργός· ἀνθρώπος δὲ γενόμενος καὶ τοῦτο λέγων, δείκνυσιν ἐκάστῳ τῶν ἀνθρώπων χρόνον εἶναι μεμετρημένον· καὶ χρόνον οὐ τὸν κατὰ τύχην, ὥς τινας τῶν Ἑλλήνων νομίζοντες μυθολογοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ὃν αὐτὸς δημιουργὸς ὢν, ὥς ἠθέλησεν ὁ Πατήρ, ὀρίσεν ἐκάστῳ. Καὶ τοῦτο γέγραπται, καὶ πᾶσι γέγονε φανερόν· εἰ γὰρ κέκρυπται, καὶ λαυθάνει πάντας ἀνθρώπους τὸ πῶς, καὶ τὸ πόσον ἐκάστῳ μεμέτρηται, ἀλλ' ὅμως πᾶς ὅστις οὖν οἶδεν, ὅτι ὥς ἔαρος καὶ θέρους, καὶ φθινοπώρου καὶ χειμῶνός ἐστι καιρὸς, οὕτως, κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον, 'καιρὸς τοῦ ἀποθανεῖν καὶ καιρὸς τοῦ ζῆν ἐστι.' Διὰ τοῦτο τῆς μὲν κατὰ Νῶε γενεᾶς ὁ χρόνος ἀπετμήθη· καὶ ὥς τοῦ καιροῦ πάντων παρόντος, συνεστάλη τὰ ἔτη. Καὶ τῷ Ἐσέχῳ προσετέθησαν ἔτη δέκα καὶ πέντε. Τοῦ δὲ Θεοῦ ἐπαγγελλομένου Isa. xxxviii. 5. τοῖς γνησίως αὐτῷ λατρεύουσιν, ὅτι 'τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν ἡμερῶν Exod. xxiii. 26. σου ἀναπληρώσω,' ὁ μὲν Ἀβραὰμ πλήρης ἡμερῶν ἀποθνήσκει· Gen. xxv. 8. ὁ δὲ Δαβὶδ παρεκάλει λέγων· 'Μὴ ἀναγάγῃς με ἐν ἡμέσῃ Psal. ci. (cii.) 25.'

APOL. DE
FUGA.
Job v. 26.

ἡμερῶν μου· καὶ ὁ μὲν εἰς τῶν φίλων τοῦ Ἰὼβ, Ἐλιφάξ, τοῦτο καλῶς εἰδὼς, ἔλεγεν· Ὑπεύστη δὲ ἐν τάφῳ, ὥσπερ σῖτος ὥριμος, κατὰ καιρὸν θεριζόμενος, ἡ ὥσπερ θημωνία ἄλωνος καθ' ὥραν συγκομισθεῖσα· ὁ δὲ Σολομὼν, ἐπισφραγίζων τούτου τὴν φωνήν, φησὶν· Ὑφαίρονται ἄωροι ψυχαὶ παρανόμων· Διὸ παραινεῖ ἐν τῷ Ἐκκλησιαστῇ λέγων· Μὴ ἀσεβήσης πολλὰ, καὶ μὴ γίνου σκληρὸς, ἵνα μὴ ἀποθάνῃς ἐν οὐ καιρῷ σου.

Prov. xi. 30.
LXX.
Eccles. vii.
18.

15. Ὡσπερ δὲ ταῦτα γέγραπται, δείκνυσιν ὁ λόγος τοὺς ἁγίους εἰδέναι χρόνον ἐκάστῳ μεμετρημένον. Τοῦ δὲ μηδένα γινώσκειν τὸ τέλος τοῦ χρόνου γνώρισμα τὸ λέγειν τὸν Δαβὶδ·

Psal. ci. (cii.)
23.

Ἐπὶ τὴν ὀλιγότητα τῶν ἡμερῶν μου ἀναγγεῖλόν μοι· ὁ γὰρ οὐκ ἠπίστατο, τοῦτο μαθεῖν ἡξίου. Διὰ τοῦτο γοῦν ὁ πλούσιος,

Luke xii. 20.

νομίζων ἔτι πολλὴν ζήσεσθαι χρόνον, ἤκουσεν· Ὑφρον, ταύτῃ τῇ νυκτὶ ζητοῦσί σου τὴν ψυχὴν· ἃ δὲ ἡτοίμασας τίνι ἔσται;

Eccles. ix. 12.

Ὑγίω, καὶ φησι· Καὶ γε οὐκ ἔγνω ἄνθρωπος τὸν καιρὸν αὐτοῦ· Διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ ὁ πατριάρχης Ἰσαὰκ ἔλεγε τῷ

Gen. xxvii. 2.

υἱῷ αὐτοῦ Ἠσαῦ· Ὑδοὺ ἐγὼ γεγήρακα, καὶ οὐ γινώσκω τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς τελευτῆς μου· Ὑ μὲν οὖν Κύριος, καίτοι Θεὸς ὢν καὶ Λόγος τοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ εἰδὼς τὸν μετρηθέντα τοῖς πᾶσι δι' αὐτοῦ καιρὸν, καὶ γινώσκων ὃν αὐτὸς ὥρισε καὶ τῷ ἰδίῳ σώματι χρόνον εἰς τὸ παθεῖν· ἐπειδὴ δι' ἡμᾶς ἄνθρωπος γέγονε, τὰς μὲν πρὸ τοῦ τὸν χρόνον ἐλθεῖν ἡμέρας καὶ αὐτὸς, ὡς ἡμεῖς, ἐκρύπτετο ζητούμενος, διωκόμενός τε ἔφευγε, καὶ

Luke iv. 30.

τὰς ἐπιβουλάς ἐκκλίνων οὕτω διήρχετο καὶ διὰ μέσου αὐτῶν ἐπορεύετο· ὅτε δὲ καὶ τὸν ὀρισθέντα παρ' αὐτοῦ καιρὸν ἤγαγεν αὐτὸς, ἐν ᾧ παθεῖν σωματικῶς ὑπὲρ πάντων ἤθελε,

John xvii. 1.

τούτου μὲν προσφωνεῖ τῷ Πατρὶ, λέγων· Πάτερ, ἐλήλυθεν ἡ ὥρα· δόξασόν σου τὸν Υἱόν· οὐκ ἔτι δὲ λοιπὸν τοὺς ζητοῦντας ἐκρύπτετο, ἀλλ' εἰστήκει θέλων κρατηθῆναι ὑπ'

John xviii. 4-6.

αὐτῶν. Εἶπε γὰρ, φησὶ, τοῖς ἐλθοῦσι πρὸς αὐτόν· Τίνα ζητεῖτε; τῶν δὲ ἀποκριναμένων· Ὑησοῦν τὸν Ναζωραῖον· ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς· Ὑγὼ εἰμι ὃν ζητεῖτε· καὶ τοῦτο οὐχ ἁπαξ, ἀλλὰ καὶ δεῦτερον πεποίηκε· καὶ οὕτως λοιπὸν ἀπήγαγον αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸν Πιλάτον. Οὕτε δὲ πρὸ τοῦ τὸν χρόνον

ἐλθεῖν ἥφιεν ἑαυτὸν κρατεῖσθαι, οὔτε τοῦ καιροῦ παρόντος ἐκρύπτετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκδοτον ἑαυτὸν ἐδίδου τοῖς ἐπιβουλεύουσιν, ἵνα δείξῃ πᾶσι, τῆς ἀνωθεν κρίσεως ἠρτῆσθαι τὴν ζωὴν καὶ τὸν θάνατον τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ἄνευ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἡμῶν τοῦ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς οὐδὲ ἑλθῆναι ἀνθρώπου δύναται. Matt. v. 36; x. 29.

‘λευκὴ ἢ μέλαινα’ γενέσθαι, οὐδὲ ‘στρουθίον’ εἰς παγίδα ἐμπεσεῖν ποτε.

16. Ὁ μὲν οὖν Κύριος οὕτως ἑαυτὸν προσῆγεν ὑπὲρ πάντων, ὥς προεῖρηται· οἱ δὲ ἅγιοι, καὶ τοῦτον τὸν τύπον παρὰ τοῦ Σωτῆρος μαθόντες (παρ’ αὐτοῦ γὰρ καὶ πρὸ τούτου καὶ αἰεὶ πάντες ἐδιδάσκοντο), πρὸς μὲν τοὺς διώκοντας ἀγωνιζόμενοι, νομίμως ἔφευγον, καὶ ζητούμενοι παρ’ αὐτῶν ἐκρύπτοντο· ἀγνοοῦντες δὲ ὡς ἄνθρωποι τοῦ ὀρισθέντος αὐτοῖς παρὰ τῆς Προνοίας χρόνου τὸ τέλος, οὐκ ἐβούλυντο παρῆχειν ἀπλῶς ἑαυτοὺς ἐκδότους τοῖς ἐπιβουλεύουσιν· εἰδότες δὲ πάλιν τὸ γεγραμμένον, ὅτι ‘ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ εἰσιν οἱ κληροῖ’ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ‘Κύριος θανατοῖ καὶ Κύριος ζωοποιεῖ,’ μᾶλλον ἕως τέλους ὑπέμενον, ὡς εἶρηκεν ὁ Ἀπόστολος, ‘περιερχόμενοι ἐν μηλωταῖς, ἐν αἰγείοις δέρμασιν, Psal. xxx. (xxxii.) 15. 1 Kings (1 Sam.) ii. 6.

ὑστερούμενοι, κακουχούμενοι, ἐπὶ ἐρημίαις πλανώμενοι, καὶ ἐν σπηλαίοις καὶ ταῖς ὁπαῖς τῆς γῆς κρυπτόμενοι,’ ἕως ἂν ἡ ὁ ὠρισμένος τοῦ θανάτου χρόνος ἔλθῃ, ἡ ὁ τὸν χρόνον ὀρίσας Θεὸς λαλήσῃ πρὸς αὐτοὺς, καὶ παύσῃ τοὺς ἐπιβουλεύοντας, ἡ δὲ δηλονότι παραδῶ τοὺς διωκομένους τοῖς διώκουσιν, ὡς ἂν αὐτῷ δόξῃ καλῶς ἔχειν. Καὶ τοῦτο περὶ πάντων ἀπὸ τοῦ Δαβὶδ ἔστι μαθεῖν καλῶς· ὅτε γὰρ κατὰ τοῦ Σαοὺλ παρώξυνεν αὐτὸν Ἰωάβ, ἔλεγεν αὐτός· ‘Ζῇ Κύριος, 1 Kings (1 Sam.) xxvi. 10, 11.

ἂν μὴ ὁ Κύριος αὐτὸν παῖσῃ, ἡ ἔλθῃ ἡμέρα’ τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ, ἡ καταβῇ εἰς πόλεμον, καὶ προστεθῇ’ εἰς τοὺς ὑπεναντίους· οὐ μὴ ἐποίσω· χεῖρά μου ἐπὶ χριστὸν Κυρίου.’

17. Εἰ δέ ποτε καὶ φεύγοντες προσήρχοντο τοῖς ζητοῦσιν, οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἀπλῶς ἐπραττον· τοῦ γὰρ Πνεύματος λαλοῦντος αὐτοῖς, οὕτως ἀπήντων ἐκείνοις, θεοφιλεῖς τυγχάνοντες· καὶ οὕτω πάλιν τὴν ἑαυτῶν ὑπακοὴν καὶ προθυμίαν ἐπιδεικνύμενοι. Οἷος ἦν Ἡλίας, ἀκούων παρὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος, καὶ 3 Kings (1 Kings) xviii. 15.

APOL. DE
FUGA.

3 Kings (1
Kings) xxii.
15.

3 Kings (1
Kings) xliii. 2.

Acts xxv. 11.

φαινόμενος τῷ Ἀχαάβ, Μιχαίας τε ὁ προφήτης ἐρχόμενος πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν Ἀχαάβ, καὶ ὁ ἐπικαλεσάμενος προφήτης ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον τῆς Σαμαρείας, καὶ ἐντρέπων τὸν Ῥοβοάμ, καὶ Παῦλος ἐπικαλούμενος Καίσαρα. Οὐ γὰρ δὴ διὰ 'δειλίαν' ἔφευγον, μὴ γένοιτο· μᾶλλον γὰρ τὴν φυγὴν εἶχον ἀγῶνα καὶ μελέτην κατὰ τοῦ θανάτου. Ἀλλὰ δύο ταῦτ' ἐφύλαττον καὶ ἐβουλεύοντο καλῶς, ὅτι μήτε ἑαυτοὺς ἀπλῶς προσήγον, (τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν ἑαυτὸν ἀποκτείνειν, ὑπεύθυνόν τε θανάτου γενέσθαι, καὶ ἀντιπράξαι τῷ Κυρίῳ λέγοντι· "Ὁ Θεὸς ἔζησεν, ἄνθρωπος μὴ χωριζέτω") μήτε μέμψιν ὀλιγωρίας ἤθελον ὑπομένειν, ὥς ἀτουήσαντες πρὸς τὰς ἐν τῇ φυγῇ θλίψεις, μείζονα καὶ δεινότερον πόνον ἐχούσας τοῦ θανάτου. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἀποθανὼν πέπνυται τοῦ πονεῖν· ὁ δὲ φεύγων, προσδοκῶν καθ' ἡμέραν τὰς παρὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐφόδους, κονφότερον ἡγείται τὸν θάνατον· ὥστε καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ φυγῇ τελειωθέντας μὴ ἀκλεῶς ἀποθνήσκειν, ἀλλ' ἔχειν καὶ αὐτοὺς τοῦ μαρτυρίου τὸ καύχημα. Διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ ὁ Ἰωβ ἐν ἀνδρείᾳ μέγας ἐγνώσθη, ἐπειδὴ ζῶν τοσοῦτους καὶ τηλικούτους ὑπέμεινε πόνους, ὧν οὐδεμίαν αἰσθησιμὴν ἐλάμβανεν εἰ τελευτήσας ἦν. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ μακάριοι πατέρες τοιαύτην εἶχον τῆς πολιτείας τὴν ἀγωγὴν· διωκόμενοι μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἐδειλίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ μᾶλλον ἐδείκνυν ἑαυτῶν τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀνδρείαν, οὕτως ἐν πινηροῖς καὶ σκοτεινοῖς τόποις ἑαυτοὺς κατακλείοντες, καὶ σκληρῶς ἑαυτοὺς ἄγοντες· παρόντα δὲ πάλιν τοῦ θανάτου τὸν καιρὸν οὐ παρηγοῦντο· ἔμελε γὰρ αὐτοῖς μήτε τοῦτον παρόντα πτήσσειν, μήτε τὴν ὀρισμένην παρὰ τῆς Προνοίας κρίσιν προλαμβάνειν, μήτ' αὖ πρὸς τὴν οἰκονομίαν αὐτῆς ἀντιπράττειν, εἰς ἣν καὶ φυλαττομένους ἑαυτοὺς ἐγίνωσκον· ἵνα μὴ καὶ, προπετῶς πράττοντες, ἑαυτοῖς αἴτιοι τοῦ πτοεῖσθαι γένωνται· οὕτω γὰρ καὶ γέγραπται· "Ὁ προπετὴς χεῖλεσι πτοήσεται ἑαυτόν."

Prov. xliii. 3.
LXX.

18. Ἀμέλει τοσοῦτον ἦσαν παρεσκευασμένοι πρὸς τὴν τῆς ἀνδρείας ἀρετὴν, ὥς μηδὲ τὸν τυχόντα δύνασθαι διστάσαι περὶ τούτου. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ πατριάρχης Ἰακώβ, φεύγων πρότερον τὸν Ἡσαῦ, οὐκ ἐφοβήθη παρόντα τὸν θάνατον· μᾶλλον γὰρ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ καιρῷ κατ' ἀξίαν ἕκαστον τῶν πατριαρχῶν ἡγλό-

γει· ὁ δὲ μέγας Μωσῆς, κρυπτόμενος πρὸ τούτου τὸν Φαραῶ, καὶ δι' αὐτὸν ἀποδημήσας εἰς Μαδιὰμ, ἀκούσας, *Ἐπελθε εἰς Αἴγυπτον, οὐκ ἐφοβήθη·* πάλιν τε προσταχθεὶς ἀναβῆναι εἰς τὸ ὄρος τὸ Ἀβαρεὶ καὶ τελευτᾶν, οὐ δειλιάσας ἀπέμεινεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄσμενος ὥρμησεν εἰς αὐτόν. Καὶ ὁ μὲν Δαβὶδ, φεύγων πρότερον τὸν Σαοῦλ, οὐκ ἐφοβείτο προκινδυνεύων ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ὑπὲρ τῶν λαῶν· ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ θανάτου καὶ φυγῆς αἵρεσιν ἀκούσας, ἐξὸν αὐτῷ φεύγειν καὶ ζῆν, μᾶλλον εἴλετο *‘τὸν θάνατον’* ὁ σοφός· ὁ δὲ μέγας Ἥλίας, κρυπτόμενος πάλαι τὴν Ἰεζάβελ, οὐκ ἐδειλίασεν, ἀκούσας παρὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος ἀπαντῆσαι τῷ Ἀχαάβ, καὶ τὸν Ὁχοζῖαν ἐλέγξαι. Πέτρος δὲ ὁ *‘διὰ τὸν φόβον τῶν Ἰουδαίων’* κρυπτόμενος, καὶ Παῦλος ὁ ἀπόστολος ἐν *‘σαργάνῃ’* χαλασθεὶς καὶ φυγῶν, ἀκούσαντες, *‘Εἰς Ῥώμην δεῖ ὑμᾶς μαρτυρῆσαι,’* οὐκ ἀνεβάλοντο τὴν ἀποδημίαν, χαίροντες δὲ μᾶλλον ἀπῆλθον· καὶ ὁ μὲν, ὡς πρὸς τοὺς ἰδίους σπεύδων, ἐγάννυτο σφαιζόμενος, ὁ δὲ καὶ παρόντα τὸν καιρὸν οὐ κατέπητησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκαυχᾶτο λέγων· *‘Ἐγὼ γὰρ ἤδη σπένδομαι, καὶ ὁ καιρὸς τῆς ἀναλύσεώς μου ἐφέστηκεν.’*

19. Ταῦτα δὲ οὔτε τὴν προτέραν αὐτῶν φυγὴν κατὰ δειλίαν γεγενῆσθαι δείκνυσιν, οὔτε τανῦν τὴν τυχούσαν αὐτοῖς πράξιν μαρτυρεῖ, μεγάλην δέ τινα τῆς ἀνδρείας αὐτῶν τὴν ἀρετὴν ἀνακηρύττει. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀντὶ ῥαθυμίας εἶχον τὴν ἀναχώρησιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μείζονα τότε τὸν τόνον τῆς ἀσκήσεως ἐπέτεινον· οὐδὲ κατεγινώσκοντο φεύγοντες, οὐδὲ κατηγοροῦντο δειλίας παρὰ τοιούτων, οἳ οἱ νῦν εἰσιν οἱ τοιοῦτοι οἱ φιλαίτιοι· ἀλλὰ καὶ μᾶλλον ἐμακαρίζοντο παρὰ τοῦ Κυρίου λέγοντος· *‘Μακάριοι οἱ δεδιωγμένοι ἕνεκεν δικαιοσύνης.’* Ἄλλ’ οὐδὲ ἀνωφελὴς αὐτοῖς ὁ τοιοῦτος ἐγίνετο κάματος· ὡς γὰρ χρυσὸν ἐν χωνευτηρίῳ δοκιμασθέντας, ὡς εἶπεν ἡ Σοφία, *‘εὗρισκεν αὐτοὺς ὁ Θεὸς ἀξίους ἑαυτοῦ.’* Καὶ αὐτοὶ τότε μᾶλλον· ὡς σπινθῆρες ἀνέλαμπον, σωζόμενοι μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν καταδικόντων αὐτοὺς, ῥυσθέντες δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἐπιβουλῶν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο φυλαχθέντες τοῖς λαοῖς εἰς διδασκαλίαν, ὥστε καὶ τὴν φυγὴν αὐτῶν, καὶ τὸ διαδρᾶναι τῶν ζητούντων τὸν θυμὸν, κατ’ οἰκονομίαν τοῦ Κυρίου γεγενῆσθαι· τότε γὰρ οὕτως καὶ θεο-

Exod. iii. 10.

Deut. xxxii.

49.

2 Kings
(2 Sam.)

xxiv. 15.

3 Kings
(1 Kings)

xviii. 1.

4 Kings
(2 Kings) i. 15.

Acts xxiii. 11.

2 Tim. iv. 6.

Matt. v. 10.

Wisd. iii. 57.

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φιλεῖς ἐγίνοντο, καὶ καλλίστην εἶχον τῆς ἀνδραγαθίας τὴν μαρτυρίαν.

Gen. xxxi
and xxxii.

20. 'Ο γοῦν πατριάρχης Ἰακώβ φεύγων πλειόνων ὀπτασιῶν, καὶ τούτων θείων, κατηξιοῦτο· καὶ μᾶλλον ἡρεμῶν αὐτὸς, ἔσχεν ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ τὸν Κύριον τὸν μὲν Λάβαν ἐντρέποντα, τὸν δὲ Ἑσαῦ ἐμποδίζοντα· καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα γέγονε τοῦ Ἰούδα πατὴρ, ἐξ οὗ κατὰ σάρκα ἀνέτειλεν ὁ Κύριος, καὶ τὰς εὐλογίας τοῖς πατριάρχαις διηκόνησε. Μωσῆς τε ὁ θεοφιλῆς, ὅτε ἔφευγε,

Exod. iii. 3.

τότε καὶ τὴν μεγάλην δρασιν εἶδε, καὶ διασωθεὶς ἀπὸ τῶν διωκόντων, προφήτης εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀπεστέλλετο, διάκονός τε τῶν τοσούτων σημείων καὶ τοῦ νόμου γενόμενος, καθηγήσατο τοῦ τοσούτου λαοῦ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ. Καὶ ὁ μὲν Δαβὶδ διωκόμενος ἐδίδασκεν·

Psal. xlv.

(xlv.) 1.

Psal. xlix. (1.)

3.

Psal. liii. (liv.)

7.

Psal. lv. (lvi.)

11.

Ἐξηρεύσατο ἡ καρδία μου λόγον ἀγαθόν,· καὶ, 'Ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ἐμφανῶς ἤξει· ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν καὶ οὐ παρασιωπήσει-
ται.' Καὶ μᾶλλον δὲ ἰσχυε λέγων· 'Ἐν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς μου
ἐπέιδεν ὁ ὀφθαλμός μου·' καὶ πάλιν· 'Ἐπὶ τῷ Θεῷ ἠλπισα,

οὐ φοβηθήσομαι τί ποιήσει μοι ἄνθρωπος.' Φεύγων τε καὶ ἀποδιδράσκων ἀπὸ προσώπου Σαοὺλ εἰς τὸ σπήλαιον, ἔλεγεν·

Psal. lvi. (lvii.)

3, 4.

'Ἐξαπέστειλεν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ ἔσωσέ με, ἔδωκεν εἰς ὄνειδος τοὺς καταπατοῦντάς με. Ἐξαπέστειλεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸ ἔλεος αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐρρύσατο τὴν ψυχὴν μου ἐκ μέσου σκύμων.' Οὕτω δὲ σωθεὶς κατ' οἰκονομίαν καὶ αὐτὸς, γέγονε μετὰ ταῦτα βασιλεὺς, καὶ τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν ἔσχεν ἐκ σπέρματος αὐτοῦ τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν ἀνατεῖλαι. Ὁ δὲ μέγας

3 Kings

(1 Kings)

xviii. 36, 40.

Ἡλίας ἀναχωρῶν εἰς τὸ Καρμῆλιον ὄρος ἐπεκαλεῖτο τὸν Θεόν· καὶ τοὺς μὲν τῆς Βάαλ προφήτας τετρακοσίους ὄντας καὶ πλείους ἀθρόως ἀπῆλειψε, τοὺς δὲ πεμφθέντας ἐπ' αὐτὸν δύο πεν-

4 Kings

(2 Kings) i. 10.

τηκοντάρχους μετὰ τῶν ἑκατὸν, λέγων, 'Καταβήτω πῦρ ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ,' ἐν τούτῳ καὶ τούτοις ἐπετίμησε, τετῆρηται δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς, ὥστε τὸν Ἑλισσαῖον ἀνθ' ἑαυτοῦ χρίσαι, καὶ τύπος εἰς ἀσκησιν γενέσθαι τοῖς υἱοῖς τῶν προφητῶν. Παῦλος δὲ ὁ

2 Tim. iii. 11;

iv. 18.

μακάριος γράφων· 'Ὅλους διωγμοὺς ὑπήνεγκα, καὶ ἐκ πάντων με ἐρρύσατο ὁ Κύριος, καὶ ῥύσεται,' μᾶλλον ἰσχυε λέγων·

Rom. viii. 37,

35.

'Ἀλλ' ἐν τούτοις πᾶσι ὑπερνικῶμεν, οὐδὲν γὰρ ἡμᾶς χωρίσει ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγάπης τοῦ Χριστοῦ·' τότε γὰρ καὶ ἔως τρίτου οὐρα-

2 Cor. xii. 4.

νοῦ ἠρπάσθη, καὶ εἰς τὸν παράδεισον· ἀπηνέχθη, ξυθα· καὶ ἤκου-

σεν ἄρρητα ῥήματα, ἀ μὴ ἐξὸν ἀνθρώπῳ λαλήσαι.’ Διὰ τοῦτο τότε πεφύλακται, ‘ὥστε ἀπὸ Ἱερουσαλὴμ μέχρι τοῦ Ἰλλυρικοῦ Rom. xv. 19. πληρῶσαι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον.’

21. Οὐ μεμπτέα ἄρα, οὐδὲ ἀργὴ τῶν ἁγίων ἡ φυγὴ· εἰ γὰρ μὴ ἐξέκλινον τοὺς διώκοντας, πῶς ἐγίνετο τὸ ἐκ σπέρματος Δαβὶδ ἀνατεῖλαι τὸν Κύριον ; ἢ τίνες ἔμελλον εὐαγγελίζεσθαι τὸν λόγον τῆς ἀληθείας ; Καὶ γὰρ καὶ οἱ διώκοντες διὰ τοῦτο ἐζήτουν τοὺς ἁγίους, ἵνα μὴ ἢ ὁ διδάσκων ὅποια οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ‘παρήγγειλαν’ τοῖς ἀποστόλοις· ἀλλὰ διὰ τοῦτο πάντα ὑπέμενον, ἵνα τὸ εὐαγγέλιον κηρυχθῇ. Ἴδου γοῦν καὶ οὕτως ἀγωνιζόμενοι οὐκ ἀργὸν εἶχον τὸν τῆς φυγῆς καιρὸν, οὐδὲ διωκόμενοι ἐπελανθάνοντο τῆς ἐτέρων ὠφελείας, ἀγαθοῦ δὲ λόγου διάκονοι τυγχάνοντες οὐκ ἐφθόνον οὐδὲ ταύτης μεταδιδόναι τοῖς πᾶσιν· ἀλλὰ καὶ φεύγοντες, τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἐκήρυττον, καὶ προὔλεγον μὲν τῶν ἐπιβουλευόντων τὰς πανουργίας, ἡσφαλίζοντο δὲ τοὺς πιστοὺς ταῖς παραινήσεσιν. Ὁ μὲν οὖν μακάριος Παῦλος ; πείρα μαθὼν, προὔλεγε μὲν· ‘Ὅσοι θέλουσι ζῆν εὐσεβῶς ἐν 2 Tim. iii. 12. Χριστῷ, διωχθήσονται.’ ἐπήλειφε δὲ εὐθὺς τοὺς φεύγοντας εἰπὼν· ‘Δι’ ὑπομονῆς τρέχομεν τὸν προκείμενον ἡμῖν ἀγὼνα.’ Heb. xii. 1. Κἂν γὰρ αἱ θλίψεις ὥσι συνεχεῖς, ἀλλ’ ‘ἡ θλίψις ὑπομονὴν Rom. v. 4. κατεργάζεται, ἡ δὲ ὑπομονὴ δοκιμὴν, ἡ δὲ δοκιμὴ ἐλπίδα, ἡ δὲ ἐλπίς οὐ κατασχύνει.’ Ὁ δὲ προφήτης Ἡσαΐας, προσδοκωμένης τοιαύτης περιστάσεως, ὑпанεμίμνησκε καὶ ἐβόα· ‘Βά- Isa. xxvi. 20. διζε, λαός μου, εἴσελθε εἰς τὰ ταμειῖά σου, ἀπόκλεισον τὴν θύραν σου, ἀποκρύβηθι μικρὸν ὅσον ὅσον, ἕως ἂν παρέλθῃ ἡ ὀργή.’ Ὁ δὲ Ἐκκλησιαστής, εἰδὼς τὰς κατὰ τῶν θεοσεβῶν ἐπιβουλάς, καὶ λέγων· ‘Ἐὰν συκοφαντίαν πένητος, καὶ ἀρπαγὴν κρίματος καὶ δικαιοσύνης ἴδῃς ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ, μὴ θαυμάσῃς ἐν τῷ πράγματι, ὅτι ὑψηλὸς ἐπάνω ὑψηλοῦ φυλάξαι, καὶ ὑψηλοὶ ἐπ’ αὐτῆς, καὶ περισσεῖα γῆς·’ εἶχε τὸν πατέρα ἑαυτοῦ τὸν Δαβὶδ, πείρα καὶ αὐτὸν μαθόντα τὰ ἐν τοῖς διωγμοῖς, καὶ ἀσφαλιζόμενον τοὺς πάσχοντας ἐν τῷ λέγειν· ‘Ἀνδρίζεσθε, Psal. xxx. (xxxii.) 24. καὶ κραταιοῦσθω ἡ καρδίᾳ ὑμῶν, πάντες οἱ ἐλπίζοντες ἐπὶ Κύριον·’ τοῖς γὰρ οὕτως ὑπομένουσιν οὐκ ἄνθρωπος, ἀλλ’ αὐτὸς, Psal. xxxvi. (xxxvii.) 40. φησὶ, ‘Κύριος βοηθήσει, καὶ ῥύσεται αὐτοὺς, ὅτι ἤλπισαν ἐπ’ αὐτόν.’ Καὶ γὰρ καὶ γὰρ ‘ὑπομένων ὑπέμεινα τὸν Κύριον, καὶ Psal. xxxix. (xl.) 12.

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προσέσχε μοι, καὶ εἰσήκουσε τῆς δεήσεώς μου, καὶ ἀνήγαγέ με ἐκ λάκκου κατωτάτου καὶ ἀπὸ πηλοῦ ἱλύος.' Ὡφέλιμος ἄρα τοῖς λαοῖς καὶ οὐκ ἄκαρπος ἡ φυγὴ τῶν ἀγίων δείκνυται, κἂν τοῖς Ἀρειανοῖς μὴ δοκῇ.

c. 14, 16.

Ecclus. iv.
28.

22. Οὕτω μὲν οὖν οἱ ἅγιοι, καθάπερ εἴρηται, φεύγοντες, κατὰ περιττὸν καὶ δι' οἰκονομίαν ἐφυλάττοντο, ὥσπερ ἱατροὶ τῶν δεομένων χάριν. Τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις καὶ πᾶσιν ἀπλῶς ἡμῖν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις νόμος οὗτος, φεύγειν διωκομένους, καὶ κρύπτεσθαι ζητούμενους· καὶ μὴ προπετεῦεσθαι μὲν ἐν τῷ πειράζειν τὸν Κύριον, περιμένειν δὲ αὐτοὺς, καθὰ προείπον, ἕως ἂν ὁ ὠρισμένος τοῦ θανάτου χρόνος ἔλθῃ, ἣ ὁ κριτὴς τι περὶ αὐτῶν βουλευσῇται, ὅπερ ἂν αὐτῷ δόξῃ καλῶς ἔχειν· εἶναι μέντοι τούτους ἐτοίμους, ὥστε, καιροῦ καλέσαντος, καὶ κρατηθέντας 'ἀγωνίζεσθαι ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀληθείας μέχρι θανάτου.' Ταῦτα καὶ οἱ μακάριοι μάρτυρες ἐν τοῖς κατὰ καιροῦς διωγμοῖς ἐφύλαττον, καὶ διωκόμενοι μὲν ἔφευγον, καὶ λανθάνοντες ἑκατέρουν, εὐρισκόμενοι δὲ ἐμαρτύρουν. Εἰ δὲ καὶ τινες ἐξ αὐτῶν αὐτοῖς προσήρχοντο τοῖς διώκουσι, καὶ τοῦτο οὐχ ἀπλῶς ἔπραττον· ἐμαρτύρουν γὰρ εὐθὺς, καὶ πᾶσιν ἐγίνετο φανερόν, ὅτι παρὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος ἦν καὶ αὐτῶν ἡ προθυμία καὶ ἡ τοσαύτη πρόσ-
οδος.

Exod. xv. 9.

c. 8.

Hist. Ari. 33.
67.

23. Οὐκοῦν ὅτι τοιαῦτα τοῦ Σωτήρός ἐστι τὰ παραγγέλματα, καὶ τοιαῦται τῶν ἀγίων αἱ πράξεις, εἰπάτωσαν ἡμῖν οἱ μὴδ' ὀτιοῦν ἂν τις εἴποι κατ' ἄξιαν ἑαυτῶν ἀκούοντες, πόθεν ἔμαθον αὐτοὶ τὸ διώκειν; Ἀπὸ μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἀγίων, οὐκ ἂν εἴποιεν, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ διαβόλου (τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτοῖς περιλείπεται,) τοῦ λέγοντος· 'Διώξας καταλήψομαι·' καὶ τὸ μὲν φεύγειν ὁ Κύριος προσέταξε, καὶ οἱ ἅγιοι ἔφηνον· τὸ δὲ διώκειν διαβολικόν ἐστιν ἐπιχείρημα, καὶ κατὰ πάντων αὐτὸς αἰτεῖται τοῦτο. Τίνι τοίνυν δεῖ προσθέσθαι, πάλιν λεγέτωσαν, τοῖς τοῦ Κυρίου ῥήμασι, ἣ ταῖς αὐτῶν μυθολογίαις; τίνων δὲ δεῖ μιμῆσθαι τὰς πράξεις; τῶν ἀγίων, ἣ ὧν ἂν ἐπινοήσωσιν αὐτοὶ; Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἴσως οὐδὲ ταῦτα διακρίνειν αὐτοὶ δύνανται (πεπῆρωνται γὰρ τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ τὴν συνειδησιν, ὥς εἶπεν ὁ Ἡσαίας, καὶ νομίζουσι 'τὸ πικρὸν εἶναι γλυκὺ, καὶ τὸ φῶς σκότος'), παρελθὼν τις ἐξ ἡμῶν Χριστιανὸς ἐντρεψάτω τούτους μεγάλη τῇ φωνῇ λέγων·

Isa. v. 20.

‘Αγαθὸν πεποιθέναί ἐπὶ Κύριον, ἢ ταῖς τούτων προσέχειν μωρολογίαις. Τὰ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ Κυρίου ῥήματα ζωὴν αἰώνιον ἔχει, τὰ δὲ παρὰ τούτων προφερόμενα πανουργίας καὶ αἱμάτων ἐστὶ μεστὰ.’

24. Ἰκανὰ μὲν οὖν ταῦτα τὴν μανίαν τῶν ἀσεβῶν ἀνατρέψαι, καὶ δεῖξαι μηδὲν ἕτερον αὐτοὺς σπουδάζοντας, ἢ ἵνα μόνον εἰς λοιδορίας καὶ βλασφημίας φιλονεικῶσιν. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἅπαξ Χριστομάχοι τολμήσαντες εἶναι, λοιπὸν καὶ φιλοπράγμονες γεγόνασιν, ἐξεταζέτωσαν ὅμως καὶ τὸν τρόπον τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως, καὶ μανθανέτωσαν παρὰ τῶν ἰδίων. Ἦσαν γὰρ Ἀρειανοὶ συνδραμόντες τοῖς στρατιώταις εἰς τὸ παροξύνειν αὐτοὺς, καὶ ἀγνοοῦσιν αὐτοῖς δεικνύειν ἡμᾶς. Καὶ εἰ καὶ οὕτως ἀσυμπαθεῖς τυγχάνουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀκούοντες ἡρεμέτωσαν αἰσχυρόμενοι. Νῦν μὲν γὰρ ἤδη ἦν, καὶ τοῦ λαοῦ τινες ἐπαννύχιζον, προσδοκωμένης συνάξεως· ὁ δὲ στρατηλάτης Συριανὸς ἐξαίφνης ἐπέστη μετὰ στρατιωτῶν πλείων πεντακισχιλίων, ἐχόντων ὅπλα καὶ ξίφη γυμνὰ, καὶ τόξα, καὶ βέλη, καὶ ῥόπαλα, καθὰ καὶ πρότερον εἶρηται· καὶ τὴν μὲν ἐκκλησίαν αὐτὸς περιεκύκλωσε, στήσας τοὺς στρατιώτας σύνεγγυς, ὥς μὴ δύνασθαί τινας, ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐξελθόντας, παρελθεῖν αὐτούς. Ἐγὼ δὲ ἄλογον ἡγούμενος ἐν τοσαύτῃ συγχύσει καταλείψαι τοὺς λαοὺς, καὶ μὴ μᾶλλον προκινδυνεύειν αὐτῶν, καθεστῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου, προέτρεπον τὸν μὲν διάκονον ἀναγινώσκειν ψαλμόν· τοὺς δὲ λαοὺς ὑπακούειν, ‘Ὅτι εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τὸ ἔλεος αὐτοῦ,’ καὶ πάντας οὕτως ἀναχωρεῖν, καὶ εἰς τοὺς οἴκους ἀπιέναι. Ἀλλὰ τοῦ στρατηλάτου βία λοιπὸν ἐπεισελθόντος, καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν περιλαβόντων τὸ ἱερατεῖον ἕνεκα τοῦ συλλαβεῖν ἡμᾶς, οἱ μὲν εὐρεθέντες ἐκεῖ κληρικοὶ καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν λαῶν ἐβόων, ἡξίουσαν ἀναχωρεῖν ἤδη καὶ ἡμᾶς· ἐγὼ δὲ μᾶλλον ἀντέλεγον ‘μὴ πρότερον ἀναχωρήσειν, εἰ μὴ πάντες καθ’ ἕκαστον ὑπεξέλθοιεν.’ Ἀναστὰς γοῦν, καὶ προστάξας εὐχὴν, οὕτως ἀντηξίουσαν ἀπιέναι πρότερον τοὺς πάντας, ‘βέλτιον εἶναι’ λέγων ‘ἐμὲ κινδυνεύειν ἢ βλαβλῆναί τινας ἐξ ὑμῶν.’ Ἐξελθόντων τοίνυν τῶν πλείστων, καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐπακολουθούντων, οἱ σὺν ἡμῖν ὄντες ἐκεῖ μοναχοὶ καὶ τινες τῶν κληρικῶν ἀνελθόντες εἴλκυσαν ἡμᾶς· καὶ οὕτως, ἐπὶ μάρτυρι τῇ ἀληθείᾳ, τῶν στρατιωτῶν τῶν μὲν περιεστηκότων τὸ ἱερατεῖον, τῶν δὲ περιερχο-

[Thursday,
Feb. 7, 356.]
Ap. ad Const.
25.
Hist. Ari. 48,
81.

Cp. c. 6.

Psal. cxxxv.
(cxxxvi.)

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μένων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, διήλθομεν, τοῦ Κυρίου ὁδηγοῦντος, καὶ αὐτοῦ φυλάττοντος, λαθόντες αὐτοὺς ἀνεχωρήσαμεν, δοξάζοντες μεγάλως αὐτὸν τὸν Θεόν, ὅτι μήτε προδεδώκαμεν τὸν λαόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ προπέμφαντες αὐτοὺς, διασωθῆναι καὶ διαφυγεῖν τὰς χεῖρας τῶν ζητούντων ἡδυνήθημεν.

Acts xii. 6.

25. Τῆς τοίνυν Προνοίας οὕτως καὶ παραδόξως ῥυσαμένης, τίς ἂν δικαίως μέμψιν ἐπαγάγοι, ὅτι μὴ τοῖς ζητοῦσιν ἑαυτοὺς ἐκδότους δεδώκαμεν, ἢ ὑποστρέψαντες ἐνεφανίσσαμεν ἑαυτούς; Τοῦτο γάρ ἐστιν ἀντικρυς ἀχαριστήσαι τῷ Κυρίῳ, παρ' ἐντολήν τε αὐτοῦ πρᾶξαι, καὶ ταῖς τῶν ἁγίων μάχεσθαι πράξεσιν. Ἡ δὲ τοῦτο μεμφόμενος τολμησάτω καὶ τὸν μέγαν ἀπόστολον Πέτρον αἰτιάσασθαι, ὅτι, καίτοι συγκλεισθεὶς καὶ τηρούμενος ὑπὸ στρατιωτῶν, ἠκολούθησε τῷ καλοῦντι ἀγγέλῳ, καὶ ἐξελθὼν ἀπὸ τῆς φυλακῆς καὶ διασωθεὶς, οὐχ ὑπέστρεψε καὶ παρέδωκεν ἑαυτὸν, καίπερ ἀκούσας ἃ πεποίηκεν Ἡρώδης· μεμφέσθω δὲ μανεῖς ὁ Ἀρειανὸς, ὅτι μήτε Παῦλος ὁ ἀπόστολος, χαλασθεὶς ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους καὶ διασωθεὶς, μετέγνω, καὶ ὑποστρέψας ἐκδο-
τον ἑαυτὸν δέδωκε· μήτε ὅτι Μωσῆς ὑπέστρεψεν ἀπὸ Μαδιὰμ εἰς Αἴγυπτον, ἵνα κρατηθῇ ὑπὸ τῶν ζητούντων· μήτε ὁ Δαβὶδ ἐν τῷ σπηλαίῳ ἔδειξεν ἑαυτὸν τῷ Σαούλ· ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ τῶν προφητῶν ἔμειναν ἐν τοῖς σπηλαίοις, καὶ οὐ παρέδωκαν ἑαυ-
τοὺς τῷ Ἀχαάβ· τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν πάλιν παρ' ἐντολήν ποιεῖν, λεγούσης τῆς γραφῆς· 'Οὐκ ἐκπειράσεις Κύριον τὸν Θεόν σου.'

Matt. iv. 7.

26. Τοῦτο γοῦν εὐλαβοῦμενος κἀγὼ, καὶ ταῦτα μαθὼν, οὕτως ἑμαυτὸν ἤγαγον, καὶ οὐκ ἄθετῶ τὴν εἰς ἐμὲ γενομένην παρὰ τοῦ Κυρίου χάριν καὶ βοήθειαν, κἂν οὗτοι μαινόμενοι τρίζωσι τοὺς ὁδόντας καθ' ἡμῶν. Καὶ γὰρ τοιοῦτος ὁ τρόπος τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως ἡμῶν γέγονε, καὶ ἡγοῦμαι μηδὲ μίαν αὐτὴν ἔχειν μέμψιν παρ' οἷς ἐστιν ὁ λογισμὸς ὑγιής· ὅπουγε κατὰ τὴν θέαν γραφὴν οὗτος ἡμῖν παρὰ τῶν ἁγίων εἰς διδασκαλίαν ὁ τύπος παρεδόθη. Ἄλλ' οὗτοι, ὥς ἔοικεν, οὔτε τι τῶν ἀτολ-
μήτων παρορῶσιν, οὔτε παραλιμπάνειν τι βούλονται, ὃ μὴ τὴν πονηρίαν αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν ὀμότητα δείκνυσιν. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ ὁ βίος αὐτῶν τοιοῦτός ἐστιν, οἷοί εἰσι καὶ τῷ φρονήματι καὶ ταῖς φλυαρίαις· καὶ οὐκ ἂν εἴποι τις τοιαῦτα καὶ τοσαῦτα κατ' αὐτῶν, οἷα καὶ ὅσα πράττοντες αὐτοὶ οὐκ αἰσχύνονται. Ὁ

μὲν γὰρ Λεόντιος διαβαλλόμενος μετὰ γυναικὸς τινος νεω- Hist. Ari. 4.
τέρας, λεγομένης Εὐστολίου, καὶ κωλυόμενος συνοικεῖν αὐτῇ,
δι' αὐτὴν ἑαυτὸν ἀπέκοψεν, ἵν' ἐπ' ἀδείας ἔχῃ διατρίβειν μετ'
αὐτῆς. Καὶ τὴν μὲν ὑποψίαν οὐκ ἀπενίψατο, διὰ τοῦτο δὲ
μᾶλλον, καὶ πρεσβύτερος ὢν, καθηρέθη· εἰ καὶ Κωνστάντιος
ὁ αἵρετικὸς ἐβιάσατο λέγεσθαι αὐτὸν ἐπίσκοπον. Ὁ δὲ Νάρ-
κισσος, ἄλλα τε πολλὰ κακὰ ἔχων, καὶ τρίτον ἐν διαφόροις
συνόδοις καθηρέθη· καὶ νῦν αὐτὸς ἔστιν ἐν αὐτοῖς ὁ πονηρό-
τατος· ὁ δὲ Γεώργιος, καὶ πρεσβύτερος μὲν ὢν, διὰ τὴν κακίαν De Syn. 17.
αὐτοῦ καθηρέθη, καὶ ὀνομάσας δὲ ἑαυτὸν ἐπίσκοπον, οὐδὲν
ἦπτον πάλιν καθηρέθη ἐν τῇ κατὰ Σαρδικὴν μεγάλῃ συνόδῳ· Apol. c. Ari.
ἔχει δέ τι καὶ πλεόν, ὅτι καὶ ζῶν ἀσώτως οὐκ ἔλαθεν· ἄλλα 49.
καὶ παρὰ τῶν οἰκείων καταγινώσκεται, τὸ τέλος τοῦ ζῆν καὶ
τὴν εὐθυμίαν ἐν τοῖς αἰσχίστοις μετρῶν.

27. Ἐκαστος μὲν οὖν τὸν ἕτερον ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις πλεονεκτεῖ
κακοῖς· κοινὸς δὲ σπῖλός ἐστιν αὐτοῖς, ὅτι τὴν αἵρεσιν εἰσι
Χριστομάχοι, καὶ οὐκέτι Χριστιανοὶ, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον Ἀρειανοὶ
καλοῦνται. Ἴδου ταῦτα διαβάλλειν αὐτοὺς ἔδει· ἀλλότρια
γὰρ τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ πίστεως ἐστίν. Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν δι' ἑαυ-
τοὺς κρύπτουσιν· οὐδὲν δὲ θαυμαστὸν εἰ, τοιοῦτοι ὄντες τῷ
φρονήματι, καὶ τοιούτοις συμπλεκόμενοι κακοῖς, τοὺς ἄλλους ἰ Pet. iv. 4.
συντρέχοντας· αὐτῶν τῇ ἀσεβεστάτῃ αἵρέσει διώκοντες ζητοῦσι·
καὶ ἀναιροῦντες μὲν χαίρουσι, μὴ τυγχάνοντες δὲ ὧν εὐχονται,
λυποῦνται, καὶ νομίζουσιν ἀδικεῖσθαι, ὅταν, καθὰ προείπον, c. 8.
βλέπωσι ζῶντας, οὓς ἀποθνήσκουν βούλονται. Εἴη δὲ τούτους
οὕτως ἀδικεῖσθαι, ὥστε αὐτοὺς μὲν ἀσθενεῖν ἐν ταῖς ἀδικαίαις
αὐτῶν, τοὺς δὲ διωκομένους παρ' αὐτῶν εὐχαριστεῖν τῷ Κυρίῳ,
καὶ λέγειν τὰ ἐν τῷ κς' ψαλμῷ· Κύριος φωτισμός μου καὶ σω- Psal. xxvi.
τήρ μου, τίνα φοβηθήσομαι; Κύριος ὑπερασπιστὴς τῆς ζωῆς (xxvii.) 1, 2.
μου, ἀπὸ τίνος δειλιάσω; Ἐν τῷ ἐγγίξειν ἐπ' ἐμὲ κακούντας,
τοῦ φαγεῖν τὰς σάρκας μου, οἱ θλίβοντές με καὶ οἱ ἐχθροὶ μου,
αὐτοὶ ἡσθένησαν καὶ ἔπεσον· καὶ πάλιν ἐν τῷ λ' ψαλμῷ· Ἔσω- Psal. xxx.
σας ἐκ τῶν ἀναγκῶν τὴν ψυχὴν μου, καὶ οὐ συνέκλεισάς με εἰς (xxxii.) 7-9.
χείρας ἐχθρῶν· ἔστησας ἐν εὐρυχώρῳ τοὺς πόδας μου· ἐν
Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν, δι' οὗ τῷ Πατρὶ ἐν Ἀγίῳ Πνεύ-
ματι ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.

ΤΟΥ ΕΝ ΑΓΙΟΙΣ ΠΑΤΡΟΣ ΗΜΩΝ

ΑΘΑΝΑΣΙΟΥ

ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΑΣ

ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ

ΠΡΟΣ ΣΕΡΑΠΙΩΝΑ ΤΟΝ ΑΔΕΛΦΟΝ.

Ἀθανάσιος Σεραπίωνι ἀδελφῷ καὶ συλλειτουργῷ, ἐν Κυρίῳ χαίρειν.

[A. D. 358-
360?]

Ι. Ἐνέτυχον τοῖς παρὰ τῆς σῆς εὐλαβείας γραφεῖσιν, ἐν οἷς προέτρεπες ἡμᾶς τὰ τε καθ' ἡμᾶς καὶ νῦν γενόμενα δηλῶσαί σοι, καὶ περὶ τῆς ἀσεβεστάτης αἵρέσεως τῶν Ἀρειανῶν, δι' ἣν καὶ ταῦτα πεπόνθαμεν, καὶ ὅποιον ἔσχε τὸ τέλος τοῦ βίου Ἀρειος. Τριῶν τοίνυν ὄντων τῶν ἐπιταγμάτων, τὰ μὲν δύο προθύμως ἐποίησα, καὶ ἀπέστειλα τῇ σῇ θεοσεβείᾳ ἅπερ ἔγραψα τοῖς μοναχοῖς· ἐκ γὰρ τούτων τὰ τε καθ' ἡμᾶς καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν αἵρεσιν δύνασαι μαθεῖν· τὸ δὲ ἕτερον, φημί δὴ περὶ τοῦ θανάτου, πολλὰ μὲν ἐλογισάμην, εὐλαβούμενος μὴ ὥς ἐπεμβαίνοντά μέ τις τῷ θανάτῳ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου λογισθταί· ὁμως δὲ, ἐπειδὴ, διαλέξεως γενομένης παρ' ὑμῖν περὶ τῆς αἵρέσεως, εἰς τοῦτο τὸ τέλος ἔληξεν ἡ ζήτησις, 'εἰ κοινωνήσας τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ Ἀρειος ἐτελεύτησε,' διὰ τοῦτο, ὥς διαλυομένης τῆς ζητήσεως ἐκ τοῦ περὶ τοῦ θανάτου διηγήματος, ἀναγκαίως δηλῶσαι ἐσπούδασα· ἴσον ἡγούμενος τὸ σημᾶναι τοῦτο, καὶ τὸ παῦσαι λοιπὸν τοὺς φιλονεικοῦντας. Ἐγούμαι γὰρ ὅτι, γνωσθέντος τοῦ περὶ τοῦ θανάτου θαύματος, μηκέτι μηδὲ αὐτοὺς

τοὺς πρότερον ζητήσαντας τολμᾶν ἀμφιβάλλειν, ὡς θεοοστυγὴς ἔστιν ἡ Ἀρειανὴ αἵρεσις.

2. Ἐγὼ μὲν οὐ παρήμην ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, ὅτε ἐτελεύ-
τησεν ἐκεῖνος· Μακάριος δὲ ὁ πρεσβύτερος παρῆν, κακεῖνου
λέγοντος ἤκουσα. Ἐκέκλητο μὲν παρὰ Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ
βασιλέως Ἀρειος ἐκ σπουδῆς τῶν περὶ Εὐσέβιον· εἰσελθόντα
δὲ τὸν Ἀρειον ἀνέκρινε βασιλεὺς, ‘εἰ τὴν πίστιν τῆς καθολικῆς
ἐκκλησίας ἔχει·’ αὐτὸς τε ὥμοσε πιστεύειν ὁρθῶς, καὶ ἔγγραφον
ἐπιδέδωκε πίστεως, κρύψας μὲν ἐφ’ οἷς ἐξεβλήθη τῆς ἐκκλη-
σίας παρὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, ὑποκρινόμενος δὲ τὰς
ἀπὸ τῶν γραφῶν λέξεις. Ὁμόσαντα τοίνυν αὐτὸν μὴ πε-
φρονηκέναι ἐφ’ οἷς ἐξέβαλεν Ἀλέξανδρος αὐτὸν, ἀπέλυσεν
εἰρηκῶς· ‘Εἰ ὁρθή σου ἔστιν ἡ πίστις, καλῶς ὥμοσας· εἰ δὲ
ἀσεβῆς ἔστιν ἡ πίστις σου, καὶ ὥμοσας, ὁ Θεὸς ἐκ τοῦ ὅρκου
κρίναι τὰ κατὰ σέ.’ Οὕτω δὴ οὖν αὐτὸν ἐξελθόντα παρὰ τοῦ
βασιλέως ἠθέλησαν εἰσαγαγεῖν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν οἱ περὶ
Εὐσέβιον τῇ συνήθει ἑαυτῶν βίᾳ. Ἀλλ’ ὁ τῆς Κωνσταντινου-
πόλεως ἐπίσκοπος, ὁ μακαρίτης Ἀλέξανδρος, ἀντέλεγε, φάσκων
‘μὴ δεῖν εἰς κοινωσίαν δεχθῆναι τὸν τῆς αἰρέσεως εὐρετήν.’
Καὶ λοιπὸν οἱ περὶ Εὐσέβιον ἠπειλήσαν, ‘ὅτι ὥσπερ, μὴ θελόν-
των ὑμῶν, ἐποιήσαμεν αὐτὸν κληθῆναι παρὰ βασιλέως, οὕτως
αὖριον, κὰν μὴ κατὰ γνώμην σοι τυγχάνῃ, συναχθήσεται Ἀρειος
μεθ’ ἡμῶν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ταύτῃ.’ Σάββατον δὲ ἦν ὅτε ταῦτα
ἔλεγον.

3. Ὁ τοίνυν ἐπίσκοπος Ἀλέξανδρος, ἀκούσας ταῦτα, καὶ
πάνυ λυπηθεὶς, εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, τὰς τε χεῖρας
ἐκτείνας πρὸς τὸν Θεόν, ἀπαδύρετο, καὶ ῥίψας ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ
πρόσωπον ἐν τῷ ἱερατείῳ, κείμενος ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐδάφους, ἡ-
χετο. Παρῆν δὲ καὶ Μακάριος εὐχόμενος σὺν αὐτῷ, καὶ
ἀκούσας τῆς φωνῆς αὐτοῦ. Παρεκάλει δὲ δύο ταῦτα, λέ-
γων· ‘Εἰ Ἀρειος αὖριον συνάγεται, ἀπόλυσον ἐμὲ τὸν δο-
λὸν σου, καὶ μὴ συναπολέσης εὐσεβῆ μετὰ ἀσεβοῦς· εἰ δὲ
φείδῃ τῆς ἐκκλησίας σου, οἶδα δὲ, ὅτι φείδῃ, ἐπίδε ἐπὶ τὰ
ῥήματα τῶν περὶ Εὐσέβιον, καὶ μὴ δῶς εἰς ἀφανισμόν καὶ
ὄνειδος τὴν κληρονομίαν σου· καὶ ἄρον Ἀρειον, ἵνα μὴ,
εἰσελθόντος αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, δόξῃ καὶ ἡ αἵρεσις

A. D. 336.
Cp. Theod.
i. 14.

Cp. Ep. Aeg.
18.

Cp. Epiph.
Hær. 69. 10.

Cp. Soc. i.
37.
Soz. ii. 29.

Cp. Joel ii.
17.

K. P. AD
SERAP. DE
MORTE ARII.

συνεισέρχεσθαι αὐτῷ, καὶ λοιπὸν ἡ ἀσέβεια ὡς εὐσέβεια νομισθῇ.' Ταῦτα εὐξάμενος ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, ἀνεχώρησε πᾶν φροντίζων. Καὶ γέγονέ τι θαυμαστὸν καὶ παράδοξον· τῶν γὰρ περὶ Εὐσέβιον ἀπειλησάντων, ὁ μὲν ἐπίσκοπος ἤψατο, ὁ δὲ Ἀρείος ἐθάρρει τοῖς περὶ Εὐσέβιον, πολλά τε φλυαρῶν, εἰσῆλθεν εἰς θάκας, ὡς διὰ χρεῖαν τῆς γαστρὸς, καὶ ἐξαίφνης, κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον, 'πρηνὴς γενόμενος ἐλάκησε μέσος,' καὶ πεσὼν εὐθὺς ἀπέψυξεν, ἀμφοτέρων τε, τῆς τε κοινωνίας καὶ τοῦ ζῆν, εὐθὺς ἐστερήθη.

Acts i. 18.

4. Τὸ μὲν οὖν τέλος τοῦ Ἀρείου τοιοῦτον γέγονε· καὶ οἱ περὶ Εὐσέβιον μεγάλως αἰσχυρθέντες, ἔθαψαν τὸν συνομότην ἑαυτῶν· ὁ δὲ μακαρίτης Ἀλέξανδρος χαιρούσης τῆς ἐκκλησίας τὴν σύναξιν ἐπετέλεσε σὺν εὐσεβείᾳ καὶ ὀρθοδοξίᾳ, πᾶσι τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς εὐχόμενος, καὶ δοξάζων μεγάλως τὸν Θεὸν, οὐχ ὡς ἐπιχαίρων τῷ θανάτῳ, μὴ γένοιτο· 'πᾶσι' γὰρ 'ἀπόκειται τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἀπαξ ἀποθανεῖν' ἀλλ' ὅτι τοῦτο ὑπὲρ τὰς ἀνθρώπων κρίσεις ἐδείχθη. Αὐτὸς γὰρ ὁ Κύριος, δικάσας ταῖς ἀπειλαῖς τῶν περὶ Εὐσέβιον καὶ τῇ εὐχῇ Ἀλεξάνδρου, κατέκρινε τὴν Ἀρειανὴν αἵρεσιν, δείξας αὐτὴν ἀνάξιον οὖσαν τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς κοινωνίας· καὶ πᾶσι φανερώσας, ὅτι, κἂν παρὰ βασιλείως καὶ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἔχη τὴν προστασίαν, ἀλλὰ παρ' αὐτῆς τῆς ἐκκλησίας κατεκρίθη. Δέδεικται οὖν οὐ θεοφιλὲς, ἀλλ' ἀσεβὲς τὸ Χριστομάχον ἐργαστήριον τῶν Ἀρειομανιτῶν. Καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν πρότερον ἀπατηθέντων μετέθεντο. Οὐ γὰρ ἄλλος, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ὁ βλασφημούμενος παρ' αὐτῶν Κύριος κατέκρινε τὴν κατ' αὐτοῦ συστάσαν αἵρεσιν· καὶ πάλιν ἔδειξεν ὅτι, κἂν νῦν ὁ βασιλεὺς Κωνσταντῖος βιάζηται τοὺς ἐπισκόπους ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς, ἀλλ' ἀκοινωνητός ἐστι τῆς ἐκκλησίας, καὶ τῶν οὐρανῶν ἁλλοτρία. Οὐκοῦν καὶ ἡ παρ' ὑμῖν λοιπὸν πεπαύσθω ζήτησις· αὕτη γὰρ ἦν ἡ γενομένη συνθήκη· καὶ μηδεὶς προστιθέσθω τῇ αἵρέσει, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ ἀπατηθέντες μεταγινωσκέτωσαν. Ἦν γὰρ ὁ Κύριος κατέκρινε, τίς ἀποδέχεται; καὶ ἦν ἀκοινωνητὸν αὐτὸς πεποίηκε, πῶς ὁ παραλαβόμενος οὐ μεγάλως ἀσεβεῖ, καὶ φανερώς ἐστι Χριστομάχος;

Heb. ix. 27.

Cp. Soz. ii.
30; iii. 4.

5. Ἰκανὸν μὲν οὖν καὶ τοῦτο ὠσωπῆσαι τοὺς ἐριστικούς·

ἀνάγνωθι οὖν τοῖς τότε ζητήσασι, καὶ τὰ κατὰ τῆς αἵρέσεως δι' ὀλίγων γραφέντα πρὸς τοὺς μοναχοὺς, ἵνα καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἔτι μᾶλλον καταγινώσκωσι τῆς ἀσεβείας καὶ τῆς πονηρίας τῶν Ἀρειομανιτῶν. Μηδενὶ μέντοι θελήσης ἐκδοῦναι τούτων ἀντίγραφον, μηδὲ σαντῶ μεταγράψαι· καὶ γὰρ καὶ τοῖς μοναχοῖς τοῦτο δεδήλωκα· ἀλλ' ὥς γνήσιος, εἰ μὲν τι λείπει τοῖς γραφεῖσι, πρόσθε· εὐθὺς δὲ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀντίπεμψον. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς, ἧς ἔγραψα τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς, δύνασαι μαθεῖν ὃ πέπονθα γράφων, καὶ γινῶναι ἔτι· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἔστιν ἀσφαλὲς ἐκδίδοσθαι γράμματα ἰδιώτου, καὶ μάλιστα περὶ τῶν ἀνωτάτων καὶ κορυφαιοτάτων δογμάτων, μήποτε τὸ διὰ ἀσθένειαν, ἢ τὸ ἀδιατράνωτον τῆς γλώττης ἐνδεῶς εἰρημένον βλάβην τοῖς ἀπαγινώσκουσιν ἐμποιήσῃ. Οἱ γὰρ πολλοὶ οὐ τὴν πίστιν, οὐδὲ τὸν σκοπὸν τοῦ γράψαντος σκοποῦσιν, ἀλλ' ἢ διὰ φθόνον, ἢ δι' ἔριν, ἧς προελήφθησαν κατὰ διάνοιαν δόξης, ὥς ἐὰν θελήσωσιν αὐτοὶ, δέχονται, καὶ μεταποιοῦσι τὰ γραφέντα κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ἡδονήν. Δῶν δὲ ὁ Κύριος παρὰ πᾶσι, καὶ μάλιστα οἷς ἀναγινώσκεις ταῦτα, κρατεῖν τὴν τε ἀλήθειαν, καὶ τὴν ὑγιαίνουσαν εἰς τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν πίστιν. Ἀμήν.

Ep. ad Mon. 3

ΤΟΥ ΕΝ ΑΓΙΟΙΣ ΠΑΤΡΟΣ ΗΜΩΝ

ΑΘΑΝΑΣΙΟΥ

ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΑΣ

ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ.

[*Ad Monachos.*]

Τοῖς ἀπανταχοῦ κατὰ τόπον τὸν μονήρῃ βίον ἀσκούσι, καὶ ἐν πίστει
Matt. xix. 27. Θεοῦ ἰδρυμένοις, ἡγιασμένοις τε ἐν Χριστῷ, καὶ λέγουσιν, 'Ἰδοὺ ἡμεῖς
ἀφήκαμεν πάντα, καὶ ἠκολουθήσαμεν σοι,' ἀγαπητοῖς καὶ ποθεινοτάτοις
[A.D. 358.] ἀδελφοῖς, ἐν Κυρίῳ πλείστα χαίρειν.

1. Τῇ μὲν ὑμετέρῃ διαθέσει πεισθεῖς, καὶ πολλάκις παρ'
ὑμῶν προτραπεῖς, ἔγραψα δι' ὀλίγων περὶ ὧν πεπόνθαμεν
ἡμεῖς τε καὶ ἡ ἐκκλησία, καὶ ὡς δύναμις μοι διελέγχων τὴν
μυστὰν αἵρεσιν τῶν Ἀρειομανιτῶν, καὶ δεικνὺς ὅσον ἐστὶν
ἀλλοτρία τῆς ἀληθείας αὕτη. Ὁ δὲ πέπονθα γράφων, ἀναγ-
καῖον ἡγησάμην δηλῶσαι τῇ εὐσεβεῖ ὑμῶν, ἵνα καὶ ἐκ τούτου
Rom. xi. 33. μάθητε, πῶς ἀληθῶς εἴρηκεν ὁ μακάριος Ἀπόστολος· 'Ὡ
βάθος πλοῦτου καὶ σοφίας καὶ γνώσεως Θεοῦ' καὶ συγνῶτε
κάμοι ἀνθρώπῳ ἀσθενεῖ τὴν φύσιν ὄντι· ὅσον γὰρ ἐβουλόμην
γράφειν, καὶ νοεῖν ἐβιαζόμην ἐμαυτὸν περὶ τῆς θεότητος τοῦ
Λόγου, τοσοῦτον ἡ γνώσις ἐξανεχώρει μακρὰν ἀπ' ἐμοῦ· καὶ
ἐγίνωσκον ἐμαυτὸν τοσοῦτον ἀπολιμπανόμενον, ὅσον ἐδόκουν
καταλαμβάνειν. Καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ ὁ ἐδόκουν νοεῖν, ἡδυνάμην
γράφειν· ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ ἔγραφον, ἔλαττον ἐγίνετο τῆς ἐν τῇ
διανοίᾳ γενομένης καὶν βραχείας τῆς ἀληθείας σκιάς.

2. Ὅρων τοίνυν, ὡς ἐν τῷ Ἐκκλησιαστῇ γέγραπται, ὅτι

‘Εἶπα· Σοφισθήσομαι, καὶ αὕτη ἐμακρύνθη ἀπ’ ἐμοῦ μακράν Eccles. vii. 24, 25.
 ὑπὲρ ὃ ἦν· καὶ, ‘Βαθὺ βάθος, τίς εὐρήσει αὐτό;’ καὶ τὸ ἐν
 τοῖς Ψαλμοῖς· ‘Ἐθανμαστώθη ἡ γυνῶσίς σου ἐξ ἐμοῦ, ἐκρα- Ps. cxxxviii (cxxxix.) 6
 ταιώθη, οὐ μὴ δύναμαι πρὸς αὐτήν·’ καὶ ὁ Σολομών φησι·
 ‘Δόξα Θεοῦ, κρύπτειν λόγον·’ πολλάκις ἐβουλευσάμην ἐπι- Prov. xxv. 2.
 σχεῖν καὶ παύσασθαι τοῦ γράφειν· ναὶ πιστεύσατε. Ἵνα δὲ
 μὴ δόξω μηδὲ ὑμᾶς λυπεῖν, μήτε ἐκείνους τοὺς παρ’ ὑμῖν
 ζητήσαντας καὶ φιλονεικήσαντας ἐπιτρίβειν εἰς τὴν ἀσέβειαν
 ἐκ τοῦ σιωπᾶν, ἐβιασάμην ἐμαυτὸν ὀλίγα γράψαι· καὶ ταῦτα [A lost treatise.]
 ἀπέστειλα τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ θεοσεβείᾳ. Εἰ γὰρ καὶ, ὥς ἐστιν ἡ
 τῆς ἀληθείας κατάληψις, μακράν ἐστι νῦν ἀφ’ ἡμῶν διὰ τὴν
 τῆς σαρκὸς ἀσθένειαν, ἀλλὰ δυνατόν, ὥς εἶπεν αὐτὸς ὁ Ἐκ- Eccles. vii. 26.
 κλησιαστῆς, γινῶναι τῶν ἀσεβῶν τὴν ἀφροσύνην, καὶ εὐρόντα
 ταύτην, εἰπεῖν πικροτέραν ὑπὲρ θάνατον εἶναι. Τούτου γοῦν
 χάριν, ὥς τοῦτο γινώσκων καὶ δυνάμενος εὐρεῖν, ἔγραψα·
 εἰδὼς ὥς τοῖς πιστοῖς ἡ τῆς ἀσεβείας κατάγνωσις αὐτάρκης
 πρὸς εὐσέβειάν ἐστι γνῶσις. Καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὴ δυνατόν κατα-
 λαβέσθαι τί ἐστι Θεὸς, ἀλλὰ δυνατόν εἰπεῖν, τί οὐκ ἔστιν·
 οἶδαμεν δὲ, ὅτι οὐχ ὥς ἄνθρωπός ἐστι, καὶ ὅτι οὐδὲν τῶν De Syn. 42.
 γενητῶν θέμις ἐπινοεῖν ἐν αὐτῷ. Οὕτω δὴ καὶ περὶ τοῦ
 Υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ, εἰ καὶ πολὺ τοῦ καταλαβεῖν μακράν ἐσμεν
 τῇ φύσει, ἀλλὰ δυνατόν καὶ εὐκόλον καταγνῶναι τῶν προσ-
 φερομένων παρὰ τῶν αἰρετικῶν, καὶ εἰπεῖν, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι
 ταῦτα Υἱὸς ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ, οὐδὲ θέμις περὶ τῆς θεότητος αὐτοῦ
 τοιαῦτα κἂν ἐννοεῖν, οἷα λέγουσιν ἐκεῖνοι, μήτιγε καὶ φθέγ-
 γεσθαι διὰ χειλέων.

3. Οὕτω τοίνυν, ὅσον ἡδυνήθην ἐγὼ μὲν ἔγραψα· ὑμεῖς δὲ,
 ἀγαπητοί, δέξασθε ταῦτα μὴ ὥς τελείαν ἔχοντα τὴν ἐρμηνείαν
 περὶ τῆς τοῦ Λόγου θεότητος, ἀλλ’ ὥς μόνον ἐλέγχοντα μὲν
 τὴν ἀσέβειαν τῶν Χριστομάχων, ἔχοντα δὲ καὶ διδόντα τοῖς
 βουλομένοις ἀφορμὴν εἰς εὐσέβειαν τῆς ὑγιαινοῦσης ἐν Χρισ-
 τῷ πίστεως. Εἰ δέ τι παραλείπεται (πάντα δὲ νομίζω παρα-
 λελεῖσθαι), συγγινώσκετε μετὰ συνειδήσεως καθαρᾶς, καὶ
 μόνον ἀποδέξασθε τὸ τολμηρὸν τῆς πρὸς εὐσέβειαν προθέ-
 σεως. Εἰς γὰρ τελείαν κατάγνωσιν τῆς αἵρέσεως τῶν
 Ἀρειανῶν, αὐτάρκης ἡ περὶ τοῦ θανάτου Ἀρείου γενομένη

E.P. AD
MONACH.
Isa. xiv. 27.

παρὰ τοῦ Κυρίου κρίσις· ἦν ἤδη φθάσαντες καὶ παρ' ἐτέρων ἔγνωτε. “Α γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς ὁ ἅγιος βεβούλευται, τίς διασκεδάσει;” καὶ ὃν ὁ Κύριος κατέκρινε, τίς ὁ δικαίων; Τίς γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ τοιούτου γενομένου σημείου οὐ γινώσκει λοιπὸν, ὅτι θεομίσητός ἐστιν ἡ αἵρεσις, καὶ ἀνθρώπους ἔχη προστάτας; Ἐντυχόντες μέντοι, εὐχεσθε μὲν, καὶ ἀλλήλους εἰς τοῦτο προτρέπεσθε ποιεῖν, ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν· εὐθὺς δὲ ἀντιπέμψατε ταῦτα πρὸς ἡμᾶς· καὶ μηδεὶν τὸ σύνολον ἀντίγραφον ἔκδοτε, μηδὲ ἑαυτοῖς μεταγράψατε, ἀλλ' ἀρκέσθητε ὡς ὀκνητοὶ τραπεζίται· τῇ ἐντεύξει, καὶ πολλάκις ἐντυχεῖν θελήσητε. Οὐ γὰρ ἀσφαλὲς τοῖς μετὰ ταῦτα τὰ παρ' ἡμῶν τῶν ψευδίζοντων καὶ ἰδιωτῶν ἐστι γράμματα. Ἀσπάσασθε ἀλλήλους ἐν ἀγάπῃ, καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἐρχομένους πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐν εὐσεβείᾳ καὶ πίστει. Ἐἰ γάρ τις, ὡς εἶπεν ὁ ἀπόστολος, “οὐ φιλεῖ τὸν Κύριον, ἦτω ἀνάθεμα. Ἡ χάρις τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ μεθ' ὑμῶν. Ἀμήν.”

Cp. Euseb.
vii. 7.

1 Cor. xvi.
22, 25.

* * * * *

HIST. ARIAN.

Apol. c. Ari.
84.

Isa. v. 20.

1. Αὐτοὶ δὲ ὧν ταῦτα ἐμηχανήσαντο χάριν, οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἐπλήρωσαν· ἅμα γὰρ ἐπεβούλευσαν, καὶ εὐθὺς τοὺς περὶ Ἄρειον εἰς κοινωνίαν ἐδέξαντο. Καὶ τὰς μὲν τοσαύτας κατ' αὐτῶν κρίσεις παρεωράκασι, βασιλικὴν δὲ πάλιν ἐξουσίαν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν προεφασίσαντο· γράφοντές τε οὐκ ἡσχύνθησαν εἰπεῖν, ὅτι Ἀθανασίου παθόντος, ὁ μὲν φθόνος πέπανται, τοὺς δὲ περὶ Ἄρειον λοιπὸν δεξώμεθα, προστιθέντες πρὸς φόβον τῶν ἀκούοντων, ὅτι “τοῦτο γὰρ βασιλεὺς προσέταξεν.” Εἴτα οὐκ ἡσχύνθησαν προσθεῖναι, ὅτι καὶ ὀρθῶς φρονοῦσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι· μὴ φοβηθέντες τὸ γεγραμμένον· “Οὐαὶ οἱ λέγοντες τὸ πικρὸν γλυκὺ, οἱ τιθέντες τὸ σκότος φῶς.” Πάντα γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῆς αἰρέσεως ὑπομένειν εἰσὶν ἔτοιμοι. Ἀρ' οὖν οὐχὶ καὶ ἐκ τούτου πᾶσιν ἀντικρὺς δείκνυνται, ὡς οὐκ ἐκκλησιαστικῇ κρίσει, ἀλλ' ἐκ βασιλέως ἀπειλῆς διὰ τὴν εἰς Χριστὸν εὐσέβειαν καὶ τότε πεπόνθαμεν, καὶ νῦν διώκετε; Καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐτέροις οὕτως ἐπεβούλευσαν ἐπισκόποις, πλασάμενοι καὶ κατ' ἐκείνων πάλιν προφάσεις· ὧν οἱ μὲν ἐν τοῖς ἐξορισμοῖς ἐκοιμήθησαν, ἔχοντες τὸ καύχημα τῆς εἰς

Χριστὸν ὁμολογίας· οἱ δὲ ἔτι καὶ νῦν ὑπερόριοι τυγχάνουσιν, ἀνδριζόμενοι μᾶλλον κατὰ τῆς αἵρέσεως ἐκείνων, καὶ λέγοντες· 'Οὐδὲν ἡμᾶς χωρίσει ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγάπης τοῦ Χριστοῦ.'

Rom. viii. 35.

2. Ἐξεστι δὲ καὶ ἐκ τούτου πάλιν αὐτὴν καταμαθεῖν, καὶ μᾶλλον αὐτῆς καταγνῶναι. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ φίλος καὶ συνασεβῶν ἐκείνοις, κἂν ἐν ἄλλοις πλημμελήμασι καὶ μυρίοις ἐγκλήμασιν ὑπεύθυνος τυγχάνῃ, κἂν ἔχῃ τοὺς ἐλέγχους καὶ τὰς ἀποδείξεις λευκοτάτας, οὗτος δόκιμος παρ' αὐτοῖς, καὶ βασιλέως εὐθὺς γίνεται φίλος, ἔχων τὴν σύστασιν ἐκ τῆς ἀσεβείας· σχηματισθεὶς τε πλεῖστα, λαμβάνει καὶ παῖδησιαν ποιεῖν ἃ βούλεται παρὰ τοῖς δικασταῖς· ὁ δὲ τὴν ἀσέβειαν ἐκείνων ἐλέγχων, καὶ τὰ Χριστοῦ γνησίως πρεσβεύων, οὗτος, κἂν καθαρὸς ἐν πᾶσι τυγχάνῃ, κἂν μηδὲν ἑαυτῷ συγγνώσκῃ, κἂν μὴ κατήγορον ἔχῃ, ἀλλ' ἐκείνων προφάσεις πλασαμένων, εὐθὺς ἀρπάζεται, καὶ κρίσει βασιλέως αὐτὸς μὲν ὑπερόριος γίνεται, ὡς ὑπεύθυνος οἷς ἂν ἐκεῖνοι θελήσωσιν, ἢ ὡς βασιλέα ὑβρίσας, ὡς ὁ Ναβουθέ· ὁ δὲ πρεσβεύων τὰ τῆς αἵρέσεως ἐκείνων ζητεῖται, καὶ εὐθὺς ἀποστέλλεται εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐκείνου, καὶ λοιπὸν δημεύσεις, καὶ ὕβρεις, καὶ πάντα τὰ δεινὰ κατὰ τῶν μὴ δεχομένων ἐκείνον. Καὶ τὸ παραδοξότατον, ὃν μὲν οἱ λαοὶ βούλονται, καὶ γινώσκουσιν ἀνεπλήπτον, τοῦτον ἀφαιρεῖται καὶ ἐξορίζει βασιλεὺς· ὃν δὲ μήτε βούλονται, μήτε γινώσκουσι, τοῦτον μακρόθεν μετὰ στρατιωτῶν ἀποστέλλει καὶ γραμμάτων ἑαυτοῦ· καὶ λοιπὸν ἀνάγκη πολλὴ μισεῖν μὲν ὃν ἀγαπῶσι τὸν κατηχήσαντα, καὶ πατέρα γενόμενον ἐν θεοσεβείᾳ· ἀγαπᾶν δὲ ὃν οὐ βούλονται, καὶ πιστεύειν ἑαυτῶν τὰ τέκνα, οὐ τὸν βίον, καὶ τὴν ἀναστροφὴν, καὶ τίς ἐστὶν οὐ γινώσκουσιν· ἢ δηλονότι τιμωρίαν ὑπομένειν, ἣν μὴ πείθονται βασιλεῖ.

3 Kings (1 Kings) xxi. 10.

Cp. Apol. c. Ari. 6. Apol. de Fuga. 6. Infr. c. 75.

3. Ταῦτα καὶ νῦν δρῶσι, καὶ πάλαι πεποιήκασιν οἱ δυσσεβεῖς κατὰ τῶν ὀρθοδόξων, γνώρισμα τῆς ἑαυτῶν κακοθείας καὶ ἀσεβείας πανταχοῦ παρὰ πᾶσι παρασχόντες. Ἔστω γὰρ, Ἀθανάσιον ἡγιάσαντα, τί καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πεποιήκασιν ἐπίσκοποι; Ποίας ἄρα προφάσεις εἶχον, ἢ ποίους ἄρα κἀκεῖ νεκρὸς Ἀρσένιος εὐρέθη; ποίος παρ' αὐτοῖς Μακάριος πρεσβύτερος, καὶ ποτήριον κέκλασται; ποίος Μελιτιανὸς ὑπεκρίνεται; Ἀλλ' ὡς

Cp. Apol. c. Ari. 8, etc.

HIST. ARIAN. *ἔοικεν ἐξ ἐκείνων, καὶ τὰ κατὰ Ἀθανάσιον δέκνυνται ψευδῆ· καὶ ἐξ ὧν δὲ Ἀθανασίῳ ἐπεχείρησαν, δῆλα καὶ τὰ κατ' ἐκείνων ἐστὶ πεπλασμένα. Μέγα τι θηρίον ἐξῆλθεν ἐπὶ γῆς, ἡ αἵρεσις αὕτη· οὐ γὰρ μόνον τοῖς ῥήμασι ὡς τοῖς ὁδοῦσι βλάπτει τοὺς ἀκεραίους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἑξῶθεν ἐξουσίαν ἐμισθώσατο πρὸς ἐπιβουλήν. Καὶ τὸ παράδοξον, ὅτι, καθὰ προείπον, οὐδεὶς ἐκείνων κατηγορεῖται· ἂν δὲ κατηγορηθῇ, οὐ κρίνεται, ἢ δόξας ἀκούεσθαι, δικαιοῦνται κατὰ τῶν ἐλεγχόντων· καὶ μᾶλλον ὁ ἐλέγχων ἐπιβουλεύεται, ἢ ὁ ὑπεύθυνος ὅλως ἐντρέπεται. Πάντες οὖν οἱ παρ' αὐτοῖς μεστοὶ ῥύπου τυγχάνουσι· καὶ οἱ παρ' αὐτοῖς κατάσκοποι, οὐ γὰρ ἐπίσκοποι, μᾶλλον εἰσι πάντων ῥυπαρώτεροι. Καὶ εἴ τις παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐπίσκοπος θέλει γενέσθαι, οὐκ ἀκούει· 'Δεῖ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ἀνεπίληπτον εἶναι,' ἀλλὰ μόνον· 'Φρόνει κατὰ Χριστοῦ, καὶ μὴ φρόντιζε περὶ τρώπων· ἀρκεῖ γὰρ ἐκείνῳ σοι πρὸς σύστασιν, καὶ πρὸς βασιλέως φιλίαν.' Ταῦτα μὲν περὶ τῶν τὰ τοῦ Ἀρείου φρονούντων· οἱ δὲ τῆς ἀληθείας ζηλωταὶ, καὶ ἄγιοι καὶ καθαροὶ φαίνονται, καθὰ προείπον, ἀλλ' ὑπεύθυνοι γίνονται, ὅταν οὗτοι θέλωσι, καὶ ὡς ἂν αὐτοῖς δοκῇ, πρόφασιν πλασαμένοις· καὶ τοῦτο ἔξεστι, καθὰ προείπον, ἐκ τῶν παρ' αὐτῶν πραχθέντων συνιδεῖν.*

Apol. de
Fuga, 3.

Cp. Soz. ii.
19.

[A.D. 331.]

Apol. de
Fuga, 26.
Ep. Æg. 7.

4. Εὐστάθιος τις ἦν ἐπίσκοπος τῆς Ἀντιοχείας, ἀνὴρ ὁμολογητῆς, καὶ τὴν πίστιν εὐσεβῆς. Οὗτος, ἐπειδὴ πολὺς ἦν ζηλῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀληθείας, τὴν τε Ἀρειανὴν αἵρεσιν ἐμίσει, καὶ τοὺς φρονούντας τὰ ἐκείνης οὐκ ἐδέχετο, διαβάλλεται Κωνσταντίνῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ, πρόφασίς τε ἐπινοεῖται, ὡς τῇ μητρὶ αὐτοῦ ποιήσας ὕβριν· καὶ εὐθὺς ἐξόριστος αὐτός τε γίνεται, καὶ πολὺς σὺν αὐτῷ πρεσβυτέρων καὶ διακόνων ἀριθμός· καὶ λοιπὸν οὗς οὐκ ἐδέχετο διὰ τὴν ἀσέβειαν εἰς κλῆρον, τούτους μετὰ τὸ ἐξορισθῆναι τὸν ἐπίσκοπον οὐ μόνον εἰσήγαγον εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς πλείστους ἐπισκόπους κατέστησαν, ἃς ἔχουσι συνωμότης ἑαυτῶν εἰς τὴν ἀσέβειαν. Ἐκ τούτων ἐστὶ Λεόντιος ὁ ἀπόκοπος, ὁ νῦν ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ, καὶ ὁ πρὸ αὐτοῦ Στέφανος, Γεώργιός τε ὁ ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ, καὶ ὁ γενόμενος ἐν Τριπόλει Θεοδοσίος, Εὐδόξιός τε ὁ ἐν Γερμανικείᾳ, καὶ Εὐστάθιος ὁ νῦν ἐν Σεβαστείᾳ.

5. Ἀρ' οὖν μέχρι τούτων ἔστησαν; Οὐχί· καὶ γὰρ καὶ

Εὐτρόπιος ὁ ἐν Ἀδριανουπόλει γενόμενος ἐπίσκοπος, ἀνὴρ Apol. de Fuga, 3.
ἀγαθός, καὶ ἐν πᾶσι τέλειος, ἐπειδὴ πολλάκις τὸν Εὐσέβιον
ἤλεγξε, τοῖς τε διοδεύουσι συνεβούλευε μὴ πείθεσθαι τοῖς ἁσε-
βέσιν Εὐσεβίου ῥήμασι, τὰ αὐτὰ τῷ Εὐσταθίῳ πάσχει, καὶ τῆς
πόλεως καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐκβάλλεται· Βασιλίνα γὰρ ἦν ἡ
πάνυ κατ' αὐτοῦ σπουδάζουσα. Εὐφρατίων γὰρ ὁ ἐν Καλαναῖς,
καὶ Κυμάτιος ὁ ἐν Παιτῷ, καὶ Κυμάτιος ἕτερος ὁ ἐν Ταράδῳ,
καὶ ὁ ἐν Γάζῃ Ἀσκληπᾶς, καὶ Κῦρος ὁ ἐν Βεροίᾳ τῆς Συρίας,
καὶ Διόδωρος ὁ ἐν Ἀσίᾳ, καὶ Δομνίων ἐν Συρμίῳ, καὶ Ἑλλά-
νικος ὁ ἐν Τριπόλει, μόνον ἐγνώσθησαν μισοῦντες τὴν αἵρεσιν,
καὶ τοὺς μὲν μετὰ προφάσεως, τοὺς δὲ χωρὶς ταύτης, βασιλι-
κοῖς γράμμασι μεταστήσαντες, τῆς τε πόλεως ἐκβαλόντες,
ἐτέρους ἀντ' αὐτῶν, οὓς ἐγινωσκον ἁσεβοῦντας, εἰς τὰς ἐκείνων
ἐκκλησίας κατέστησαν.

6. Καὶ περὶ Μαρκέλλου τοῦ τῆς Γαλατίας ἐπισκόπου, περιτ- Apol. c. Ari. 32, 47.
τὸν ἴσως ἐστὶ λέγειν· πάντες γὰρ ἐγνώσαν ὡς πρότερον ἐγκα-
λούμενοι παρ' αὐτοῦ οἱ περὶ Εὐσέβιον ἁσεβείας, ἀντενεκάλεσαν Cp. Soc. i. 36.
αὐτῷ καὶ αὐτοὶ, καὶ πεποιήκασιν ἐξορισθῆναι τὸν γέροντα.
Καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν, ἀνελθὼν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην, ἀπελογήσατο, καὶ
ἀπαιτούμενος παρ' αὐτῶν, δέδωκεν ἔγγραφον τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πίστιν, Eriph. Hær. 72, 2.
ἦν καὶ ἡ κατὰ Σαρδικὴν σύνοδος ἀπεδέξατο· οἱ δὲ περὶ Εὐσέ-
βιον οὔτε ἀπελογήσαντο, οὔτε, ἐλεγχόμενοι ἐξ ὧν ἔγραψαν
ἁσεβεῖς, ἐνετράπησαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μᾶλλον ἐθρασύνοντο κατὰ
πάντων· εἶχον γὰρ τὴν πρὸς βασιλέα παρὰ τῶν γυναικῶν Soc. ii. 2.
σύστασιν, καὶ πᾶσιν ἦσαν φοβεροί.

7. Περὶ δὲ Παύλου τοῦ τῆς Κωνσταντίνου πόλεως ἐπισκό- Apol. de Fuga, 3.
που, νομίζω μηδένα ἀγνοεῖν· ὅσῳ γὰρ ἐπιφανὴς ἡ πόλις,
τοσοῦτῳ καὶ τὸ γενόμενον οὐ κέκρυπται. Καὶ κατὰ τοῦτου
τοίνυν πρόφασις ἐπλάσθη. Καὶ γὰρ ὁ κατηγορήσας αὐτοῦ
Μακεδόنيος, ὁ νῦν ἐπίσκοπος ἀντ' αὐτοῦ γενόμενος, παρόντων
ἡμῶν κατὰ τὴν κατηγορίαν, κεκοινώνηκεν αὐτῷ, καὶ πρεσβύτε- [A.D. 338.]
ρος ἦν ὑπ' αὐτὸν τὸν Παῦλον. Καὶ ὁμως, ἐπειδὴ Εὐσέβιος
ἐπωφθαλμία, θέλων ἀρπάσαι τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν τῆς πόλεως
(οὕτω γὰρ καὶ ἀπὸ Βηρυτοῦ εἰς τὴν Νικομήδειαν μετέλθην), Apol. c. Ari. 6.
ἔμεινεν ἡ πρόφασις κατὰ Παύλου, καὶ οὐκ ἡμέλησαν τῆς ἐπι-
βουλῆς, ἀλλ' ἔμειναν διαβάλλοντες. Καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον εἰς

HIST. ARIAN. τὸν Πόντον ἐξωρίσθη παρὰ Κωνσταντίου· τὸ δὲ δεύτερον παρὰ
 [A.D. 336, Κωνσταντίου, δεθεὶς ἀλύσεισι σιδηραῖς, εἰς Σίγγαρα τῆς Μεσο-
 A.D. 338-9, ποταμίας ἐξωρίσθη, καὶ ἐκεῖθεν εἰς τὴν Ἐμισαν μετηνέχθη,
 A.D. 350-1.] καὶ τὸ τέταρτον εἰς Κούκουσον τῆς Καππαδοκίας περὶ τὰ ἔρημα
 τοῦ Ταύρου· ἔνθα καὶ ὡς οἱ συνόντες ἀπήγγειλαν, ἀποπνιγείς
 παρ' αὐτῶν, ἐτελεύτησε. Τοῦτο μέντοι δράσαντες, οὐκ ἡσχύν-
 θησαν καὶ μετὰ θάνατον, οἱ μὴδὲν ἀληθεύοντες, πλάσασθαι
 πάλιν πρόφασιν, ὡς ἀπὸ νόσου τελευτήσαντος αὐτοῦ, καίτοι
 τοῦτο γινωσκόντων πάντων τῶν κατοικούντων τὸν τόπον ἐκεῖ-
 Encycl. 3. ρον. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ Φιλάργιος, βικάριος ὢν τότε τῶν τόπων
 ἐκείνων, καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐκείνων ὑποκρινόμενος ὡς ἂν αὐτοὶ θέ-
 λωσιν, ὅμως ἐπὶ τούτῳ θαυμάζων, καὶ λυπηθεὶς ἴσως ὅτι μὴ
 αὐτὸς, ἀλλ' ἕτερος εἰργάσατο τὸ κακὸν, ἀπήγγειλε πολλοῖς τε
 ἄλλοις καὶ γνωρῆμοις ἡμῶν, καὶ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ Σεραπίωνι, ὡς
 Παῦλος ἀποκλεισθεὶς παρ' ἐκείνων εἰς τόπον τινα βραχύτατον
 καὶ σκοτεινὸν, ἀφείθη λιμῷ διαφθαρῆναι· εἶτα μεθ' ἡμέρας ἑξ,
 ὡς εἰσελθόντες εὗρον αὐτὸν ἔτι πνέοντα, λοιπὸν ἐπελθόντες
 ἀπέπνιξαν τὸν ἄνθρωπον· καὶ οὕτω τέλος ἔσχε τοῦ βίου τού-
 του. Τοῦ δὲ τοιοῦτου θανάτου διάκουον ἔλεγον γεγενῆσθαι Φί-
 λιππον τὸν γενόμενον ἑπαρχον. Ἄλλ' οὐδὲ τοῦτο παρείδεν ἡ
 θεία δίκη· οὐδὲ γὰρ παρήλθεν ἐνιαυτὸς, καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς ἀτιμίας
 καθηρέθη τῆς ἀρχῆς ὁ Φίλιππος, οὕτως ὡς ἰδιώτην γενόμενον,
 ὑφ' ὧν οὐκ ἤθελε καταπαίζεσθαι. Πάνυ γοῦν καὶ αὐτὸς λυ-
 πούμενος, καὶ κατὰ τὸν Κάϊν 'στένων καὶ τρέμων,' καὶ καθ'
 Gen. iv. 12. ἡμέραν προσδοκῶν τὸν ἀναιροῦντα ἔξω τῆς ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδος
 LXX. καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ τῶν ἰδίων, ὥσπερ ἐκπλαγεὶς, ἐπεὶ μὴ οὕτως
 ἤθελεν, ἀπέθανε. Πλὴν ὅτι καὶ κατὰ νεκρῶν οὐ φεῖδονται,
 καθ' ὧν καὶ ζῶων ἐπλάσαντο προφάσεις· οὕτω γὰρ ἑαυτοὺς
 πρὸς πάντας φοβεροὺς ἐπιδεικνύειν ἐσπούδασαν, καὶ ζῶντας
 μὲν ἐξορίζουσιν, ἀποθανόντας δὲ οὐκ ἐλεοῦσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ τότε
 μόνοι παρὰ πάντας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους μισοῦσι τοὺς ἀπελθόντας,
 καὶ τοῖς οἰκείοις αὐτῶν ἐπιβουλεύουσιν, οἱ τῷ ὄντι ἀπάνθρω-
 ποι καὶ μισόκαλοι, καὶ πλέον ἐχθρῶν τὸν τρόπον ἄγριον ἔχον-
 τες, διὰ τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀσέβειαν, οἱ μὴ ἐξ ἀληθείας, ἀλλ' ἐκ πε-
 πλασμένων προφάσεων ἡμῖν τε καὶ τοῖς ἑτέροις πᾶσιν ἐπιβου-
 λεύειν σπουδάζαντες.

8. Ταῦτα συννοῶντες οἱ τρεῖς ἀδελφοί, Κωνσταντῖνος, Κωνσταντίος, καὶ Κώνστας, ἐποίησαν πάντας μετὰ θάνατον τοῦ [A. D. 338.] πατρὸς ἐπανελθεῖν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν· γράψαντες περὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ἰδίᾳ τῇ ἐκάστου ἐκκλησίᾳ· περὶ δὲ Ἀθανασίου ταῦτα, ἃ πάλιν τὴν μὲν τοῦ πράγματος βίαν δείκνυσιν, τὴν δὲ τῶν περὶ Εὐσέβιον ἀνδροφόνον προαίρεσιν ἐλέγχει.

Ἀντίγραφον Κωνσταντίνου Καίσαρος τῷ λαῷ τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας πόλεως τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων.

Οὐδὲ τὴν τῆς ὑμετέρας ἱερᾶς ἐννοίας διαπεφευγῆναι γνώσω οἶμαι, διὰ τοῦτο Ἀθανάσιον τὸν τοῦ προσκυνητοῦ νόμου ὑποφήτην. (Ἐγράφη ὀπίσω εἰς τὸν οὐ λόγον ἀπαραλλάκτως.) Apol. c. Ari. 87.
Τὰ μὲν οὖν γραφέντα ταῦτα· τῆς δὲ συσκευῆς αὐτῶν τίς ἕτερος ἀξιόπιστος τοῦτου μάρτυς ἂν γένοιτο ; ταῦτα γὰρ εἰδὼς, οὕτω καὶ αὐτὸς ἔγραψεν.

9. Οἱ μέντοι περὶ Εὐσέβιον, βλέποντες ἐλαττονύμενην αὐτῶν τὴν αἵρεσιν, γράφουσιν εἰς Ῥώμην, γράφουσι δὲ καὶ τοῖς βασιλεῦσι Κωνσταντίνῳ καὶ Κώνσταντι κατὰ Ἀθανασίου. Apol. c. Ari. 3.
Ὡς δὲ καὶ οἱ παρὰ Ἀθανασίου ἀποσταλέντες διήλεγξαν τὰ παρ' ἐκείνων γραφέντα, παρὰ μὲν τῶν βασιλέων ἐνετράπησαν. Ὁ δὲ ἐπίσκοπος Ῥώμης Ἰούλιος ἔγραψε χρῆναι γενέσθαι σύνοδον, ἔνθα ἂν ἐτελήσωμεν, ἵνα ἃ μὲν κατηγοροῦσι δείξωσι, περὶ δὲ ὧν κατηγοροῦνται καὶ αὐτοὶ, θαρρόντες ἀπολογήσωνται. Τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ οἱ παρ' αὐτῶν ἀποσταλέντες πρεσβύτεροι, βλέποντες ἑαυτοὺς ἐλεγχομένους, ἤξιωσαν γενέσθαι. Τούτων τοίνυν γενομένων, ὁρῶντες ἑαυτοὺς οἱ πρὸς πάντα τυγχάνοντες ὑποπτοὶ μὴ περιγινόμενους ἐν ἐκκλησιαστικῇ κρίσει, προσέρχονται μόνῳ Κωνσταντίνῳ, καὶ λοιπὸν ἀποδύρονται, ὥς πρὸς τὸν τῆς αἵρέσεως προστάτην, 'Φεῖσαι,' λέγοντες, 'τῆς αἵρέσεως' ὁρᾶς πάντας ἀποστάντας ἀφ' ἡμῶν· ὀλίγοι λοιπὸν ἀπελείφθημεν. Ἄρξαι διώκειν, ἐπεὶ καὶ παρὰ τῶν ὀλίγων ἀφιέμεθα, καὶ μένομεν ἔρημοι. Οὗς γὰρ ἐβιασάμεθα, τούτων ἐξορισθέντων, ταύτους ἐπανελθόντες ἔπεισαν πάλιν φρονεῖν καθ' ἡμῶν. Γράψον οὖν κατὰ πάντων, καὶ πέμψον Φιλάργιον δεῦτερον ἐπαρχον τῆς Αἰγύπτου· αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐπιτηδεύς δύναται διώκειν, Encycl. 3.

HIST. ARIAN. ἤδη μὲν τῇ πείρᾳ δέξας, μάλιστα δὲ καὶ παραβάτης ὢν. Πέμψον δὲ καὶ Γρηγόριον ἐπίσκοπον εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν· καὶ οὗτος γὰρ δύναται συστήσαι τὴν ἡμετέραν αἵρεσιν.

Encycl. 2, 3. 10. Γράφει τοίνυν τότε Κωνστάντιος, πάντας δὲ διώκει, καὶ πέμπει Φιλάργιον ἑπαρχον, καὶ Ἀρσάκιον τινα εὐνοῦχον· πέμπει δὲ καὶ Γρηγόριον μετὰ στρατιωτικῆς ἐξουσίας. Καὶ τοιαῦτα γέγονεν, οἷα καὶ πρότερον. Συναγαγόντες γὰρ πλῆθος βουκόλων καὶ ποιμένων, ἄλλων τε ἀγοραίων καὶ ἀσελγῶν νεωτέρων, μετὰ ξιφῶν καὶ ῥοπάλων, ἐπῆλθον ἀθρώως τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ καλουμένῃ Κυρίνου· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτειναν, τοὺς δὲ κατεπάτησαν, ἄλλους τε πληγαῖς κατακόψαντες εἰς δεσμοστήριον ἐνέβαλον, καὶ ἐξώριζον· πολλὰς τε γυναῖκας κατασύροντες, εἴλικον εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον δημοσίᾳ, καὶ τῶν τριχῶν ἔλκοντες ὕβριζον· ἄλλους ἐδήμευον, ἄλλων ἄρτους ἀφηροῦντο, δι' οὐδὲν ἕτερον, ἢ ἵνα τοῖς Ἀρειανοῖς προσθῶνται, καὶ Γρηγόριον δέξωνται τὸν ἀπὸ βασιλέως ἀποσταλέντα.

Cp. c. 63. 11. Ἀθανάσιος μὲν οὖν, πρὶν γενέσθαι ταῦτα, καὶ μόνον ἀκούσας, ἔπλευσεν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην, εἰδὼς τε τὸν θυμὸν τῶν αἵρετικῶν, καὶ ἵνα, ὥς ἤρεσεν, ἡ σύνοδος γένηται· ὁ δὲ Ἰούλιος γράφει καὶ πέμπει πρεσβυτέρους, Ἐλπίδιον καὶ Φιλόξενον, ὀρίσας καὶ προθεσμίαν, ἵνα ἢ ἔλθωσιν, ἢ γινώσκοιεν ἑαυτοὺς ὑπόπτους εἶναι κατὰ πάντα. Ἀλλ' οἱ περὶ Εὐσέβιον, ὥς μόνον ἤκουσαν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν ἔσεσθαι κρίσιν, ἐν ἣ κόμῃ οὐ παραγίγνεται, οὐ στρατιῶται πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν, οὐ βασιλικῷ προστάγματι τὰ τῆς συνόδου τελειοῦται (ἐν τούτοις γὰρ ἀεὶ κατὰ τῶν ἐπισκόπων ἰσχυσαν, καὶ ἄνευ τούτων οὐδὲ ὅλως λαλῆσαι θαρβρόουσιν), οὕτω κατέπηξαν, ὥς τοὺς μὲν πρεσβυτέρους κατασχεῖν καὶ μετὰ τὴν προθεσμίαν, πλάσασθαι δὲ πρόφασιν ἀπρεπῇ, ὅτι μὴ δυνάμεθα νῦν ἐλθεῖν διὰ τοὺς παρὰ Περσῶν γιγνομένους πολέμους. Τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ ἦν ἀληθές, ἀλλὰ φόβος τοῦ συνειδότος. Τί γὰρ κοινὸν πόλεμος πρὸς ἐπισκόπους; Ἡ διατί μὴ δυνάμενοι διὰ τοὺς Πέρσας εἰς Ῥώμην ἐλθεῖν, καίτοι μακρὰν ἀπέχουσαν, καὶ πέραν θαλάττης οὔσαν, τοὺς τῆς ἀνατολῆς τόπους καὶ τοὺς ἐγγὺς ἐκείνων περιήρχοντο ὥς λέοντες, ζητοῦντες τίς αὐτοῖς ἐναντιοῦται, ἵνα διαβάλλοντες ἐξορίσωσιν;

[Jan., A.D. 341.]
Apol. c. Ari.
25.

12. Ἀμέλει, τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους ἀπολύσαντες ἐπὶ τῇ ἀπι-
 θάνῃ ταύτῃ προφάσει, συνελάλουν ἀλλήλοις· Ἐπεὶ μὴ δυνά-
 μεθα ἐκκλησιαστικῇ κρίσει κρατεῖν, τὴν συνήθη τόλμαν
 ἐπιδειξώμεθα. Γράφουσι τοίνυν Φιλαγρίῳ, καὶ ποιοῦσιν
 αὐτὸν μετὰ Γρηγορίου κατ' ὀλίγον ἐξελθεῖν εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον, Apol. c. Ari.
30-33.
[A.D. 341 ?]
 καὶ λοιπὸν ἐπίσκοποι μαστίζονται καὶ ἐδεσμοῦντο πικρῶς.
 Σαραπάμμωνα γοῦν ἐπίσκοπον ὁμολογητὴν ἐξορίζουσι, Ποτάμ-
 μωνα δὲ ἐπίσκοπον ὁμολογητὴν, ἀπολέσαντα καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν
 ὀφθαλμὸν ἐν τῷ διωγμῷ, οὕτω κατέκοψαν ταῖς καταυχεσίαις
 πληγαῖς, ὥς μὴ πρότερον παύσασθαι πρὶν ἂν νομισθῆναι τὸν
 ἄνθρωπον νεκρόν. Οὕτω γοῦν ἐβρίφη, καὶ μόγις μετὰ ὥρας
 θεραπευόμενος καὶ διαβρίπιζόμενος ἀνέπνευσε, τοῦ Θεοῦ δεδω-
 κότες τὸ ζῆν· ἀλλὰ μετὰ χρόνον ὀλίγον ἐκ τοῦ πόνου τῶν
 πληγῶν ἀπέθανεν, ἔχων ἐν Χριστῷ τὸ καύχημα δευτέρου
 μαρτυρίου. Πόσοι τε ἄλλοι μονάζοντες ἐμαστίζοντο, καθεξο-
 μένου Γρηγορίου μετὰ Βαλακίου, τοῦ λεγομένου 'δουκός·' πόσοι
 ἐπίσκοποι ἐκόπτοντο· πόσοι παρθένοι ἐτύπτοντο.

13. Εἴτα ὁ ἄθλιος Γρηγόριος μετὰ ταῦτα παρεκάλει πάντας
 κοινωνεῖν αὐτῷ· καίτοι εἰ κοινωνίαν ἤξίους παρ' αὐτῶν ἔχειν,
 οὐκ ἦσαν ἄξιοι πληγῶν· εἰ δὲ ὡς φαύλους ἔκοπτες, τί ὡς
 ἀγίους παρεκάλεις; Ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἦν αὐτῷ προκείμενον, ἢ τὰ
 τῶν ἀποστειλάντων πληρῶσαι, καὶ τὴν αἵρεσιν συστήσαι. Διὰ
 τοῦτο καὶ ἀνδροφόνος γέγονε καὶ δῆμιος, καὶ ὑβριστῆς, καὶ
 δόλιος, καὶ βέβηλος, καὶ τὸ ὅλον Χριστομάχος ὁ ἀνόητος.
 Τὴν γοῦν τοῦ ἐπισκόπου θείαν οὕτως ἐδίωξεν, ὥς μηδὲ ἀπο-
 θανούσαν ἀφεῖναι ταφῆναι· καὶ τοῦτ' ἂν ἐγεγόνει, καὶ ἄταφος
 ἐβρίφη, εἰ μὴ οἱ ὑποδεξάμενοι αὐτὴν ὡς ἴδιον νεκρὸν ἐξήνεγκαν·
 οὕτω καὶ ἐν τούτοις εἶχεν ἀνόσιον τὸν τρόπον. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ
 χηρῶν καὶ ἄλλων ἀνεξόδων λαβόντων ἐλεημοσύνην, ἐκέλευε
 τὰ δεδομένα διαρπάζεσθαι, καὶ τὰ ἀγγεῖα, ἐν οἷς ἔφερον τὸ
 ἔλαιον καὶ τὸν οἶνον, κατεάγασθαι, ἵνα μὴ μόνον λαβὼν ἀσε-
 βήσῃ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔργοις ἀτιμάζῃ τὸν Κύριον, ἀκουσόμενος
 ὅσον οὐδέπω παρ' αὐτοῦ· Ἐφ' ὅσον ἡτίμασας τούτους, ἐμέ
 ἡτίμασας.

Cp. Matt.
xxv. 45.

14. Πολλὰ τε ἕτερα ἐποίει, ἃ καὶ λόγου φράσιν ὑπεραίρει,
 καὶ ἀκούσας τις ἄπιστα νομίσειε. Ταῦτα δὲ διὰ τοῦθ' οὕτως

HIST. ARIAN. ἔπραττεν, ἐπεὶ μήτε ἐκκλησιαστικῷ κανόνι τὴν κατάστασιν
 Encycl. 2. εἶχε, μήτε ἀποστολικῇ παραδόσει κληθεὶς ἢ ἐπίσκοπος· ἀλλ'
 Apol. c. Ari. 30. ἐκ παλατίου μετὰ στρατιωτικῆς ἐξουσίας καὶ φαντασίας ἀπέσ-
 ταλτο, ὥσπερ ἀρχὴν κοσμικὴν ἐγκεχειρισμένος. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ
 ἀρχόντων μᾶλλον ἤρχετο φίλος εἶναι ἢ ἐπισκόπων καὶ μονα-
 ζόντων. Εἴ ποτε οὖν καὶ ὁ πατὴρ Ἀυτώνιος ἐκ τοῦ ὅρους
 Cp. Vit. An- ἔγραφεν, ὥσπερ βδέλυγμα ἁμαρτωλῷ θεοσέβεια, οὕτως ἐβδε-
 ton. 69. λύσσετο τὰ τοῦ ἁγίου γράμματα. Εἴ ποτε δὲ βασιλεὺς, ἢ
 στρατηλάτης, ἢ ἄλλος δικαστὴς ἐπέστελλεν, οὕτω περιχαρὴς
 ἐγίνετο, ὥς οἱ ἐν ταῖς Παροιμίαις, καθὼς σχετιάζων ἔλεγεν
 Prov. ii. 13. ὁ λόγος· “Ὡ οἱ ἐγκαταλείποντες ὁδοὺς εὐθείας, οἱ εὐφραινό-
 μενοι ἐπὶ κακοῖς, καὶ χαίροντες ἐπὶ διαστροφῇ κακῶν.” Ἀμέ-
 λει τοὺς μὲν ταῦτα κομίζοντας ἐτίμα χρήμασιν· Ἀυτωνίου δέ
 ποτε γράψαντος, πεποίηκε τὸν δοῦκα Βαλάκιον καταπτῦσαι
 τῆς ἐπιστολῆς, καὶ ταύτην ἀπορρίψαι. Ἄλλ’ οὐκ παρίδεν ἡ
 θεία δίκη· μετ’ οὐ πολὺ γὰρ τὸν λεγόμενον δοῦκα ἐπικαθήμενον
 ἱππῳ, καὶ ἀπερχόμενον εἰς τὴν πρώτην μονὴν, ἐπιστραφεὶς ὁ
 ἱππος, καὶ δακῶν εἰς τὸν μηρὸν, κατέβαλε, καὶ τριῶν ἡμερῶν
 ἀπέθανεν.

15. Ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἔπραττον κατὰ πάντων· ἐν δὲ
 Apol. c. Ari. 20. τῇ Ῥώμῃ, συνελθόντες ἐπίσκοποι που πεντήκοντα, τοὺς μὲν
 περὶ Εὐσέβιον, ὥς ὑπόπτους καὶ φοβηθέντας ἔλθειν, οὐκ
 ἀπεδέξαντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ γραφέντα παρ’ αὐτῶν ἠκύρωσαν·
 ἡμᾶς δὲ ἀπεδέξαντο, καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς κοινωνίαν ἡγάγησαν.
 Ἔως δὲ ταῦτα ἐγίνετο, ἦλθεν εἰς γνῶσιν τοῦ βασιλέως Κων-
 σταντος, ἡ τε ἐν Ῥώμῃ γενομένη σύνοδος, καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ
 Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, καὶ πάσῃ τῇ ἀνατολῇ κατὰ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν
 Apol. ad γεγενημένα· καὶ γράφει τῷ ἀδελφῷ Κωνσταντῷ, καὶ λοιπὸν
 Const. 4. ἀμφοτέροις ἀρέσκει σύνοδον γενέσθαι, καὶ διαγνωσθῆναι τὰ
 πράγματα, ἵν’ οἱ μὲν ἀδικηθέντες μηκέτι πάσχωσιν, οἱ δὲ ἀδι-
 κοῦντες μηκέτι τοιαῦτα τολμᾶν δύνωνται. Συνέρχονται τοίνυν
 Apol. c. Ari. 36. ἀπὸ τε τῆς ἀνατολῆς καὶ τῆς δύσεως ἐν τῇ Σαρδῶν πόλει
 πλέον ἢ ἑλαττον ρο’ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἐπίσκοποι. Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ
 τῆς δύσεως μόνοι ἦσαν ἐπίσκοποι, ἔχοντες πατέρα τὸν Ὅσιον·
 οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνατολῆς ἐπήγοντο μεθ’ ἑαυτῶν παιδαγωγοὺς
 καὶ συνηγόρους, Μουσουνιανὸν κόμητα, καὶ Ἡσύχιον τὸν

Καστρήσιον, δι' οὗ καὶ προθύμως ἦλθον, νομίζοντες μετ' [A.D. 343.]
 ἐξουσίας αὐτῶν πάλιν πάντα πράττεσθαι. Οὕτω γὰρ αἰεὶ διὰ
 τούτων φοβεροὺς ἑαυτοὺς ἐδείκνυνον οἷς ἐβούλοντο, καὶ ἐπε-
 βούλενον οἷς ἂν αὐτοῖς ἐδόκει. Ὡς δὲ ἀπαντήσαντες ἐωρά-
 κασιν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν δίκην μόνην γενομένην χωρὶς κόμιτος [Qu. κόμη-
 τος.]
 καὶ στρατιωτῶν, ὡς ἐωράκασι τοὺς ἀφ' ἐκάστης ἐκκλησίας καὶ
 πόλεως κατηγοροῦς, καὶ τοὺς κατ' αὐτῶν ἐλέγχους· ὡς ἐωρά-
 κασιν Ἀρειον καὶ Ἀστέριον, τιμίους ἐπισκόπους, ἀνελθόντας Cp. Apol. c.
 Ari. 48.
 μὲν σὺν αὐτοῖς, ἀποδημήσαντας δὲ ἀπ' αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐλθόντας
 μεθ' ἡμῶν, διηγουμένους τε τὴν πανουργίαν ἐκείνων, ὡς ὑποπ-
 τοι εἶεν ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι, καὶ φοβοῦνται κρίσιν γενέσθαι, μὴ
 ἐλεγχθῶσι παρ' ἡμῶν μὲν συκοφάνται, παρὰ δὲ τῶν ἐπλάσαντο
 κατηγορῶν, ὡς αὐτοὶ πάντα ὑποβαλόντες, καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα μη-
 χανησάμενοι· ταῦτα συνορῶντες, καίτοι μετὰ σπουδῆς ἐλθόντες,
 νομίσαντες μηδὲ ἡμᾶς ἀπαντᾶν ὡς φοβουμένους· ὡς ἐωράκασι
 καὶ τὴν ἡμῶν προθυμίαν, ἀποκλείουσιν ἑαυτοὺς ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ·
 ἐκεῖ γὰρ ᾤκουν· καὶ λοιπὸν ἀλλήλοις συνελάλουν· “Ἦλθομεν
 ἐπ' ἄλλοις, καὶ ἄλλα βλέπομεν” ἀπηντήσαμεν μετὰ κομήτων,
 καὶ χωρὶς κομήτων ἡ κρίσις γίνεται· κατακρινόμεθα πάντως.
 Οἴδατε πάντες τὰ προστάγματα· ἔχουσιν οἱ περὶ Ἀθανάσιον Apol. c. Ari.
 83.
 τὰ ἐν τῷ Μαρεῳτῇ ὑπομνήματα, ἐξ ὧν αὐτὸς μὲν καθαρίζεται,
 ἡμεῖς δὲ καταισχνυόμεθα. Τί δὴ σὺν μέλλομεν; τί βραδύνο-
 μεν; πλασώμεθα προφάσεις, καὶ ἀπέλθωμεν, μὴ μένοντες
 κατακριθῶμεν. Βέλτιον φεύγοντας ἐρυθοῖαν, ἢ ἐλεγχθέντας
 συκοφάντας καταισχνύεσθαι. Ἐὰν φύγωμεν, δυνάμεθά πως
 καὶ τῆς αἵρέσεως προΐστασθαι· ἐὰν δὲ καὶ φεύγοντας ἡμᾶς
 κατακρίνωσιν, ἀλλ' ἔχομεν βασιλέα προστάτην, τὸν μὴ
 ἀφιέντα ἡμᾶς ὑπὸ τῶν λαῶν ἐκβάλλεσθαι ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκκλη-
 σιῶν.

16. Τοιαῦτα μὲν σὺν ἐκείνοι διελογίζοντο· Ὅσιος δὲ καὶ οἱ Intra. 44.
 ἄλλοι πάντες ἐπίσκοποι πυκνότερον αὐτοῖς ἐστήμαιον τὴν Apol. c. Ari.
 36, 45.
 προθυμίαν τῶν περὶ Ἀθανάσιον, καὶ ὡς “ἔτοιμοι πρὸς ἀπο-
 λογίαν εἰσὶν, ἐπαγγελλόμενοι διελέγχειν ὑμᾶς συκοφάντας”
 ἔλεγον τε· “Εἰ φοβεῖσθε τὴν κρίσιν, τί ἀπηντᾶτε; ἔδει γὰρ ἢ
 μὴ ἐλθεῖν, ἢ ἐλθόντας μὴ φεύγειν.” Ἐκεῖνοι ταῦτα ἀκούοντες,
 καὶ μᾶλλον καταπλήξαντες, ἀπρεπεστέραν τῆς ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ

HIST. ARIAN. προφάσεως ἄλλη προφάσει χρησάμενοι, ὡς βασιλέως αὐτοῖς ἐπιπικία κατὰ Περσῶν γράψαντος, ἐπεχείρησαν φεύγειν. Καὶ ταύτην τὴν πρόφασιν οὐκ αἰδεσθέντες ἔπεμψαν δι' Εὐσταθίου πρεσβυτέρου τῆς κατὰ Σαρδικὴν ἐκκλησίας. 'Ἄλλ' οὐδὲ οὕτως αὐτοῖς ἡ φυγὴ καταθυμῶς ἀπέβη· εὐθὺς γὰρ ἡ ἀγία σύνοδος, ἥς προήγορος ἦν ὁ μέγας Ὅσιος, ἔγραψεν αὐτοῖς φανερώς· 'Ἡ ἀπαντήσατε ἀπολογησόμενοι πρὸς τὰς ἐπιφερομένας καθ' ὑμῶν κατηγορίας, καὶ ἃς εἰργάσασθε συκοφαντίας, ἡ γινώσκετε, ὅτι ὑμᾶς μὲν ὡς ὑπευθύνους ἡ σύνοδος κατακρίνει· τοὺς δὲ περὶ Ἀθανάσιον ἐλευθέρους καὶ καθαροὺς ἀπὸ πάσης αἰτίας ἀποφαίνεται.' Ἐκεῖνοι τοίνυν ὑπὸ φόβου τοῦ συνειδότος ἡλαύνοντο μᾶλλον, ἢ τοῖς γράμμασιν ἐπιέθοντο· καὶ γὰρ τοὺς ἀδικηθέντας παρ' αὐτῶν ὁρῶντες, οὐδὲ πρὸς τοὺς λέγοντας ἐπεστρέφοντο, ἀλλ' ὀξύτερον ἔφευγον.

Cp. Apol. c. Ari. 1, 36, ff.

17. Ἐκείνων μὲν οὖν οὕτως αἰσχροῦς καὶ ἀπρεπῶς γέγονεν ἡ φυγὴ· ἡ δὲ ἀγία σύνοδος ἡ ἀπὸ λε' καὶ πλέον ἐπαρχιῶν συναχθεῖσα, ἐπιγνοῦσα τὴν τῶν Ἀρειανῶν κακοήθειαν, ἐδέξατο τοὺς περὶ Ἀθανάσιον εἰς ἀπολογίαν περὶ ὧν πεπόνθασι, κάκεινοι κατηγορήσαν· καὶ οὕτως ἀπολογησαμένους, ἅπερ ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν εἰρήκαμεν, ἀπεδέξατο καὶ ὑπερεθαύμασεν, ὥστε αὐτοὺς τε καὶ τὴν κοινωνίαν αὐτῶν ἀγαπήσαι, καὶ γράψαι πανταχοῦ, γράψαι τε καὶ εἰς τὴν ἐκάστου παροικίαν, καὶ μάλιστα εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν καὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον, καὶ εἰς τὰς Λιβύας, Ἀθανάσιον μὲν καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ καθαροὺς καὶ πάσης μέμψεως ἐκτὸς εἶναι, τοὺς δὲ κατ' αὐτῶν γενομένους συκοφάντας, κακούργους, καὶ πάντα μᾶλλον ἢ Χριστιανούς τυγχάνειν. Ἀπέλυσαν γοῦν αὐτοὺς μετ' εἰρήνης· καθεῖλον δὲ Στέφανον καὶ Μηνόφαντον, Ἀκάκιον καὶ Γεώργιον τὸν ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ, Οὐρσάκιον, καὶ Οὐάλεντα, καὶ Θεόδωρον καὶ Νάρκισσον· Γρηγόριον γὰρ τὸν ἀπὸ βασιλέως εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἀποσταλέντα οὕτως ἀπεκήρυξαν, ὡς μηδὲ ὅλως ἐπίσκοπον γενόμενον, μηδὲ ὀφείλοντα Χριστιανὸν ὀνομάζεσθαι· ἠκύρωσαν γοῦν καὶ ἃς ἔδοξε καταστάσεις ποιεῖσθαι, προστάξαντες μηδὲ αὐτὰς ὅλως ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ὀνομάζεσθαι διὰ τὸ καινὸν τῆς παρανομίας. Οὕτω μὲν οὖν Ἀθανάσιος καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ ἀπελύθησαν μετ' εἰρήνης. Τὰ τε γράμματα ἐν τῷ τέλει γέγραπται διὰ τὸ μῆκος τῆς ἐπιστολῆς· καὶ ἡ σύνοδος διαλέλυνται.

Apol. c. Ari. 49.

18. Οἱ δὲ καθαιρεθέντες, δέον καὶ οὕτως ἡρεμεῖν, οἱ δὲ καὶ μετὰ τὴν οὕτως αἰσχροὴν φυγὴν κατελθόντες, τοιαῦτα ἔδρασαν, ὥς ἐκ τούτων μικρὰς αὐτῶν τὰς προτέρας δειχθῆναι πράξεις. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οὐκ ἠθέλησαν αὐτοῖς οἱ ἐν Ἀδριανουπόλει κοινω- νῆσαι, ὥς φυγοῦσιν ἀπὸ τῆς συνόδου καὶ ὑπευθύνους γενομένοις, ἀνῆνεγκαν βασιλεῖ Κωνσταντίῳ, καὶ πεποιήκασιν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκεῖ καλουμένης Φάβρικος δέκα λαϊκῶν ἀποτμηθῆναι τὰς κεφαλὰς, ὑπουργοῦντος αὐτοῖς καὶ εἰς τοῦτο Φιλαγρίου, πάλιν ἐκεῖ κόμητος γενομένου. Καὶ τούτων τὰ μνήματα πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐστίν, ἅπερ παρερχόμενοι καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐωράκαμεν. Εἴτα ὥσπερ [A.D. 346.] κατορθώσαντες, ὅτι διὰ τοῦτ' ἐφυγον, ἵνα μὴ ἐλεγχθῶσι συκο- φάνται, ἅπερ ἐβούλυντο, ταῦτα καὶ βασιλεὺς ἐκέλευε. Πε- ποιήκασιν γοῦν καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας εἰς τὴν Ἀρμενίαν ἐξορισθῆναι πρεσβυτέρους δύο, καὶ διακόνους τρεῖς· καὶ Ἀρειοῦ μὲν καὶ Ἀστέριον, τὸν μὲν ἀπὸ Πιτρῶν τῆς Παλαιστίνης, τὸν δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀραβίας, ἐπισκόπους, τοὺς ἀποπηδήσαντας ἀπ' αὐτῶν, οὐ μόνον ἐξώρισαν εἰς τὴν ἄνω Λιβύην, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὕβρεω μετασχεῖν αὐτοὺς πεποιήκασιν.

19. Λούκιον δὲ τὸν τῆς Ἀδριανουπόλεως ἐπίσκοπον, ἐπειδὴ Ἀπολ. de Fu-
ἐβλεπον πολλῇ τῇ κατ' αὐτῶν παρρησίᾳ χρώμενον, καὶ ἐλέγ- 82, 3.
χοντα αὐτῶν τὴν ἀσεβείαν, πεποιήκασιν πάλιν, ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον, ἀλύσεισι σιδηραῖς δεθῆναι τὸν τράχηλον καὶ τὰς χεῖρας, καὶ οὕτως ἐξώρισαν, ἔνθα καὶ ἐτελεύτησεν, ὥς ἐκεῖνοι γινώσκουσι. Καὶ Διόδωρον μὲν ἐπίσκοπον ἐκτοπίζουσιν, Ὀλύμ-
πιον δὲ τὸν ἀπὸ Αἰῶν, Θεόδουλον τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς Τραιανου-
πόλεως, ἀμφοτέρους ἀπὸ τῆς Θράκης ἐπισκόπους, ἀγαθοὺς καὶ Cp. Apol. c.
ὀρθοδόξους ἄνδρας, ἐπειδὴ ἐωράκασιν μισοῦντας τὴν αἵρεσιν, Ari. 145.
διέβαλον, τὸ πρῶτον μὲν οἱ περὶ Εὐσέβιον, καὶ ἔγραψε βασι-
λεὺς Κωνσταντίος, τὸ δεύτερον δὲ ὑπέμνησαν οὗτοι. Ἦν δὲ τὰ γραφέντα μὴ μόνον ἐκβάλλεσθαι τῶν πόλεων καὶ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν αὐτοὺς, ἀλλὰ καὶ κεφαλικὴν διδόναι δίκην, εἴ που εὔρεθείεν οὗτοι. Τοῦτο δὲ εἰ καὶ θαυμαστὸν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀλλότ-
ριον τῆς προαιρέσεως αὐτῶν· ὥς γὰρ μαθόντες τὸ τοιοῦτον ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ Εὐσέβιον, καὶ ὥσπερ κληρονόμοι τῆς ἀσεβείας καὶ τῆς προαιρέσεως αὐτῶν τυγχάνοντες, ἠθέλησαν, ὥς οἱ πατέρες αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ Θράκῃ, οὕτω καὶ οὗτοι ἐν τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ φοβε-

HIST. ARIAN. ροὺς ἑαυτοὺς δεῖξαι· καὶ ποιούσι γραφῆναι, ὥστε τοὺς λιμένας καὶ τὰς εἰσόδους τῶν πόλεων τηρεῖσθαι, μήπως διὰ τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς συνόδου συγχώρησιν ἐπανέλθωσιν εἰς τὰς ἐκκλησίας. Ποιούσι δὲ γραφῆναι καὶ τοῖς [ἐν] Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ δικασταῖς, περὶ Ἀθανασίου καὶ πρεσβυτέρων τινῶν ἐξ ὀνόματος, Ἰνα, εἴτε ἐπίσκοπος, εἴτε τις ἐξ ἐκείνων εὐρεθείη τῆς πόλεως ἢ τῶν ὄρων αὐτῆς ἐπιβάς, ἐξῇ τῷ δικαστῇ τῶν εὕρισκομένων τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀποτέμνειν. Οὕτως ἡ Ἰουδαϊκὴ νέα αἵρεσις οὐ μόνον ἀρνεῖται τὸν Κύριον, ἀλλὰ καὶ φονεύειν μεμάθηκεν.

Cp. Ep. Æg.
8.

20. Οὐδὲ οὕτω δὲ ἡρέμουν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ὁ πατὴρ τῆς αἰρέ-
σεως αὐτῶν 'περιέρχεται ὡς λέων, ζητῶν τίνα καταπλήρῃ,' οὕτως οὗτοι δημοσίου δρόμου τὴν ἐξουσίαν λαβόντες καὶ περιερχόμενοι, ὃν ἂν ἠύρισκον ὀνειδίζοντα τούτοις τὴν φυγὴν, καὶ μισοῦντα τὴν Ἀρειανὴν αἵρεσιν, τούτους ἐμάστιζον, ἐδέσμευον, ἐποιοῦν ἐξορίζεσθαι τῆς ἰδίας πατρίδος· φοβερούς τε ἑαυτοὺς οὕτως ἐποιοῦν, ὡς πολλοὺς μὲν ὑποκριτὰς ποιῆσαι, πολλοὺς δὲ εἰς ἐρημίας φεύγειν, ἢ τούτοις βούλεσθαι καὶ ὅλως συντυγχάνειν. Τοιαῦτα ἦν αὐτῶν μετὰ τὴν φυγὴν τῆς μανίας τὰ τολμήματα. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ δρῶσιν ἄλλο τι καινόν, ὅπερ τῆς μὲν αἰρέσεως αὐτῶν ἐστὶ κατάλληλον, οὐπω δὲ πρότερον ἠκούσθη, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τάχα γενήσεται ποτε οὐδὲ παρὰ τοῖς ἀσελγεστέροις τῶν Ἑλλήνων, μήτιγε παρὰ Χριστιανοῖς. Τῆς γὰρ ἁγίας συνόδου πρεσβευτὰς ἀποστειλάσης ἐπισκόπους, Βικέντιον μὲν τὸν ἀπὸ Καπύης (ἐστὶ δὲ αὕτη μητρόπολις τῆς Καμπανίας), Εὐφράτην δὲ τὸν ἀπὸ Ἀγριππίνης (ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ αὕτη μητρόπολις τῆς ἄνω Γαλλίας), Ἰνα, ὡς ἡ σύνοδος ἔκρινε, συγχωρήσῃ βασιλεὺς εἰς τὰς ἐκκλησίας τοὺς ἐπισκόπους ἐπανελθεῖν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐξέβαλε· γράψαντός τε καὶ τοῦ εὐσεβεστοῦ Κωνσταντος τῷ ἀδελφῷ ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ συστήσαντος τοὺς ἐπισκόπους· οἱ θαυμαστοὶ καὶ πρὸς πάντα τολμηροὶ, ὡς ἐωράκασιν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας, βουλευόνται μὲν κοιρῇ, μόνος δὲ Στέφανος ἀναδέχεται τὸ δρᾶμα, ὡς ἐπιτηδεῖως ἔχων περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα. Μισθοῦνται τολμῶντες πόρνην δημοσίαν ἐν αὐταῖς ταῖς ἡμέραις τοῦ ἀγιοτάτου Πάσχα, καὶ γυμνῶσαντες ταύτην ἐπαφιάσι νυκτὸς Εὐφράτῃ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ.

Cp. Apol. ad
Const. 27.

Cp. Apol. ad
Const. 37.

Theod. ii. 9.

[A. D 344.]

Καὶ ἡ μὲν πόρνη τὸ πρῶτον, νομίσασα νεώτερον εἶναι τὸν

καλέσαντα, προθύμως ἠκολούθει· ὥς δὲ ριφείσα παρ' ἐκείνων, εἶδε κοιμώμενον τὸν ἄνθρωπον, καὶ μὴ εἰδότα τὸ γιγνόμενον, εἶτα ὥς κατενόησε καὶ εἶδε πρεσβύτου πρόσωπον, καὶ ἐπισκόπου κατάστασιν, εὐθὺς ἀναβοήσασα τὴν βίαν ἐβόα. Ἐκεῖνοί τε ἤξλου σιωπῇ, καὶ καταψεύδεσθαι τοῦ ἐπισκόπου. Ἡμέρας τοίνυν γενομένης, διατεθρύλητο τὸ πρᾶγμα, καὶ πᾶσα ἡ πόλις συνέτρεχεν· οἱ τε ἀπὸ τοῦ παλατίου ἐκινούντο, θανάζοντες τὸ θρυλούμενον, καὶ ἀξιούντες μὴ σιωπηθῆναι τοῦτο. Γέγονε τοίνυν κρίσις, καὶ ὁ μὲν ἑταιροτρόφος ἤλεγξε τοὺς ἐλθόντας ἐπὶ τὴν πόριν, ἐκείνοι δὲ τὸν Στέφανον· ἦσαν γὰρ αὐτοῦ κληρικοί. Ὁ μὲν οὖν Στέφανος καθαιρεῖται, καὶ γίνε-
ται ἀντ' αὐτοῦ Λεόντιος ὁ ἀπόκοπος, ἵνα μόνον μὴ λείπῃ τῇ

Apol. de Fu-
ga, 26.

21. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Κωνσταντίος, ὀλίγον τι κατανυγείς, εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἦλθε· λογισάμενός τε, ἐξ ὧν ἔδρασαν τῷ Εὐφράτῃ, ὅτι καὶ τὰ κατὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιχειρήματα τοιαῦτά ἐστι, τοὺς μὲν ἐξορισθέντας ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας εἰς τὴν Ἀρμενίαν πρεσ-
βυτέρους καὶ διακόνους, εὐθὺς ἀπολυθῆναι κελεύει. Γράφει τε εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν φανερώς, μηκέτι διώκεσθαι τοὺς μετὰ Ἀθανασίου κληρικούς τε καὶ λαούς. Εἶτα μετὰ μῆνός που
δέκα τελευτήσαντος Γρηγορίου, μεταπέμπεται καὶ Ἀθανάσιον
μετὰ πάσης τιμῆς, οὐχ ἅπαξ, οὐδὲ δευτέρον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τρίτον
γράφας αὐτῷ μὲν φιλικὰ, δι' ὧν θαρρῆν καὶ ἐλθεῖν προέτρεπε. Πέμπει τε πρεσβύτερον καὶ διάκονον, ἵν' ἔτι μᾶλλον θαρρῶν
ἐπανέλθοι. Ἐνόμιζε γὰρ διὰ τὸν φόβον τῶν πρότερον γενο-
μένων ὀλιγωρεῖν με περὶ τὴν ἐπάνοδον. Γράφει δὲ καὶ τῷ
ἀδελφῷ ἑαυτοῦ Κώνσταντι, ἵνα καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπανελθεῖν με προ-
τρέψῃται. Διεβεβαιούτο γὰρ ἐνιαυτὸν ὅλον ἐκδέχεσθαι τὸν
Ἀθανάσιον, καὶ οὐκ ἂν ποτε ἐπιτρέψαι γενέσθαι τινὰ καινοτο-
μίαν, ἣ καὶ κατάστασιν, φυλάττων Ἀθανασίῳ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ τὰς
ἐκκλησίας.

[Early in
345.]

c. 30.

Cp. Apol. c.
Ari. 51.

22. Οὕτω δὲ οὖν γράψαντος αὐτοῦ, καὶ προτρεψαμένου διὰ πολλῶν (καὶ γὰρ καὶ τοὺς κόμητας αὐτοῦ πεποίηκε γράψαι, Πολέμιον, Δατιανὸν, Βαρδίωνα, Θάλασσον, Ταῦρον, καὶ Φλωρέντιον, οἷς καὶ μᾶλλον πιστεύειν ἦν), τὸ δὲ ὅλον δεδωκὼς
τῷ Θεῷ, τῷ καὶ εἰς τοῦτο κατανύξαντι τὸν Κωνσταντίον, ἦλθεν

Cp. Apol. ad
Const. 3.

HIST. ARIAN. Ἀθανάσιος μετὰ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ πρὸς αὐτὸν, γνησίως τε αὐτὸν
 Apol. c. Ari. 54. ἑώρακε, καὶ ἀπέλυσεν εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα καὶ τὰς ἐκκλη-
 Apol. ad Const. 5. σίας, γράψας καὶ τοῖς κατὰ τόπον δικασταῖς, ἐπειδὴ πρότερον
 προστάξας ἦν φυλάττεσθαι τὰς διόδους, ἵνα ἀκώλυτον ἔχωσι
 τὴν πάροδον. Εἴτα τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ἀποδυρομένου περὶ ὧν
 πέπουθε, καὶ περὶ τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν γραφέντων παρ' αὐτοῦ,
 παρατιθεμένου τε μὴ πάλιν μετὰ τὴν ἀποδημίαν διαβολαὶ
 c. 44. γένωνται παρὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν, καὶ λέγοντος· 'Κάλει τούτους, εἰ
 βούλει (ἔξεστι γὰρ ἑστάναι τούτους δι' ἡμᾶς), καὶ διελέγχωμεν
 αὐτούς·' τοῦτο μὲν οὐ πεποίηκε, πάντα δὲ ὅσα πρότερον ἐκ
 διαβολῆς ἦν γραφέντα κατ' αὐτοῦ, ἀναιρεθῆναι ταῦτα καὶ
 ἀπαλιφῆναι κελεύει, διαβεβαιωσάμενος 'μηκέτι τοῦ λοιποῦ
 διαβολῶν ἀνέχεσθαι, ἀλλ' εἶναι βεβαίαν καὶ ἀμετάβλητον τὴν
 προαίρεσιν.' Καὶ τοῦτο οὐχ ἀπλῶς ἔλεγεν, ἀλλ' ὁρκοῖς ἐπε-
 σφράγιζε τοὺς λόγους, τὸν Θεὸν ἐπὶ τούτοις καλῶν μάρτυρα.
 Πολλοῖς γοῦν καὶ ἑτέροις λόγοις προτρεψάμενος αὐτὸν, καὶ
 θαρρύν παρακελευσάμενος, γράφει πρὸς τοὺς ἐπισκόπους, καὶ
 τοὺς δικαστὰς ταῦτα·

23. Νικητὴς Κωνσταντῖος μέγιστος Σεβαστὸς ἐπισκόποις καὶ κληρικοῖς
 τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας.

Apol. c. Ari.
 54-56.

Οὐκ ἀπελείφθη τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ χάριτος ὁ αἰδεσιμώτατος.
 ('Εγράφη ὀπίσω εἰς τὸν ξέ' λόγον καὶ ἔστιν ἐξ ὁλοκλήρου
 ὁμοία ταύτης.)

Ἑτέρα ἐπιστολή.

Κωνσταντίου πρὸς τὸν τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας λαόν.

Σκοπὸν ποιούμενοι τὴν ὑμετέραν ἐν ἀπάσιν εὐνομίαν. ('Εγ-
 ράφη καὶ αὕτη ὁμοίως εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν ξέ' λόγον.)

Ἑτέρα ἐπιστολή.

Νικητὴς Κωνσταντῖος Αὐγουστος, Νεστορίῳ ἐξάρχῳ Αἰγύπτου.

Φανερόν ἐστι πρὸ τούτου πρόσταξιν ἡμέτεραν γεγενῆσθαι,
 ὥστε κατὰ τῆς ὑπολήψεως Ἀθανασίου, τοῦ αἰδεσιμωτάτου
 ἐπισκόπου, γράμματα τινα εὗρίσκεσθαι· ταῦτά τε συνέστηκεν
 ἐν τῇ τάξει τῆς σῆς καθοσιώσεως εἶναι. Βουλόμεθα τοιγαροῦν
 ἵνα ἡ δεδοκιμασμένη ἡμῖν νηφαλιότης σου πάσας τὰς ἐπιστο-
 λὰς, ὅσας ἂν περὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ προειρημένου γενομένης

ἐν τῇ ὑπὸ σὲ τάξει, ἀκολουθῶς τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ταύτῃ κελεύσει, εἰς τὸ ἡμέτερον κομητάτον ἀποστείλῃ.

24. Ἄ δὲ καὶ μετὰ θάνατον τοῦ μακαρίου Κώνσταντος ἔγραψεν, ἔστι ταῦτα, Ῥωμαῖστί μὲν γραφέντα, ἐρμηνευθέντα δὲ Ἑλληνιστί.

Cp. Apol. ad Const. 23. [A.D. 350.]

Νικητῆς Κωνσταντίου Αὔγουστος, ᾿Αθανασίῳ.

Εὐχὴν αἰέ μοι ταύτην γεγενῆσθαι, ὥστε πάντα καταθυμίᾳ (Letter of Constantius to Athanasius.) ἀποβαίνειν τῷ ποτέ μου ἀδελφῷ Κώνσταντι, οὐδὲ τὴν σὴν σύνεσιν ἔλαθεν· ἐν ᾧ τε λύπη διετέθη μαθὼν τοῦτον ἀνηρῆσθαι παρὰ τῶν ἀνοσιωτάτων, στοχάζεσθαι πάλιν δύναται ἢ σὴ φρόνησις. Ἐπεὶ οὖν τινὲς εἰσιν οἱ ἐν τῷ παρόντι καιρῷ, τῷ οὕτως πενθικῷ, πειρώμενοί σε ἐκφοβεῖν, διὰ τοῦτο ταῦτα πρὸς τὴν σὴν στερβρότητα δοθῆναι τὰ γράμματα ἐδικαίωσα, προτρεπόμενός σε ἵνα, ὡς πρέπει ἐπίσκοπον, τοὺς λαοὺς τὰ ὀφειλόμενα τῇ θεῇ θρησκείᾳ διδασκῇ, καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν συνήθως εὐχαῖς σχολάζῃ, καὶ μὴ ματαίοις θρύλοις, οἵτινες ἂν γένοιτο, πιστεύσῃς. Ἡμῖν γὰρ τοῦτο ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ πέπηγεν, ὥστε σε ἀκολουθῶς τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ προαιρέσει διαπαντὸς ἐν τῷ τόπῳ σου θέλειν ἐπίσκοπον εἶναι.

Ἡ θεία πρόνοια πολλοῖς ἔτεσί σε διατηροῖ, γονεῦ προσφιλέστατε.

25. Τούτων οὕτω πραχθέντων, οὕτω τε συνταξαμένων, καὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ λοιπὸν ἐπιβάντων, οἱ μὲν φίλοι φίλον ὀρώντες ἔχαιρον· τῶν δὲ ἄλλων οἱ μὲν ἐδυσωποῦντο βλέποντες αὐτόν· οἱ δὲ καὶ παρρησίαν οὐκ ἔχοντες, ἐκρύπτοντο· οἱ δὲ καὶ μετεγίνωσκον ἐφ' οἷς ἔγραψαν κατὰ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου. Πάντες οὖν οἱ ἀπὸ Παλαιστίνης ἐπίσκοποι, χωρὶς δύο πού τῃ τριῶν, καὶ αὐτῶν ὑπόπτων τυγχανόντων, οὕτω τὸν ᾿Αθανάσιον ὑπεδέξαντο, καὶ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡσπάσαντο κοινωνίαν, ὡς καὶ γράψαι καὶ ἀπολογήσασθαι, ὅτι ἂ πρότερον ἔγραψαν, οὐ κατὰ προαίρεσιν, ἀλλὰ βιαζόμενοι πεποιήκασι. Περὶ γὰρ τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ ταῖς Λιβύαις ἐπισκόπων, καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐταῖς καὶ τῶν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ λαῶν, περιττόν ἐστι καὶ λέγειν· πάντων συντρεχόντων, καὶ ἀνεκκάλητον ἔχόντων τὴν χαράν· οὐχ ὅτι μόνον τοὺς ἰδίους (Oct. 21, 346.) παρ' ἐλπίδα ζῶντας ἀπελάμβανον, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ τῶν αἰρετικῶν

Apol. c. Ari. 57.

HIST. ARIAN. ὥς τυράννων καὶ λυττώντων κυνῶν ἀπηλλάττοντο. Μεγάλη γοῦν ἦν εὐφροσύνη, τῶν λαῶν ἐν ταῖς συνάξεσι παροξυνόντων ἀλλήλους εἰς ἀρετὴν. Πόσαι τῶν ἀγάμων, πρότερον οὔσαι πρὸς γάμον ἑτοίμοι, ἔμειναν παρθένοι τῷ Χριστῷ· πόσοι νεώτεροι βλέποντες ἐτέρους, τὸν μονήρην βίον ἠγάπησαν· πόσοι πατέρες προέτρεπον τέκνα· πόσοι δὲ καὶ παρὰ τέκνων ἠξιώθησαν, μὴ ἐμποδίζεσθαι τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ ἀσκήσεως· πόσοι γυναῖκες ἔπεισαν ἄνδρας, πόσοι δὲ παρὰ ἀνδρῶν ἐπέισθησαν· σχολάζειν τῇ προσευχῇ, ὥς εἶπεν ὁ ἀπόστολος· πόσοι χῆραι, πόσοι δὲ καὶ ὀρφανοὶ, τὸ πρότερον πεινῶντες καὶ γυμνοὶ τυγχάνοντες, ἐκ πολλῆς τῆς τῶν λαῶν προθυμίας, οὔτε λοιπὸν ἐπείνων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐνδεδυμένοι προήρχοντο· Καὶ ὅλως τοσαύτη ἦν ἄμιλλα περὶ ἀρετὴν, ὥς ἐκάστην οἰκίαν, καὶ οἶκον ἑκάστου νομίζειν ἐκκλησίαν εἶναι, διὰ τὴν τῶν ἐνοικούντων φιλοκαλίαν τε καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν εὐχήν. Εἰρήνη τε ἦν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις βαθεῖα καὶ θαυμαστή, γραφόντων τῶν πανταχόθεν ἐπισκόπων, καὶ δεχομένων παρὰ Ἀθανασίου τὰ συνήθη τῆς εἰρήνης γράμματα.

Apol. c. Ari.
58.
[A.D. 347.] 26. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ Οὐρσάκιος καὶ Οὐάλης, ὥσπερ ὑπὸ τοῦ συνειδότος μαστιζόμενοι, μετέγνωσαν· καὶ γράφουσι μὲν αὐτῷ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ φιλικὴν καὶ εἰρηνικὴν ἐπιστολὴν, καίτοι μὴ λαβόντες παρ' αὐτοῦ γράμματα. Ἀνελθόντες δὲ καὶ εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην μετενόουν, ὁμολογοῦντες ὅτι πάντα, ὅσα πεποιήκασιν καὶ εἰρήκασιν κατ' αὐτοῦ, ταῦτα εἶναι πάντα ψευδῆ, καὶ μόνον συκοφαντίαν. Οὐχ ἀπλῶς δὲ τοῦτο οὐδ' αὐτοὶ πεποιήκασιν, ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ ἀναθεματίσαντες τὴν Ἀρειανὴν αἵρεσιν, ἔγγραφον τὴν μετάνοιαν αὐτῶν δεδώκασιν, γράψαντες Ἰουλίῳ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, Ῥωμαῖστί μὲν, μεταβληθέντα δὲ Ἑλληνιστί, ταῦτα:

[Paulinus.] Τὸ γὰρ ἀντίγραφον ἀπεστάλη ἡμῖν παρὰ Παύλου ἐπισκόπου Τριβέρων Ῥωμαῖστί.

Ἑρμηνεία ἀπὸ Ῥωμαϊκοῦ.

Κυρίῳ μου μακαριωτάτῳ Πάπῃ Ἰουλίῳ Οὐρσάκιος καὶ Οὐάλης.

Ἐπειδὴ συνέστηκεν ἡμᾶς πρὸ τούτου πολλά τε καὶ δεινὰ. (Ἐγράφη ὀπίσω εἰς ξη' λόγον, καὶ ἔστι κατὰ πάντα ὁμοία καὶ ἴση.)

Ἑρμηνεία ἀπὸ Ῥωμαϊκοῦ.

Κυρίῳ μου ἀδελφῷ Ἀθανασίῳ ἐπισκόπῳ, Οὐρσάκιος, καὶ Οὐάλης
ἐπίσκοποι.

Ἀφορμὴ ἡμῖν ἐδόθη διὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ καὶ συμπρεσβυτέρου.
(Ἐγράφη ὀπίσω εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν ξή' λόγον, καὶ ἔστιν ὁμοία καὶ
ἴση ἐξ ὁλοκλήρου.)

Ταῦτα γράψαντες, ὑπέγραψαν καὶ τοῖς εἰρηνικοῖς, παρερχο-
μένων πρεσβυτέρων Ἀθανασίου, Πέτρου τε καὶ Εἰρηναίου, καὶ
Ἀμμωνίου λαϊκοῦ· καίτοι μὴδὲ δι' αὐτῶν γράψαντος αὐτοῖς.

27. Τίς τοίνυν οὐκ ἐθαύμαζε βλέπων ταῦτα, καὶ τὴν τοσαύ-
την τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν εἰρήνην; Τίς οὐκ ἔχαιρεν, ὁρῶν τῶν τοσού-
των ἐπισκόπων τὴν ὁμόνοιαν; Τίς οὐκ ἐδόξασε τὸν Κύριον,
θεωρῶν τῶν λαῶν τὴν ἐν ταῖς συνάξεσιν εὐφροσύνην; Πόσοι
τῶν ἐχθρῶν μετενδύον· πόσοι τῶν πρότερον διαβαλλόντων
ἀπελογοῦντο· πόσοι πρότερον μισοῦντες αὐτὸν, ὕστερον ἠγάπη-
σαν· πόσοι τῶν γραψάντων κατ' αὐτοῦ, παλινφθίαν ἦσαν·
πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν μὴ προαιρέσει, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκῃ μετὰ τῶν Ἀρειανῶν
ὄντες, ἐρχόμενοι νυκτὸς ἀπελογοῦντο· καὶ τὴν μὲν αἵρεσιν
ἀνεθεμάτιζον, ἠξίουν δὲ συγγνώμην ἔχειν, ὅτι διὰ τὰς συ-
σκευὰς, καὶ τὰς διαβολὰς, τὰς παρ' αὐτῶν γιγνομένας, τοῖς μὲν
σώμασιν ἐκεῖ φαίνονται, τῇ δὲ καρδίᾳ μετὰ Ἀθανασίου συνά-
γονται, καὶ αἰεὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ τυγχάνουσι· ναὶ πιστεύσατε.

28. Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα ἀκούοντες καὶ βλέποντες οἱ κληρονόμοι
τῆς γνώμης καὶ τῆς ἀσεβείας τῶν περὶ Εὐσέβιον, Λεόντιος ὁ
ἀπόκοπος, ὃν οὐδὲ ὡς λαϊκὸν κοινωνεῖν ἐχρῆν, διότι ἑαυτὸν
ἀπέκοψεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μετ' ἐξουσίας λοιπὸν κοιμᾶσθαι μετὰ
Εὐστολίου τινὸς, γυναικὸς μὲν δι' αὐτὸν, λεγομένης δὲ παρθέ-
νου· Γεώργιός τε καὶ Ἀκάκιος, καὶ Θεόδωρος, καὶ Νάρκισσος,
οἵτινες καὶ ἐν τῇ συνόδῳ καθηρέθησαν, μεγάλως ἡσυχύνοντο.
Εἶτα βλέποντες τὴν πρὸς Ἀθανάσιον τῶν ἐπισκόπων συμφω-
νίαν τε καὶ εἰρήνην, πλείους δὲ ἦσαν ὅ, ἀπὸ τῆς μεγάλης
Ῥώμης καὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας πάσης, Καλαβρίας τε καὶ Ἀπουλίας
καὶ Καμπανίας, Βρεττίας τε καὶ Σικελίας, Σαρδινίας τε καὶ
Κορσικῆς καὶ πάσης τῆς Ἀφρικῆς· τοὺς τε ἀπὸ Γαλλιῶν, καὶ
Βρεττανίας, καὶ Σπανιῶν, μετὰ τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ ὁμολογητοῦ

Cp. Apol. c.
Apl. I, 50.

HIST. ARIAN. 'Οσίου' ἔπειτα τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν Παννονίων, καὶ Νωρικοῦ, καὶ Σισκίας, Δαλματίας τε καὶ Δαρδανίας, Δακίας τε καὶ Μυσίας, Μακεδονίας, Θεσσαλίας, καὶ πάσης τῆς Ἀχατίας, καὶ Κρήτης, Κύπρου τε καὶ Λυκίας, καὶ πλείστους τῆς Παλαιστίνης τε καὶ Ἰσαυρίας, Αἰγύπτου, καὶ Θηβαΐδος, καὶ πάσης Λιβύης, καὶ Πενταπόλεως· ταῦτα βλέποντες ἐκεῖνοι, φόβῳ καὶ φόβῳ συνεσχέθησαν· φόβῳ μὲν διὰ τὴν τοσούτων κοινωνίαν, φόβῳ δὲ μὴ οἱ παρ' αὐτῶν ἀπατηθέντες προστεθῶσι τῇ τῶν τοσούτων ὁμοψυχίᾳ, καὶ λοιπὸν ἡ αἵρεσις αὐτῶν παραδειγματισθεῖσα θριαμβευθῇ καὶ στηλιτευθῇ πανταχοῦ.

29. Πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς περὶ Οὐρσάκιον καὶ Οὐάλεντα, ὡς 2 Pet. ii. 22. τοὺς κύνας μεταπείθουσι μεταβάλλεσθαι, καὶ εἰς τὸν ἴδιον [A.D. 351.] ἔμετὸν ἐπιστρέφει, καὶ ὡς τοὺς χοίρους εἰς τὸν πρότερον βόρβορον τῆς ἀσεβείας πάλιν κυλισθῆναι, πρόφασιν τε τῆς μετανοίας πλάσασθαι, ὡς διὰ φόβον τοῦ θεοσεβεστάτου Κωνσταντος εἶεν τοῦτο πεποιηκότες· καίτοι, εἰ καὶ φόβος ἦν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐχρῆν, εἴπερ ἐθάβρουν οἷς ἔπραξαν, προδότας τούτων γίνεσθαι. Ὅτε δὲ οὐδὲ φόβος, ἀλλ' ἐψεύδοντο, πῶς οὐκ ἄξιοι πάσης καταγνώσεώς εἰσιν; Οὔτε γὰρ στρατιώτου παρόντος, οὐ παλατιῶν, ἢ νοταρίων ἀποσταλέντων, ὅποια νῦν αὐτοὶ ποιοῦσιν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ βασιλέως παρόντος, οὐδὲ ὅλως κληθέντες παρὰ τινος ἔγραψαν· ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ θέλοντες ἀνῆλθον εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην, καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἔνθα φόβος μὲν ἔξωθεν οὐκ ἦν, μόνος δὲ ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ φόβος ἐστὶ, καὶ ἐλευθέραν ἑκαστος ἔχει τὴν προαίρεσιν, δι' ἑαυτῶν μετενόησαν καὶ ἔγραψαν. Καὶ ὁμοῦ Ἀρειανοὶ δεύτερον γενόμενοι, τοιαύτην πάλιν ἀπρεπῇ πρόφασιν ἐπινοήσαντες, οὐκ ἐρυθρίωσιν.

30. Ἐπειτα κοινῇ προσελθόντες παρεκάλουν τὸν βασιλέα Κωνσταντίον, λέγοντες· 'Καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἀξιοῦντες, οὐκ ἐπιστεύθημεν' ἐλέγομεν γὰρ, ὅτε μετεπέμψου τὸν Ἀθανάσιον, ὅτι, τοῦτον προκαλούμενος, τὴν ἡμετέραν αἵρεσιν ἐκβάλλεις. Οὗτος γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς κατ' αὐτῆς γέγονε, καὶ οὐ παύεται ταύτην οὗτος ἀναθεματίζων. Αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν ἤδη πεπλήρωκε τὰ πανταχοῦ γράφων καθ' ἡμῶν· καὶ οἱ μὲν πλείστοι τὴν μετ' αὐτοῦ κοινωνίαν ἔχουσι· τῶν δὲ καὶ δοξάντων μεθ' ἡμῶν εἶναι οἱ μὲν προστετέθησαν αὐτῷ, οἱ δὲ μέλλουσιν· ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐμείναμεν

μόνοι. Καὶ φόβος μὴ καὶ ἡ αἵρεσις γνωσθῇ, καὶ λοιπὸν ἡμεῖς καὶ σὺ χρηματίσωμεν αἰρετικοί· κὰν τοῦτο γένηται, σκόπει μὴ μετὰ Μανιχαίων λογισθῶμεν. Ἄρξαι πάλιν οὖν διώκειν, καὶ πρόστα τῆς αἵρέσεως· καὶ γὰρ καὶ αὕτη σὲ βασιλέα ἔχει. Τοιαῦτα μὲν οὖν ἦν τούτων τὰ τῆς πανουργίας ῥήματα. Καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ διερχόμενος, ὅτε πρὸς Μαγνέντιον [A.D. 351.] ἔσπευδε, καὶ βλέπων τὴν πρὸς Ἀθανάσιον τῶν ἐπισκόπων κοινωνίαν, ὡς ὑπὸ πυρὸς ἀναφθεῖς μετεβάλλετο τὴν γνώμην, καὶ οὔτε τῶν ὄρκων ἐμνημόνευσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὦν ἔγραψεν ἐπελάθετο, καὶ τῶν πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν καθηκόντων ἀγνώμων γέγονε. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ αὐτῷ γράφων, καὶ Ἀθανάσιον ἐπαρκῶς, ὄρκους δέδωκε μὴ ἄλλως ποιήσῃν, ἢ ὡς ἂν ὁ λαὸς βούληται, καὶ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καταθυμίως τυγχάνοι. Ἄλλ' ἡ πρὸς τὴν ἀσέβειαν σπουδὴ πάντων ἀθρώως αὐτὸν ἐπιλαθέσθαι πεποίηκεν. Οὐ δεῖ δὲ θαυμάζειν εἰ μετὰ τοσαῦτα γράμματα καὶ τοσοῦτους ὄρκους ἡλλοιώθη Κωνσταντίος, ὅπουγε καὶ ὁ τῆς Αἰγύπτου τότε τύραννος Φαραῶ, πολλάκις ἐπαγγελλόμενος, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο λαμβάνων τῶν βασάνων ἄνεσιν, μετετίθετο, ἕως εἰς τέλος ἀπώλετο σὺν αὐτοῖς τοῖς ὁμονήσασιν αὐτῷ.

31. Τούτους μὲν οὖν κατὰ πόλιν πρῶτον ἐβιάζετο μετατί- [A.D. 353, 355-] θεσθαι· γενόμενος δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀρελατῷ καὶ τῇ Μεδιολάνῳ, λοιπὸν ὡς οἱ αἰρετικοὶ συνεβούλευσαν καὶ ὑπέθεντο, οὕτως αὐτὸς ἔπραττε, μᾶλλον δὲ οὕτως καὶ αὐτοὶ διεπράττοντο, καὶ ἐνῆλ- λοντο κατὰ πάντων ἔχοντες τὴν ἐξουσίαν. Καὶ εὐθὺς ᾤδε μὲν ἐντολαὶ καὶ γράμματα πρὸς τὸν ἑπαρχον, ἵνα τέως ὁ σίτος ἀφαιρεθῇ παρὰ Ἀθανασίου, καὶ δοθῇ τοῖς τὰ Ἀρείου φρονούσι, καὶ ἵνα ἐξῇ ὑβρίζειν τοῖς βουλομένοις τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ συναγο- μένους. Ἀπειλή τε ἦν τοῖς δικασταῖς, εἰ μὴ συνάγοιτο μετὰ τῶν Ἀρειανῶν. Ἦν δὲ ταῦτα προοίμια τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα γενο- μένων διὰ τοῦ δουκὸς Συριανοῦ. Εἰς δὲ τὰ ἔξω μέρη προσ- τάγματα πάλιν, καὶ νοτάριοι κατὰ πόλιν καὶ παλατινοὶ φέρον- τες ἀπειλὰς ἀπεστέλλοντο πρὸς τε τοὺς ἐπισκόπους καὶ τοὺς δικαστάς· ἵνα οἱ μὲν δικασταὶ ἐπείγῳσιν, οἱ δὲ ἐπίσκοποι ἢ ἵνα κατὰ Ἀθανασίου γράφωσι, κοινωνίαν ἔχοντες πρὸς τοὺς Ἀρειανούς, ἢ τιμωρίαν αὐτοὶ μὲν ὑπομένωσιν ἐξοριστίας, οἱ δὲ τούτοις συνερχόμενοι λαοὶ δεσμὰ, καὶ ὕβρεις, καὶ πληγὰς κατ'

HIST. ARIAN. αὐτῶν, καὶ ἀφαίρεσιν τῶν ἰδίῳν ὑπαρχόντων ἔσεσθαι γνώσκουσιν. Οὐκ ἡμελείτο δὲ τὸ πρόσταγμα· καὶ γὰρ εἶχον οἱ ἀποσταλέντες μεθ' ἑαυτῶν κληρικούς Οὐρσακίου καὶ Οὐάλεντος, ἵνα καὶ παροξύνωσι, καὶ ἀμελοῦντας τοὺς δικαστὰς κατενέγκωσι τῷ βασιλεῖ. Καὶ τὰς μὲν αἰρέσεις ὥς μικροτέρας ἑαυτῶν ἀδελφὰς συνεχώρουν βλασφημεῖν εἰς τὸν Κύριον, μόνοις δὲ τοῖς Χριστιανοῖς ἐπεβούλευον, οὐ φέροντες ἀκούειν περὶ Χριστοῦ λόγων εὐσεβῶν. Πόσοι τοιγαροῦν ἐπίσκοποι, κατὰ Mark xiii. 9. τὸ γεγραμμένον, 'ἐπὶ ἡγεμόνας καὶ βασιλέας ἤχθησαν,' καὶ παρὰ δικαστῶν ἤκουσαν· *Ἡ ὑπογράψατε, ἡ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἀναχωρεῖτε· καθαιρεθῆναι γὰρ ὑμᾶς βασιλεὺς προσέταξε; πόσοι διεσείσθησαν παρ' αὐτῶν κατὰ πόλιν, ἵνα μὴ ὥς φίλους τῶν ἐπισκόπων αὐτοὺς καταμέμψωνται· καὶ γὰρ καὶ πολιτευταῖς ἐγράφετο, καὶ ἦν ἀπειλὴ, ζημίᾳ χρημάτων, εἰ μὴ ἀναγκάζοι ἕκαστος τὸν τῆς ἰδίας πόλεως ἐπίσκοπον ὑπογράφειν· καὶ ὅλως πᾶς τόπος, καὶ πᾶσα πόλις ἐπεπλήρωτο φόβου καὶ ταραχῆς, τῶν μὲν ἐπισκόπων ἐλκομένων, τῶν δὲ δικαστῶν ὀρώντων τοὺς ὀδυρμούς καὶ στεναγμούς τῶν λαῶν.

32. Ταῦτα μὲν παρὰ τῶν ἀποσταλέντων παλατινῶν ἐπράτετο· οἱ δὲ θαυμαστοὶ θαρρόντες αἷς ἔχουσι προστασίαις, σπουδῇν τίθενται· καὶ οὕτως τῶν ἐπισκόπων τοὺς μὲν πρὸς βασιλέα καλοῦσι, τοὺς δὲ πάλιν διὰ γραμμάτων μεθοδεύουσι, πλάττοντες κατ' αὐτῶν προφάσεις· ἵν' οἱ μὲν παρόντα Κωνσταντίον καταπτῆξωσιν, οἱ δὲ, τοὺς ἀποσταλέντας καὶ τὰς ἀπειλὰς τῆς ἐκ προφάσεως συκοφαντίας φοβηθέντες, μεταθῶνται τῆς ἑαυτῶν ὀρθῆς καὶ εὐσεβοῦς μνήμης. Οὕτω γοῦν ἐβιάσατο βασιλεὺς τὸ τοσοῦτον τῶν ἐπισκόπων πλῆθος, τὰ μὲν ἀπειλῶν, τὰ δὲ ἐπαγγελλούμενος, εἰπεῖν· 'Οὐκέτι κοινωνοῦμεν Ἀθανασίῳ.' Οἱ γὰρ ἐρχόμενοι πρὸς αὐτὸν οὐ πρότερον ἔβλεπον αὐτὸν, οὐθ' ὅλως ἄνεσιν ἔχειν τινὰ, ἢ προῖναι τῆς ἰδίας οἰκίσεως ἐπετρέποντο, πρὶν ἂν ἡ ὑπογράψωσιν, ἢ ἀνανεύοντες ἐξορισθῶσιν. Ἐποίει δὲ τοῦτο διὰ τὸ συνορᾶν ἀπὸ πάντων μισεῖσθαι τὴν αἵρεσιν· διὸ μάλιστα καὶ ἠνάγκασε τοὺς τοσοῦτους τοῖς ὀλίγοις συναριθμηθῆναι. Καὶ ἐσπούδασαν ὄχλον ὀνομάτων συναγαγεῖν, πρὸς φθόνον μὲν κατὰ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, φαντασίας δὲ χάριν τῆς Ἀρειανῆς ἀσεβείας, ἧς

αὐτὸς προτίσται, οἰομενος ὅτι, ὡς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, οὕτω καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν μεταστρέφαι δυνήσεται· οὐκ εἰδὼς, οὐδὲ ἀναγνούς, ὅτι οὐδὲ Σαδδουκαῖοι καὶ Ἑρωδιανοὶ, προσλαβόμενοι τοὺς Φαρισαίους, ἰσχυσαν ἐπικρύνφαι τὴν ἀλήθειαν· μᾶλλον γὰρ καὶ οὕτως αὕτη μὲν καθημέραν λαμπρὰ δείκνυται, οὗτοι δὲ καὶ κράζαντες, ‘Οὐκ ἔχομεν βασιλέα εἰ μὴ Καίσαρα,’ καὶ John xix. 15, ἔχοντες τὴν Πιλάτου κρίσιν, οὐδὲν ἡττόν εἰσιν ἔρημοι, καὶ πάσης αἰσχύνης, πάσης προσδοκῶντες ὅσον οὐδέπω μένειν καὶ αὐτοὶ κατὰ ‘τὸν πέρδικα’ γυμνοὶ, ὅταν ἴδωσι καὶ τὸν Jerem. xvii. 11. LXX. προστάτην ἑαυτῶν ἀποθνήσκοντα.

33. Εἰ δὲ καὶ ἀπρεπὲς τὸ ὅλως ἐπὶ τούτοις φοβηθέντας Cp. Apol. de Fuga, 8. τινὰς τῶν ἐπισκόπων μεταθέσθαι, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἀπρεπέστερον, καὶ οὐ θαρβούντων οἷς πεπιστεύκασι, τὸ βιάζεσθαι, καὶ ἀναγκάζειν τοὺς μὴ βουλομένους. Οὕτως ὁ μὲν διάβολος ἐπεὶ μηδὲν ἀληθὲς ἔχει, ‘ἐν πελέκει καὶ λαξευτηρίῳ’ ἐπιβαί- Psal. lxxiv. 6. νων κατεάσσει τὰς θύρας τῶν δεχομένων αὐτόν. ‘Ὁ δὲ Σωτὴρ οὕτως ἐστὶ πρᾶος, ὡς διδάσκειν μὲν, ‘Εἴ τις θέλει ὀπίσω Matt. xvi. 24. μου ἔλθειν’ καὶ ‘Ὁ θέλων εἶναί μου μαθητής’ ἐρχόμενον δὲ Luke viii. 20. πρὸς ἑκαστον μὴ βιάζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον κρούειν τε καὶ λέγειν· ‘Ἀνοιξόν μοι, ἀδελφὴ μου νύμφη’ καὶ ἀνοιγόντων μὲν, Cant. v. 2. εἰσέρχεται, ὁκνοῦντων δὲ καὶ μὴ θελόντων ἐκείνων, ἀναχωρεῖ. Οὐ γὰρ ξίφεσι, ἢ βέλεσι, οὐδὲ διὰ στρατιωτῶν ἡ ἀλήθεια καταγγέλλεται, ἀλλὰ πειθοὶ καὶ συμβουλῇ. Ποία οὖν πειθῶ, c. 67. Apol. de Fuga, 23. ἔνθα βασιλέως φόβος; *Ἡ ποία συμβουλίᾳ, ἐν ἣ ὁ ἀντιλέγων τὸ τέλος ἐξορισμὸν ἔχει καὶ θάνατον; Καὶ ὁ μὲν Δαβὶδ καί- τοι βασιλεὺς ὢν, καὶ τὸν ἐχθρὸν ὑπὸ χεῖρας ἔχων, θέλοντάς τε τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀποκτείνει τὸν ἐχθρὸν, οὐ τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ κεκώ- λυκεν, ἀλλ’, ὡς ἡ γραφὴ φησιν, ἔπεισε Δαβὶδ τοὺς ἄνδρας αὐτοῦ ἐν λόγοις, καὶ οὐκ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς, ἀναστάντας θανατώ- σαι τὸν Σαοὺλ. Αὐτὸς δὲ τὸν λόγον οὐκ ἔχων, μετ’ ἐξουσίας πάντας βιάζεται· ἵνα δειχθῇ πᾶσιν, ὅτι ἡ φρόνησις αὐτῶν οὐκ 1 Kings (1 Sam.) xxvi. 9. ἐστὶ κατὰ Θεὸν, ἀλλ’ ἀνθρωπίνη, καὶ ὅτι οἱ τὰ Ἀρείου φρο- νοῦντες ‘οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἀληθῶς βασιλέα, εἰ μὴ Καίσαρα’ δι’ αὐτοῦ γὰρ πάντα μὲν ὅσαπερ βούλονται καὶ πράττουσιν οἱ Χριστομάχοι. Δόξαντες δὲ δι’ αὐτοῦ πολλοὺς ἐπιβουλεύειν, ἡγνόνεσαν πολλοὺς ποιήσαντες ὁμολογητὰς γενέσθαι, ἐξ ὧν

HIST. ARIAN.

Apol. ad
Const. 27.
Apol. de
Fuga, 4.

είσιν οἱ νῦν λαμπρῇ χρησάμενοι τῇ ὁμολογίᾳ, ἄνδρες εὐλαβεῖς, καὶ ἐπίσκοποι ἀγαθοὶ, Παυλῖνος ὁ ἀπὸ Τριβέρων τῆς μητροπόλεως τῶν Γαλλιῶν ἐπίσκοπος, καὶ Λουκίφερ ὁ ἀπὸ μητροπόλεως τῆς Σαρδινίας ἐπίσκοπος, Εὐσέβιος τε ὁ ἀπὸ Βερκέλλων τῆς Ἰταλίας, καὶ Διονύσιος ὁ ἀπὸ Μεδιολάνων ἔστι δὲ καὶ αὕτη μητρόπολις τῆς Ἰταλίας. Τούτους γὰρ βασιλεὺς καλέσας ἐκέλευσε κατὰ Ἀθανασίου μὲν ὑπογράψειν, τοῖς δὲ αἰρετικοῖς κοινωνεῖν. Εἷτα ἐκείνων θαυμάζοντων τὸ καινὸν ἐπιτήδευμα τοῦτο, καὶ λεγόντων μὴ εἶναι τοῦτον ἐκκλησιαστικὸν κανόνα, εὐθὺς ἐκεῖνος, ‘Ἄλλ’ ὅπερ ἐγὼ βούλομαι, τοῦτο κανὼν,’ ἔλεγε, ‘νομιζέσθω’ οὕτω γάρ μου λέγοντος ἀνέχονται οἱ τῆς Συρίας λεγόμενοι ἐπίσκοποι. Ἡ τοίνυν πείσθητε, ἣ καὶ ὑμεῖς ὑπερόριοι γενήσεσθε.’

34. Ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ ἐπίσκοποι, πάνυ γε θαυμάσαντες, καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἀνατείναντες πρὸς τὸν Θεόν, πολλῇ τῇ κατ’ αὐτοῦ παρρησίᾳ μετὰ λόγων ἐχρήσαντο, διδάσκοντες μὴ εἶναι τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ τοῦ δωδωκότος Θεοῦ, ὃν καὶ φοβεῖσθαι αὐτὸν ἡξίου, μὴ ἐξαίφνης αὐτὴν ἀφέλῃται· ἡπείλουν τε τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς κρίσεως, καὶ συνεβούλευον αὐτῷ μὴ διαφθεῖρειν τὰ ἐκκλησιαστικά, μηδὲ ἐγκαταμίσγειν τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν ἀρχὴν τῇ τῆς ἐκκλησίας διαταγῇ, μηδὲ τὴν Ἀρειανὴν αἵρεσιν εἰσάγειν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ. Ἄλλ’ οὔτε ἤκουεν ἐκεῖνος, οὔτε τι πλέον αὐτοὺς λέγειν ἐπέτρεπεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μᾶλλον ἡπείλει, καὶ ξίφος ἐγύμνου κατ’ αὐτῶν, καὶ ἀπάγεσθαι δέ τινας ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐκέλευσε· καὶ πάλιν, ὥς ὁ Φαραὼ, μετεγίνωσκεν. Ἐκτινάξαντες τοίνυν οἱ ἅγιοι τὸν κονιορτὸν, καὶ πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν ἀναβλέψαντες, οὔτε ἀπειλὴν βασιλέως ἐφοβήθησαν, οὔτε ξίφους γυμνουμένου προδεδώκασιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ἐξορισμὸν ὡς λειτούργημα διακονίας ἐσχῆκασιν· διερχόμενοι γὰρ κατὰ τόπον καὶ κατὰ πόλιν, καίπερ ἐν δεσμοῖς ὄντες, εὐηγγελίζοντο, τὴν μὲν εὐσεβῇ πίστιν κηρύττοντες, τὴν δὲ Ἀρειανὴν αἵρεσιν ἀναθεματίζοντες, καὶ τὴν μετάνοιαν Οὐρσακίου καὶ Οὐάλεντος στηλιτεύοντες. Ἐγίγνετο δὲ τοῦτο πρὸς ἐναντίου τοῖς ἐπιβουλευούσιν· ὅσῳ γὰρ πολὺν τὸ διάστημα τῆς ἐξοριστίας, τοσούτῳ μείζον τὸ κατ’ αὐτῶν μῖσος ἠΐξανε, καὶ κήρυγμα ἦν κατὰ τῆς ἀσεβείας

Cp. Apol. de
Fuga, 8.

αὐτῶν ἢ τούτων ἀποδημία. Τίς γὰρ, βλέπων τούτους διερχομένους, οὐκ αὐτοὺς μὲν ὡς ὁμολογητὰς ὑπερεθαύμαζεν, ἐκείνους δὲ οὐκ ἀπεστρέφετο καὶ ἐβδελύττετο, οὐκέτι μόνον ὡς ἀσεβεῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς δημίους καὶ ὡς φονευτὰς, καὶ πάντα μᾶλλον ἢ Χριστιανούς ὀνομάζων ;

35. Βέλτιον μὲν οὖν ἦν κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν Κωνσταντίον μηδόλως τῆς αἰρέσεως ταύτης γενέσθαι ἢ γενόμενον, μὴ τοσοῦτον ἐνδύναι τοῖς ἀσεβέσιν ἢ ἐνδόντα μέχρι τούτων στῆναι μετ' αὐτῶν, ἵνα κὰν ἕως τούτων ἔχωσι τῶν τολμηθέντων κοινὴν τὴν κρίσιν. Ὡς δὲ ἔοικε, κατὰ τοὺς ἄφρονας δεσμοῖς τῆς ἀσεβείας ἑαυτοὺς περιπεύροντες, μείζονα καθ' ἑαυτῶν τὴν κρίσιν ἐπισπῶνται. Καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ Λιβερίου τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Ῥώμης κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐφείσαντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ μέχρι τῶν ἐκεί τὴν μανίαν ἐξέτειναν· καὶ οὐχ ὅτι ἀποστολικός ἐστι θρόνος ἡδέσθησαν, οὐθ' ὅτι μητρόπολις ἡ Ῥώμη τῆς Ῥωμανίας ἐστίν, εὐλαβήθησαν, οὐθ' ὅτι πρότερον ἄποστολικούς αὐτοὺς ἄνδρας ἔγραφοντες εἰρήκασιν, ἐμνημόνευσαν. Ἀλλὰ πάντα ὁμοῦ φύραντες, πάντων ἀθρόως ἐπελάθοντο, καὶ μόνης τῆς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀσεβείας σπουδῆς ἐφρόντισαν. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐωράκασιν αὐτὸν ὀρθοδοξοῦντα, καὶ μισοῦντα μὲν τὴν Ἀρειανὴν αἵρεσιν, σπουδάζοντα δὲ πάντας πείθειν ἀποστρέφεσθαι καὶ ἀναχωρεῖν ἀπ' αὐτῆς, ἐλογίσαντο οἱ δυσσεβεῖς, ὅτι Ἐἰ τὸν Λιβέριον πείσαιμεν, πάντων ταχέως κρατήσομεν· καὶ διαβάλλουσι βασιλεῖ· κἀκεῖνος ταχέως, προσδοκήσας διὰ Λιβερίου πάντας ἔλκειν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν, γράφει, καὶ πέμπει σπάδοντα Εὐσέβιον τινα καλούμενον μετὰ γραμμάτων καὶ δωρεῶν, ἵνα τοῖς μὲν δώροις κολακεύσῃ, τοῖς δὲ γράμμασιν ἀπειλήσῃ. Ἀπελθὼν τοίνυν ὁ σπάδων εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην, πρῶτον παρεκάλει τὸν Λιβέριον κατὰ Ἀθανασίου μὲν ὑπογράψαι, τοῖς δὲ Ἀρειανοῖς κοινωνῆσαι, λέγων· 'Τοῦτο βασιλεὺς βούλεται, καὶ κελεύει σε ποιῆσαι.' εἰτα, ἐπιδεικνὺς τὰ δῶρα, παρεκάλει· καὶ χειρῶν ἤπτετο, λέγων· 'Πείσθητι βασιλεῖ, καὶ ταῦτα δέξαι.'

Cp. Apol. c.
Ari. 2.

36. Ὁ δὲ ἐπίσκοπος λόγῳ πείθων ἐδίδασκε· Πῶς οἶόν τε τοῦτο γενέσθαι κατὰ Ἀθανασίου ; ὃν γὰρ σὺ μόνον μία, ἀλλὰ καὶ δευτέρα σύνοδος πανταχόθεν συναχθεῖσα καλῶς ἐκαθάρισε,

HIST. ARIAN. καὶ ἡ Ῥωμαίων δὲ ἐκκλησία μετ' εἰρήνης ἀπέλυσε, πῶς δυνά-
μεθα κατακρίναι ; * Ἡ τίς ἡμᾶς ἀποδέξεται, εἰ ὃν παρόντα ἡγα-
πήσαμεν, καὶ εἶχομεν τῇ κοινωνίᾳ, τοῦτον ἐὰν ἀποστραφόμεν
ἀπόντα ; Οὐκ ἔστιν οὗτος ἐκκλησιαστικὸς κανὼν, οὔτε τοιαύ-
την πώποτε παράδοσιν ἔσχομεν παρὰ τῶν πατέρων, τῶν καὶ
αὐτῶν παραλαβόντων παρὰ τοῦ μακαρίου καὶ μεγάλου ἀπο-
στόλου Πέτρου. ' Ἀλλ' εἴπερ ἄρα μέλει τῷ βασιλεῖ περὶ
τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς εἰρήνης, εἰ κελεύει λυθῆναι τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν
περὶ Ἀθανασίου γραφέντα· λυέσθω καὶ τὰ παρ' ἐκείνων κατ'
αὐτοῦ γενόμενα, λυέσθω δὲ καὶ τὰ κατὰ πάντων· καὶ γενέσθω
λοιπὸν ἐκκλησιαστικὴ σύνοδος μακρὰν τοῦ παλατίου, ἐν ᾗ
βασιλεὺς οὐ πάρεστιν, οὐ κόμης παραγίνεται, οὐ δικαστὴς
ἀπειλεῖ, ἀλλὰ μόνον ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ φόβος ἀρκεῖ καὶ ἡ τῶν
ἀποστόλων διάταξις· ἴν' οὕτως προηγουμένως ἡ μὲν ἐκκλη-
σιαστικὴ πίστις σώζηται, καθὼς οἱ πατέρες ὥρισαν ἐν τῇ
κατὰ Νίκαιαν συνόδῳ· οἱ δὲ τὰ Ἀρείου φρονούντες ἐκβάλ-
λονται, καὶ ἡ αἵρεσις αὐτῶν ἀναθεματισθῇ· καὶ τότε λοιπὸν,
κρίσεως γενομένης περὶ ὧν Ἀθανάσιος, καὶ εἴ τις ἕτερος
ἐγκαλεῖται, καὶ περὶ ὧν ἐγκελεύονται καὶ αὐτοί, οἱ μὲν ὑπενύ-
θννοι ἐκβάλλονται, οἱ δὲ καθαροὶ παρῆρησιαν ἔχωσιν. Οὐ γὰρ
οἷόν τε συνόδῳ συναριθμηθῆναι τοὺς περὶ πίστιν ἀσεβοῦντας·
οὐδὲ πρέπει προκρίνεσθαι πράγματος ἐξέτασιν τῆς περὶ πίσ-
τεως ἐξετάσεως. Χρὴ γὰρ πρῶτον πᾶσαν περὶ τῆς πίστεως
διαφωνίαν ἐκκόπτεσθαι, καὶ τότε τὴν περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων
ἔρευναν ποιεῖσθαι. Καὶ γὰρ ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χρισ-
τὸς οὐ πρότερον ἐθεράπευε τοὺς πάσχοντας, πρὶν ἂν δείξῃσι
καὶ εἴπωσιν, ὅποیان πίστιν εἶχον εἰς αὐτόν. Ταῦτα παρὰ τῶν
πατέρων ἐμάθομεν· ταῦτα ἐπάγγελον τῷ βασιλεῖ· ταῦτα γὰρ
καὶ αὐτῷ συμφέρει, καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν οἰκοδομεῖ. Μὴ ἀκονέ-
τω δὲ Οὐρσάκιος καὶ Οὐάλης· καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐν τοῖς προτέροις
μετενόησαν, καὶ, νῦν λέγοντες, οὐκ εἰσὶ πιστοί.'

Cp. Apol. c.
Ari. 35.

Cp. Apol. c.
Ari. 8.

Cp. Soc. ii.
39.

37. Ὁ μὲν οὖν ἐπίσκοπος Λιβέριος τοιαῦτα· ὁ δὲ εὐνοῦχος,
λυπηθεὶς, οὐ τοσοῦτον ὅτι μὴ ὑπέγραψεν, ἀλλ' ὅτι τῆς αἰρέ-
σεως ἐχθρὸν αὐτὸν εὗρεν, ἐπιλαθόμενός τε, ὅτι πρὸς ἐπίσκο-
πον ἦν, μεγάλως ἀπειλήσας ἐξήρχετο μετὰ τῶν δώρων· πράτ-
τει δέ τι παράνομον, Χριστιανῶν μὲν ἀλλότριον, σπαδόντων

δὲ τολμηρότερον. Τὴν γὰρ παράβασιν τοῦ Σαουλ μιμησά- Cp. 1 Kings
(1 Sam.) xiii.
μενος, ἀπελθὼν εἰς τὸ μαρτύριον Πέτρου τοῦ ἀποστόλου, τὰ 9.
δῶρα αὐτῷ ἀνέθηκεν. Ἀλλὰ μαθὼν ὁ Λιβέριος, πρὸς μὲν τὸν
τηροῦντα τὸν τόπον, καὶ μὴ κωλύσαντα, μεγάλως ἡγανάκτησεν·
αὐτὰ δὲ ὡς ἄθνητον θυσίαν ἀπέρριψε· καὶ τοῦτο μᾶλλον εἰς ὀρ-
γὴν ἐκίνει τὸν θλαδίαν. Παροξύνει τοίνυν βασιλέα, λέγων·
‘Οὐκέτι περὶ τοῦ γράφαι Λιβέριον ἔστιν ἡμῖν ἡ φροντίς, ἀλλ’
ὅτι κατὰ τῆς αἰρέσεως οὕτω φρονεῖ, ὡς ἐξ ὀνόματος τοὺς
Ἀρειανοὺς ἀναθεματίζειν.’ Εἰς τοῦτο δὲ κινεῖ καὶ τοὺς ἐτέ-
ρους σπάδοντας· πολλοὶ δὲ, μᾶλλον δὲ τὸ ὅλον εἰσὶν εὐνοῦ-
χοι παρὰ Κωνσταντίῳ, καὶ πάντα δύνανται παρ’ αὐτῷ, χωρὶς
τε τούτων οὐδέν ἔστιν ἐκεῖ γενέσθαι. Γράφει δὴ οὖν βασι-
λεὺς εἰς Ῥώμην· καὶ πάλιν παλατινοὶ, καὶ νοτάριοι, καὶ κό-
μητες ἀποστέλλονται, καὶ γράμματα πρὸς τὸν ἑπαρχον, ἵνα
ἢ πλανήσαντες δόλῳ τὸν Λιβέριον ἐξαγάγωσιν ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώ-
μης, καὶ πέμψωσιν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον πρὸς αὐτὸν, ἢ βία
τοῦτον διώξωσιν.

38. Τοιούτων δὴ ὄντων τῶν γραφέντων, λοιπὸν κακεῖ φόβος
καὶ ἐπιβουλὴ κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν ἤκμαζε. Κατὰ πόσων
γούν οἰκῶν ἀπειλὴ γέγονε; πόσοι πόσας ἐπαγγελίας εἰλήφασι
κατὰ Λιβέριον; πόσοι ταῦτα βλέποντες ἐκρύβησαν ἐπίσκοποι;
πόσαι τῶν ἐλευθέρων ἀνεχώρησαν εἰς χωρία διὰ τὰς διαβολὰς
τῶν Χριστομάχων; πόσοις ἀσκηταῖς ἐπεβούλευσαν; πόσους
ἐκεῖ διατρίβοντας καὶ λοιπὸν τὸ ἐφέστιον ἔχοντας ἐκεῖ διω-
χθῆναι πεποιήκασι; ποσάκις καὶ ὅπως ἐφύλαξαν τὸν λιμένα
καὶ τὰς εἰσόδους τῶν πυλῶν, ἵνα μή τις ὀρθόδοξος εἰσελθὼν
θεωρήσῃ Λιβέριον; Ἔσχε καὶ Ῥώμη πείραν τῶν Χριστομάχων,
καὶ ἔγνω λοιπὸν ὅπερ οὐκ ἐπίστευεν ἀκούουσα πρότερον, πῶς
καὶ αἱ ἕτεραι ἐκκλησίαι κατὰ πόλιν ἐπορθήθησαν παρ’ αὐ-
τῶν. Εὐνοῦχοι δὲ ἦσαν οἱ καὶ ταῦτα καὶ τὰ κατὰ πάντων
κινῶντες. Καὶ τὸ παράδοξον τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς τοῦτό ἐστιν, ὅτι
ἢ Ἀρειανὴ αἵρεσις, ἀρνούμενη τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἐξ εὐνούχων
ἔχει τὴν βοήθειαν, οἷτινες, ὡς τῇ φύσει, οὕτως καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν
ἀρετῆς ἄγονοι τυγχάνοντες, οὐ φέρουσιν ἀκούειν ὅλως περὶ
υἱοῦ. Ὁ μὲν οὖν ἐκ τῆς Αἰθιοπίας εὐνούχος, μὴ ‘νοῶν ἂν ἀνε- Acts viii. 27.
γίνωσκεν,’ ἐπέισθη τῷ Φιλίππῳ διδάσκοντι περὶ τοῦ Σωτῆρος·

HIST. ARIAN. οἱ δὲ τοῦ Κωνσταντίου σπάδοντες οὔτε τοῦ Πέτρου ὁμολογοῦν-
 Matth. xvi. 16. τος ἀνέχονται, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν Πατέρα δεικνύντα τὸν Υἱὸν ἀπο-
 στρέφονται, καὶ μαίνονται κατὰ τῶν λεγόντων γνήσιον εἶναι
 τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἐκδικοῦντες σπαδόντων αἵρεσιν, μηδὲν
 εἶναι γνήσιον καὶ ἀληθινὸν ἐκ τοῦ Πατρός. Διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ
 Nic. Can. 1. καὶ ὁ νόμος εἴργει τούτους εἰς ἐκκλησιαστικὴν συμβουλίαν
 προσλαμβάνεσθαι· καὶ ὁμῶς τούτους νῦν τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν
 κριμάτων κυρίους ἐλογίσαντο· καὶ ὅπερ ἂν αὐτοῖς δόξη, τοῦτο
 Κωνσταντίος κρίνει, καὶ οἱ λεγόμενοι ἐπίσκοποι ὑποκρίνονται.
 *Ὡς τίς ἂν γένοιτο τούτων λογογράφος; τίς ἀπαγγελεῖ ταῦτα
 εἰς γενεὰν ἐτέραν; τίς ἄρα πιστεύσειεν ἀκούων, ὅτι σπάδοντες
 οἱ οἰκειακὰς ὑπηρεσίας μόγισι πιστευόμενοι (φιλήδονον γὰρ τὸ
 τούτων εἶδος, καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο μεριμνῶσιν, ὥς τοῦθ', ὅπερ αὐ-
 τοὺς ἡ φύσις ἀφείλατο, ἐμποδίζειν), οὗτοι νῦν τῶν ἐκκλησιασ-
 τικῶν κατάρχουσι, καὶ τούτοις ὑποπίπτων Κωνσταντίος, πᾶσιν
 ἐπεβούλευσε, καὶ Λιβέριον ἐξώρισεν;

[But cp. c.
47.]

Acts ix. 5.

39. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ πολὺς ἦν εἰς Ῥώμην γράφων, ἀπειλῶν,
 ἀποστέλλων, ἐπιβουλεύων, λοιπὸν δὲ ἐγεγόνει καὶ ὁ κατὰ
 'Αλεξάνδρειαν διωγμός· ἔλκεται καὶ Λιβέριος πρὸς βασιλέα,
 καὶ πρὸς πολλῇ καὶ αὐτὸς κέχρηται τῇ παρῆρσι, 'Παῦσαι,'
 λέγων, 'διώκων Χριστιανούς· μὴ πείραζε δι' ἡμῶν εἰσάξαι τὴν
 ἀσέβειαν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. Πάντα ὑπομένειν ἐσμέν ἔτοι-
 μοι, ἢ Ἀρειομανῆται κληθῆναι. Χριστιανούς ὄντας ἡμᾶς μὴ
 ἀνάγκαζε Χριστομάχους γενέσθαι. Τοῦτο καὶ σοὶ συμβου-
 λεύομεν· μὴ μάχου πρὸς τὸν δεδωκότα σοὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ταύτην·
 μὴ ἀντ' εὐχαριστίας ἀσεβήσης εἰς αὐτόν· μὴ δίδωκε τοὺς
 πιστεύοντας εἰς αὐτόν, μὴ ἀκούσης καὶ σὺ· "Σκληρόν σοι
 πρὸς κέντρα λακτίζειν." Ἄλλ' εἴθε κὰν ἀκούσης, ἵνα καὶ σὺ
 πεισθῇς, ὥς ὁ ἅγιος Παῦλος. Ἰδοὺ πάρεσμεν, ἤλθομεν πρὶν
 πλάσσωται πρόφασιν· διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ ἐσπεύσαμεν, εἰδότες
 ὅτι ἐξορισμὸς ἡμᾶς μένει παρὰ σοῦ, ἵνα, πρὶν προφάσεως πά-
 θωμεν, καὶ πᾶσι δειχθῇ φανερώς, ὅτι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες
 οὕτω πεπόνθασιν, ὥς ἡμεῖς, καὶ αἱ λεχθεῖσαι κατ' αὐτῶν προ-
 φάσεις ἐπλάσθησαν παρὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν, καὶ πάντα τὰ κατ'
 αὐτοὺς ἐστὶ συκοφαντία καὶ ψευδῆ.'

40. Οὕτω μὲν οὖν ὁ Λιβέριος τότε λέγων, ἐθαυμάζετο παρὰ

πάντων· ὁ δὲ, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀποκρίνασθαι, μόνον ἐκέλευσε καὶ [Yet see
Theod. ii.
16.] ἐξώρισεν, ἕκαστον διαστήσας, ὅπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν προτέρων
πεποιήκε. Τοῦτον γὰρ, ἐξορίζων, τὸν τύπον αὐτὸς ἐποίησεν,
ἵνα καὶ ἐν ταῖς τιμωρίαις ὁμότερος τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ τυράννων [Autumn of
355.] καὶ διωκτῶν γένηται. Τῷ μὲν γὰρ προτέρῳ διωγμῷ κοινῇ καὶ
πολλοὺς ἅμα κελεύων ὁ τότε Μαξιμιανὸς ἐξώριζεν ὁμολογητὰς Cr. c. 64.
καὶ τὴν τιμωρίαν ἐπεκούφιζε, παραμυθούμενος αὐτοὺς τῇ συνου-
σίᾳ· οὗτος δὲ κἀκεῖνου γέγονεν ὁμότερος, καὶ διέστησε τοὺς
κοινῇ παρῆρσιασμένους καὶ ὁμολογήσαντας, καὶ διεχώρισε
τοὺς συνδεθέντας τῇ πίστει, ἵνα καὶ ἀποθνήσκοντες ἀλλήλους
μὴ βλέπωσι, νομίζων, ὥς ὁ χωρισμὸς τοῦ σώματος πάντως καὶ
τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς διάθεσιν διίστησιν, ἢ χωρισθέντες ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν,
ἐπιλάθωνται τῆς ἀλλήλων ὁμοφροσύνης τε καὶ ὁμοψυχίας·
οὐκ εἰδὼς ὅτι, κὰν ἕκαστος ἀπομείνῃ, ἀλλ' ἔχει μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ c. 47.
πάλιν ὃν κοινῇ συνόντες ὁμολόγησαν Κύριον, ὃς καὶ πλείους
εἶναι ποιήσει μεθ' ἑκάστου (ὥς πεποιήκεν ἐπὶ Ἑλισσαίου τοῦ
προφήτου), ἥπερ εἰσὶ μετὰ Κωνσταντίου στρατιῶται. Τυφλὸν
ἀληθῶς ἢ κακίᾳ· ἐν ᾧ γὰρ ἔδοξαν λυπεῖν τοὺς ὁμολογητὰς,
διαχωρίζοντες αὐτοὺς ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, ἐν τούτῳ μᾶλλον ἑαυτοὺς
μεγάλως ἠδίκησαν. Ὅλως μὲν γὰρ εἰ συνῆσαν ἀλλήλοις, καὶ
ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐτύγχανον, ἐξ ἐνὸς τόπου τῶν ἀσεβῶν ἐγνωρίζετο
τὸ μύσος· νῦν δὲ, διαστήσαντες αὐτοὺς, πεποιήκασιν εἰς πάντα c. 34.
τόπον διαδραμεῖν ἑαυτῶν καὶ γνωσθῆναι τὴν ἀσεβῆ αἵρεσιν
καὶ πονηρίαν.

41. Οἷα γὰρ καὶ ταῦτα πράττοντες ἔδρασαν, τίς ἀκούσας
οὐχ ἡγήσεται πάντα μᾶλλον αὐτοὺς ἢ Χριστιανοὺς εἶναι ;
Λιβερίου γὰρ ἀποστειλαντος πρὸς βασιλέα Εὐτρόπιον πρεσβύ-
τερον, καὶ διάκονον Ἰλάριον μετὰ γραμμάτων, ὅτε καὶ οἱ περὶ
Λουκίφερον ὁμολόγουν, τὸν μὲν πρεσβύτερον εὐθὺς ἐξώρισαν,
τὸν δὲ διάκονον Ἰλάριον γυμνώσαντες, καὶ τὰ νῶτα μαστί-
ξαντες, ἐξώρισαν, ἐπιφωνοῦντες· ‘ Διὰ τί μὴ ἀντέστης Λιβερίφ,
ἀλλὰ καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ κεκόμικας γράμματα ; ’ ἐποιοῦν δὲ τοῦτο
Οὐρσάκιος καὶ Οὐάλης, καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτοῖς σπάδοντες. Καὶ ὁ
μὲν διάκονος μαστιζόμενος ἠυλόγει τὸν Κύριον, μνησθεὶς αὐτοῦ
λέγοντος· ‘ Τὸν νῶτόν μου ἔδωκα εἰς μάστιγας. ’ Οἱ δὲ καὶ Isa. l. 6.
μαστιζοῦντες ἐγέλων καὶ ἐχλεύαζον αὐτὸν, οὐκ ἐρυνθριῶντες ὅτι

HIST. ARIAN. Λευίτην ὕβριζον· πρέποντα δὲ ἑαυτοῖς καὶ οὗτοι γελῶντες ἐφρόνουν, κάκεινος εὐλογῶν ὑπέμενε. Τὸ μὲν γὰρ τύπτεσθαι Χριστιανῶν ἰδίον ἐστι, τὸ δὲ μαστίζειν Χριστιανούς Πιλάτον καὶ Καϊάφα τὸ τόλμημα. Οὕτω μὲν οὖν καὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίαν καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπεχείρησαν διαφθεῖραι, θελή-
 Apol. c. Ari. 89. σαυτες ἐγκαταμίξαι καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τὴν ἀσέβειαν· ὁ δὲ Λιβέριος, ἐξορισθεὶς, ὕστερον μετὰ διετὴ χρόνον ὤκλασε, καὶ φοβηθεὶς τὸν ἀπειλούμενον θάνατον, ὑπέγραψεν. Ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο δεικνυσιν ἐκείνων μὲν τὴν βίαν, Λιβερίου δὲ τὸ κατὰ τῆς αἰρέσεως μῖσος, καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ Ἀθανασίου ψήφον, ὅτε τὴν προαίρεσιν εἶχεν ἐλευθέραν. Τὰ γὰρ ἐκ βασάνων παρὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς γνώμην γιγνόμενα, ταῦτα οὐ τῶν φοβηθέντων, ἀλλὰ τῶν βασανιζόντων ἐστὶ βουλήματα. Πάντα μέντοι ποιεῖν ὑπὲρ τῆς αἰρέσεως ἐπεχείρησαν· καθ' ἑκάστην δὲ ἐκκλησίαν, τηροῦντες ἢ ἐμαθον πίστιν, τοὺς μὲν διδασκάλους προσδοκῶσι, τὴν δὲ Χριστομάχον αἵρεσιν κατέλαβον, καὶ πάντες, ὡς ὄφιν, ἐκτρέπονται.

42. Τοιαῦτα δὲ καὶ τοσαῦτα ποιήσαντες οἱ δυσσεβεῖς, οὐδὲν ἐνόμιζον πεποικέναι, ἕως ὃ μέγας Ὁσιος ἀπείρατος ἦν αὐτῶν τῆς πονηρίας. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ κατὰ τοῦ τηλικούτου γέροντος ἐκτεῖναι τὴν μανίαν ἑαυτῶν ἐσκέψαντο· καὶ οὐθ' ὅτι πατήρ ἐστι τῶν ἐπισκόπων ἡσχύνθησαν, οὐθ' ὅτι γέγονεν ὁμολογητῆς ἡὺλαβήθησαν, οὔτε τὸν χρόνον τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς, ὅτι ἐξήκοντα ἔτη καὶ πλείον ἔχει ἐν αὐτῇ, ἡδέεσθησαν· ἀλλὰ πάντα ἐξου-
 Apol. de Fuga, 5. θένουν, καὶ πρὸς μόνην τὴν αἵρεσιν ἐβλεπον· ἄνθρωποι ἀληθῶς
 Cp. Apol. ad Const. 3. ἐπὶ τὴν μόνην τὴν αἵρεσιν ἐβλεπον· ἄνθρωποι ἀληθῶς
 Luke xviii. 1. 'μήτε τὸν Θεὸν φοβούμενοι, μήτε ἄνθρωπον ἐντρέπόμενοι.' Προσελθόντες τοίνυν Κωνσταντίῳ, τοιούτοις πάλιν ἐχρήσαντο ῥήμασι· 'Πάντα μὲν πεποιήκαμεν, καὶ ἐξωρίσαμεν τὸν Ῥωμαίων ἐπίσκοπον· ἐξωρίσαμεν δὲ καὶ πρὸ αὐτοῦ πλείστους ὁσους ἐπισκόπους· πάντα τε τόπον φόβου πεπληρώκαμεν· ἀλλ' εἰς οὐδὲν ἡμῖν ἐστι τὰ τηλικαῦτά σου ἔργα, οὐδὲ κατάρθωται ὁτιοῦν ἡμῖν, ἕως ὅσος περιλείπεται. Ἐκείνου γὰρ ὄντος ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις, καὶ πάντες ἐν ταῖς ἰδίαις ἐκκλησίαις εἰσὶν· ἱκανός ἐστιν ἐν λόγῳ καὶ πίστει πείθειν πάντας καθ' ἡμῶν. Οὗτος καὶ συνόδων καθηγείται, καὶ γράφων ἀκούεται πανταχοῦ· οὗτος καὶ τὴν ἐν Νικαίᾳ πίστιν ἐξέθετο, καὶ τοὺς Ἀρειανούς

ἐκήρυξεν αἰρετικούς εἶναι πανταχοῦ. * Ἄν τοίνυν οὗτος μέλη, περιττός ὁ τῶν ἐτέρων ἐξορισμός γέγονεν· ἡ γὰρ αἵρεσις ἡμῶν ἐκποδὼν γίγνεται. Ἄρξαι τοίνυν καὶ τοῦτον διώκειν, καὶ μὴ φείσῃ, κὰν ἀρχαῖος ᾗ· καὶ γὰρ ἡ αἵρεσις ἡμῶν οὐκ οἶδεν οὐδὲ γερόντων τιμᾶν πολιάν·

43. Ταῦτα ἀκούων, οὐκ ἐμέλλησε βασιλεὺς, ἀλλ' εἰδὼς τὸν ἀνθρώπου, καὶ τὸ ἱκανὸν τοῦ γέροντος, γράφει καὶ κελεύει τοῦτον ἐλθεῖν πρὸς αὐτὸν, ἡνίκα καὶ Λιβέριον κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπέιραzen. Ἐλθόντα δὴ οὖν αὐτὸν ἡξίου, καὶ προέτρεπε τὰ συνήθη λέγων, οἷς δὴ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπατᾶν ἐνόμιζεν, ἵνα καθ' ἡμῶν μὲν γράψῃ, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς Ἀρειανούς ἔχῃ τὴν κοινω- νίαν. Ὁ δὲ γέρων, καὶ τὴν ἀκοὴν ἀηδῶς ἐνέγκας, καὶ λυπη- θεὶς, ὅτι κὰν ὅλως ἐφθέγγατό τι τοιοῦτον, ἐπιπλήξας, καὶ πείσας αὐτὸν, ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἑαυτοῦ. Ἀλλὰ τῶν αἰρετικῶν ἀποδυρομένων, καὶ πάλιν παρο- ξυνόντων, (εἶχε δὲ καὶ τοὺς εὐνούχους ὑπομιμνήσκοντας, καὶ μᾶλ- λον παροξύνοντας,) γράφει λοιπὸν βασιλεὺς μετὰ ἀπειλῆς· καὶ ὑβρίζεται μὲν ὁ Ὅσιος, οὐ κινεῖται δὲ διὰ τὸν φόβον τῆς ἐπιβου- λῆς· ἀλλ' ἐστηκὼς τῷ φρονήματι, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν πέτραν οἰκοδομή- Matt. vii. 24. σας ἑαυτοῦ τὴν τῆς πίστεως οἰκίαν, ἐπαρρησιάζετο κατὰ τῆς αἰρέσεως, ῥανίδας καὶ πνοὰς ἀνέμων ἡγούμενος τὰς ἐκ τῶν γραμ- μάτων ἀπειλάς. Πολλάκις γοῦν γράψαντος Κωνσταντίου, καὶ τὰ μὲν κολακεύοντος ὡς πατέρα, τὰ δὲ ἀπειλοῦντος, καὶ τοὺς ἐξορισθέντας ὀνομάζοντος, καὶ λέγοντος· Ἔτι σὺ μόνος τυγχά- νεις ὁ κατὰ τῆς αἰρέσεως; Πείσθητι, καὶ γράψον κατὰ Ἀθανα- σίου· ὁ γὰρ κατ' ἐκείνου γράφων πάντως τὰ Ἀρειανῶν μεθ' ἡμῶν φρονήσει· οὐ κατοβρώδῃσας ὁ Ὅσιος, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάσχων ὕβρεις, ἔγραψε καὶ αὐτὸς τοιαῦτα, καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἀνέγνω- μεν, καὶ ἔστιν ἐν τῷ τέλει γεγραμμένη.

Ὅσιος Κωνσταντῷ βασιλεῖ ἐν Κυρίῳ χαίρειν.

44. Ἐγὼ μὲν ὡμολόγησα καὶ τὸ πρῶτον, ὅτε διωγμὸς γέγο- (Letter of Hosius to Constantius.) νεν ἐπὶ τῷ πάππῳ σου Μαξιμιανῷ. Εἰ καὶ σύ με διώκεις, ἔτοιμος καὶ νῦν πᾶν ὁτιοῦν ὑπομένειν, ἢ ἐκκενοῦν ἀθῶον αἷμα, καὶ προδιδόναι τὴν ἀλήθειαν· σὲ δὲ οὐκ ἀποδέχομαι τοιαῦτα γράφοντα καὶ ἀπειλοῦντα. Παῦσαι τοῦ τοιαῦτα γράφειν, καὶ

HIST. ARIAN. *μη φρόνει τὰ Ἀρείου, μηδὲ ἄκουε τῶν ἀνατολικῶν, μηδὲ πίστευε τοῖς περὶ Οὐρσακίου καὶ Οὐάλεντα. Ἄ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι λέγουσιν, οὐ δι' Ἀθανάσιον φθέγγονται, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν ἰδίαν αἵρεσιν. Πίστευνέ μοι, Κωνσταντίε, πάππος εἰμί σου καθ' ἡλικίαν· ἐγενόμην αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ κατὰ Σαρδικὴν συνόδῳ, ὅτε σύ τε καὶ ὁ μακαρίτης ἀδελφός σου Κώνστας πάντας ἡμᾶς συνήγαγε. Καὶ δι' ἑμαντοῦ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς Ἀθανασίου προσεκαλεσάμην, ἐλθόντας αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἐν ᾗ ὦκουν ἐγὼ, ἵν' εἴ τι ἔχοιεν κατ' αὐτοῦ, λέγωσιν· ἐπαγγειλάμενος αὐτοῖς θαρβεῖν, καὶ μὴ ἄλλο τι προσδοκᾶν, ἢ ὀρθὸν τὸ κριτήριον ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἔσεσθαι. Τοῦτο δὲ οὐχ ἄπαξ, ἀλλὰ καὶ δεύτερον ἐποίησα, προτρέπων, εἰ μὴ θέλοιεν ἐπὶ πάσης τῆς συνόδου, κὰν ἐπ' ἐμοῦ μόνου· ἐπαγγειλάμενος πάλιν, ὅτι, ἂν μὲν ὑπεύθυνος δειχθῇ, πάντως ἀποβληθήσεται καὶ παρ' ἡμῶν· ἂν δὲ ἀναίτιος εὑρεθῇ, καὶ ἐλέγξῃ συκοφάντας ὑμᾶς, εἰ παραιτεῖσθε τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἐγὼ μετ' ἑμαντοῦ πείθω τὸν Ἀθανάσιον ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὰς Σπανίας. Καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἀθανάσιος ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐπέβητο, καὶ οὐκ ἀντέλεγεν· ἐκεῖνοι δὲ, πρὸς πάντα μὴ θαρβρόντες, ἴσως ἀνένευον. Ἐγένετο δὲ πάλιν ὁ Ἀθανάσιος εἰς τὸ σὸν στρατόπεδον, ἡνίκα μετεπέμψω γράψας αὐτῷ, καὶ παρόντας ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Ἀντιοχείᾳ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς κληθῆναι πάντας ἢ ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἡξίωσεν, ἵν' ἢ ἐλέγξωσιν, ἢ ἐλεγχθῶσι· καὶ ἵνα ἢ παρόντα δειξώσιν οἷον λέγουσιν, ἢ ἀπόντα μὴ διαβάλλωσι. Καὶ οὔτε σὺ λέγοντος ἠνέσχου, ἀλλὰ κἀκεῖνοι παρητήσαντο. Τί τοίνυν ἀκούεις ἔτι τῶν κακολογούντων αὐτόν; Πῶς ἀνέχη Οὐάλεντος καὶ Οὐρσακίου, καίτοι μετανοησάντων αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐγγράφως αὐτῶν ὁμολογησάντων τὴν συκοφαντίαν; Ὡμολόγησαν γὰρ οὐ βίαν παθόντες, ὥς αὐτοὶ προφασίζονται, οὐ στρατιωτῶν ἐπικειμένων, οὐκ εἰδότος τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου (οὐκ ἐγίγνετο γὰρ παρ' αὐτῷ τοιαῦτα, οἷα νῦν γίγνεται, μὴ γένοιτο), ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ θέλοντες ἑαυτοῖς ἀνῆλθον εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην, καὶ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων παρόντων ἔγραψαν· γράψαντες πρότερον καὶ Ἀθανασίῳ φιλικὴν καὶ εἰρηνικὴν ἐπιστολὴν. Εἰ δὲ βίαν προφασίζονται, καὶ τοῦτο γινώσκουσι κακὸν, οὐκ ἀποδέχῃ δὲ οὐδὲ σύ· παῦσαι τοῦ βιάζεσθαι, καὶ μήτε γράφε, μήτε πέμπε κόμητας· ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐξορισθέντας ἀπόλυσον,*

Cp. Apol. c.
Ari. 36.

c. 22.

Apol. ad
Const. 5.

Apol. c. Ari.
58.

c. 29.

ἵνα μὴ, βίαν αἰτιωμένου σου, μείζονας βίας ἐκείνοι ποιῶσι.
 Τί γὰρ τοιοῦτον γέγονε παρὰ Κώνσταντος; τίς ἐπίσκοπος
 ἐξωρίσθη; πότε κρίσεως ἐκκλησιαστικῆς μέσος γέγονε; ποίος
 αὐτοῦ παλατῖνος ἠνάγκασε κατὰ τινος ὑπογράψαι, ἵνα οἱ περὶ
 Οὐάλεντα τοιαῦτα λέγωσι; Παῦσαι, παρακαλῶ, καὶ μνήσθητι,
 ὅτι θνητὸς ἄνθρωπος τυγχάνεις· φοβήθητι τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς
 κρίσεως· φύλαξον σεαυτὸν εἰς ἐκείνην καθαρὸν. Μὴ τίθει
 σεαυτὸν εἰς τὰ ἐκκλησιαστικά· μηδὲ σὺ περὶ τούτων ἡμῖν
 παρακελεύου· ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον παρ' ἡμῶν σὺ μάθανε ταῦτα.
 Σοὶ βασιλείαν ὁ Θεὸς ἐνεχείρισεν· ἡμῖν τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας
 ἐπίστευσε. Καὶ ὥσπερ ὁ τὴν σὴν ἀρχὴν ὑποκλέπτων ἀντι-
 λέγει τῷ διαταξαμένῳ Θεῷ, οὕτω φοβήθητι μὴ καὶ σὺ, τὰ τῆς
 ἐκκλησίας εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἔλκων, ὑπεύθυνος ἐγκλήματι μεγάλῳ
 γένῃ· ‘Ἀπόδοτε,’ γέγραπται, ‘τὰ Καίσαρος Καίσαρι, καὶ τὰ Matt. xxii. 21.
 τοῦ Θεοῦ τῷ Θεῷ.’ Οὔτε τοίνυν ἡμῖν ἀρchein ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς
 ἔξεστιν, οὔτε σὺ τοῦ θυμῶν ἐξουσίαν ἔχεις, βασιλεῦ. Ταῦτα
 μὲν οὖν κηδόμενος τῆς σῆς σωτηρίας γράφω· περὶ δὲ ὧν ἐπέ-
 στεilas, ταύτης εἰμὶ τῆς γνώμης· ἐγὼ οὔτε Ἀρειανοῖς συγ-
 κατατίθεμαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν αἵρεσιν αὐτῶν ἀναθεματίζω· οὔτε
 κατὰ Ἀθανασίου γράφω, ὃν ἡμεῖς τε καὶ ἡ Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησία,
 καὶ πᾶσα ἡ σύνοδος ἐκαθάρισε. Καὶ γὰρ ταῦτα καὶ σὺ συνο-
 ρῶν μετεπέμψω τὸν ἄνθρωπον, καὶ συνεχώρησας αὐτῷ μετὰ Apol. c. Ari.
51.
 τιμῆς εἰς τὴν πατρίδα καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐπανελθεῖν. Τίς
 τοίνυν γέγονε πρόφασις τῆς τοσαύτης μεταβολῆς; Οἱ αὐτοὶ
 γὰρ ἐχθροὶ οἱ καὶ πρότερον ὄντες καὶ νῦν εἰσιν αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἃ
 νῦν ψιθυρίζουσιν (οὐ γὰρ παρόντος αὐτοῦ φθέγγονται), ταῦτα,
 καὶ πρὶν μεταπέμψῃ τὸν Ἀθανάσιον, κατελάλουν· ταῦτα καὶ
 ἐλθόντες εἰς τὴν σύνοδον διεθρύλλουν· καὶ ἀπαιτούμενοι παρ'
 ἐμοῦ, καθὰ προείπον, τὰς ἀποδείξεις οὐκ ἴσχυσαν παρασχεῖν·
 εἰ γὰρ εἶχον, οὐκ ἂν ἐφυγον οὕτως αἰσχυρῶς. Τίς οὖν ἐπεισέ-
 σε μετὰ τοσοῦτον χρόνον ἐπιλαθέσθαι τῶν σαυτοῦ γραμμάτων
 καὶ ῥημάτων; Ἐπίσχε, καὶ μὴ πείθου κακοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ἵνα
 μὴ διὰ τὸ πρὸς ἀλλήλους καθῆκον σαυτὸν ὑπεύθυνον ποιήσης.
 Ὡδε γὰρ τούτοις καθηκετεύεις, ἐν δὲ τῇ κρίσει μόνος μέλλεις [Qu. καθεκε-
τεύεις.]
 ἀπολογεῖσθαι. Οὗτοι τὸν ἴδιον ἐχθρὸν διὰ σοῦ θέλουσιν
 ἀδικεῖν, καὶ βοῦλονται σε διάκονον τῆς ἑαυτῶν πονηρίας γενέ-

HIST. ARIAN.

(Letter of
Hosius to
Constantine.)

σθαι, ἵνα διὰ σοῦ καὶ τὴν μυστάρην αἵρεσιν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐπισπείρωσιν. Οὐκ ἔστι δὲ φρόνιμον δι' ἄλλων ἡδονὴν ἐαυτὸν εἰς προὔπτον κίνδυνον ἐμβάλλειν. Παύσαι, παρακαλῶ, καὶ πείσθητί μοι, Κωνσταντίε. Ταῦτα γὰρ πρέπει καὶ ἐμὲ γράφειν, καὶ σὲ τούτων μὴ καταφρονεῖν.

Dan. vi. 5.

45. Ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Ἀβραμιαῖος γέρων, ὁ ἀληθῶς Ὅσιος ἐφρόνησέ τε καὶ ἔγραψεν, ὁ δὲ οὔτε τοῦ ἐπιβουλεύειν ἀνεχώρει, οὔτε πρόφασιν κατ' αὐτοῦ ζητῶν πέπανται· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπειλῶν ἐπέμενε δεινῶς, ἵνα ἡ βιαζόμενος μεταγάγη, ἢ μὴ πειθόμενον ἐξορίσῃ. Πρόφασιν μὲν οὖν, ὥσπερ οἱ τακτικοὶ καὶ σατράπαι τῆς Βαβυλῶνος, ζητοῦντες, οὐχ εὗρισκον κατὰ τοῦ Δανιὴλ εἰ μὴ ἐν νόμοις Θεοῦ αὐτοῦ· οὕτω καὶ οἱ νῦν σατράπαι τῆς ἀσεβείας οὐδὲ πλάσασθαι κατὰ τοῦ γέροντος ἄλλην ἡδυνήθησαν. (πᾶσι γὰρ γνώριμος ἦν ὁ ἀληθῶς Ὅσιος, καὶ ὁ τούτου βλός ἀνεπιληπτος,) εἰ μὴ τὸ κατὰ τῆς αἵρέσεως μῖσος. Διαβάλλουσι τοῖνυν καὶ αὐτὸν, οὐκέτι ὥς ἐκείνον Δαρεῖω (ἀηδῶς γὰρ ἤκου-

Dan. vi. 14.
3 Kings
(1 Kings) xxi.
7.
Luke xxiii.
10.

σεν ὁ Δαρεῖος κατὰ τοῦ Δανιὴλ), ἀλλ' ὥς Ἰεζάβελ κατὰ τοῦ Ναβουθαί, καὶ ὥς οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τῷ Ἡρώδῃ, λέγοντες· 'Οὐ μόνον οὐχ ὑπογράφει κατὰ Ἀθανασίου, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμᾶς δι' αὐτὸν κατακρίνει· καὶ τὴν αἵρεσιν οὕτω μισεῖ, ὥς καὶ ἄλλοις γράφειν θάνατον μᾶλλον ὑπομένειν, ἢ προδότας γίνεσθαι τῆς ἀληθείας. Δι' αὐτὴν γὰρ καὶ ὁ ἀγαπητὸς ἡμῶν Ἀθανάσιος διώκεται, καὶ Λιβέριος ὁ Ῥωμαίων ἐπίσκοπος, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες ἐπιβουλεύονται.' Ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ τῆς ἀσεβείας προστάτης, καὶ τῆς αἵρέσεως βασιλεὺς Κωνσταντίος, καὶ ὅτι μάλιστα καὶ ἑτεροὶ εἰσι κατὰ τὰς Σπανίας ταυτὰ τῷ Ὁσίῳ φρονούντες, πειράσας κἀκείνους ὑπογράψαι, καὶ μὴ δυνηθεὶς ἀναγκάσαι, μεταπέμπεται τὸν Ὅσιον· καὶ ἀντὶ ἐξορισμοῦ κατέχει τοῦτον ὅλον ἐνιαυτὸν ἐν τῷ Σιρμίῳ, οὔτε τὸν Θεὸν φοβηθεὶς ὁ ἄθεος, οὔτε τοῦ πατρὸς τὴν διάθεσιν ἣν εἶχε πρὸς τὸν Ὅσιον, αἰδεσθεὶς ὁ ἀνόσιος, οὔτε τὸ γῆρας (ἐκατονταέτης γὰρ λοιπὸν ἦν) αἰσχυνηθεὶς ὁ ἄστοργος. Πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα παρῆιδε διὰ τὴν ἀσέβειαν ὁ νέος Ἀχὰβ, καὶ ἄλλος Βαλθασάρ ἐφ' ἡμῶν γενόμενος. Τοσαύτην γὰρ βίαν πεποίηκε τῷ γέροντι, καὶ τοσοῦτον αὐτὸν συνέσχευ, ὥς θλιβέντα αὐτὸν, μόγις κοινωνῆσαι μὲν τοῖς περὶ

Apol. c. Ari.
89.

Οὐάλεντα καὶ Οὐρσάκιον, μὴ ὑπογράψαι δὲ κατὰ Ἀθανασίου. [A.D. 357.]
 Ἀλλὰ καὶ οὕτως οὐκ ἠμέλησεν ὁ γέρων· μέλλων γὰρ ἀποθνήσκειν,
 ὥσπερ διατιθέμενος ἐμαρτύρατο τὴν βίαν, καὶ τὴν Ἀρειανὴν αἰ-
 ρεσιν ἀνεθεμάτιζε, καὶ παρήγγελλε μηδένα ταύτην ἀποδέχεσθαι.

46. Τίς ταῦτα βλέπων, ἢ καὶ μόνον ἀκούων, οὐκ ἐξίσταται
 καὶ αὐτὸς, καὶ καταβοήσῃ πρὸς Κύριον, λέγων· ‘Μὴ ἄρα εἰς Ezek. xi. 13.
 ἐξάλειψιν σὺ ποιήσῃς τὸν Ἰσραήλ;’ Τίς, ταῦτα κατανοῶν,
 οὐκ εὐκαίρως καὶ αὐτὸς καταβοήσῃ, λέγων· ‘Ἐκστασις καὶ Jerem. v. 30.
 φρικτὰ ἐγενήθη ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς,’ καὶ, ‘Ἐξέστη ὁ οὐρανὸς ἐπὶ Jerem. ii. 12.
 τούτῳ, καὶ ἡ γῆ ἐπὶ πλείον ἐφριξε σφόδρα;’ Οἱ πατέρες τῶν
 λαῶν, καὶ διδάσκαλοι τῆς πίστεως αἰρουνται, καὶ οἱ ἀσεβεῖς εἰς
 τὰς ἐκκλησίας εἰσάγονται. Τίς, ὅτε Λιβέριος ἐπίσκοπος Ῥώ-
 μης ἐξωρίσθη, καὶ ὁ πατὴρ τῶν ἐπισκόπων ὁ μέγας Ὅσιος,
 οὕτω πάσχοντα, ἢ τίς ὁρῶν τοσοῦτους ἐπισκόπους ἀπὸ τῆς
 Σπανίας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων μερῶν ἐξοριζομένους, οὐκ ἐπέγνω, καὶ
 ὀλίγην αἰσθησιν ἔχη, ὅτι καὶ τὰ κατὰ Ἀθανάσιον καὶ τοὺς
 ἄλλους προφάσεις εἰσὶ ψευδεῖς, καὶ πάντα συκοφαντίας μεστά; Cr. c. 3.
 Τούτου γὰρ χάριν κάκεῖνοι πάντα παθεῖν ὑπέμειναν, συννορῶν-
 τες τὴν γενομένην ἐκ συκοφαντίας ἐκείνων ἐπιβουλήν. Ἐπεὶ
 ποῖον ἔγκλημα καὶ Λιβερῖο; ἢ ποῖα κατηγορία κατὰ τοῦ γέ-
 ροντος Ὀσίου; τίς καὶ ἐψεύσατο κατὰ Παυλίνου, καὶ Λουκι-
 φέρου, καὶ Διουνσίου, καὶ Εὐσεβίου; ἢ ποῖον ἁμάρτημα κατὰ
 τῶν ἄλλων ἐξορισθέντων ἐπισκόπων, καὶ πρεσβυτέρων, καὶ
 διακόνων; οὐκ ἔστι τοῦτο, μὴ γένοιτο, οὐ γὰρ δι’ ἐγκλήματα
 γεγύνασιν αἱ συσκευαὶ, οὐδὲ διὰ κατηγορίαν ἕκαστος ἐξωρίσθη·
 ἀλλ’ ἐπανάστασις ἔστι τῆς ἀσεβείας κατὰ τῆς εὐσεβείας· καὶ
 σπουδὴ μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἀρειανῆς αἱρέσεως, προοίμια δὲ καὶ τῆς
 τοῦ Ἀντιχρίστου παρόδου, Κωνσταντίου ταύτην προκατασκευά-
 ζοντος ἐκείνῳ.

47. Μετὰ γὰρ τὸ διαπράξασθαι πάντα, ὅσαπερ ἠθέλησεν Cr. c. 39.
 εἰς τὰς ἐκκλησίας τὰς ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα μέρη· μετὰ
 τὸ τοὺς μὲν ἐξορίσαι, τοὺς δὲ ἀναγκάσαι, καὶ πληρῶσαι φόβου
 τὰ πανταχοῦ, λοιπὸν εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ὥσπερ τι νόσημα τὸν
 ἑαυτοῦ θυμὸν ἔστρεψεν. Ἐγγίγνεται δὲ τοῦτο πανούργως παρὰ
 τῶν Χριστομάχων· ἵνα γὰρ φαντασίαν ἔχωσιν ὑπογραφῆς
 πολλῶν ἐπισκόπων, καὶ ἵνα διωχθεῖς Ἀθανάσιος μὴ ἔχη καὶ

- HIST. ARIAN. ἀποδύρεσθαι πρὸς ἐπίσκοπον, διὰ τοῦτο, προλαμβάνοντες, τὰ πανταχοῦ πεπληρώκασι φόβον· καὶ τοῦτον ἔφεδρον εἰς τὴν ἐπιβουλήν ἐτήρησαν· οὐκ εἰδότες οἱ ἄφρονες, ὅτι οὐ προαίρεσιν ἐπισκόπων, ἀλλὰ τὴν παρ' αὐτῶν γενομένην βίαν ἐπεδείκνυντο· καὶ ὅτι, κὰν ἀδελφοὶ καταλείψωσι, κὰν φίλοι καὶ γνώριμοι μακρὰν ἀποστῶσι, καὶ μηδεὶς εὗρεθῇ συλλυπούμενος καὶ παρακαλῶν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ πάντα μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς Θεὸν ἐξαρκεῖ καταφυγή. Μόνος γὰρ ἦν καὶ Ἥλίας διωκόμενος, καὶ πάντα καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν ἦν ὁ Θεὸς τῷ ἁγίῳ. Καὶ τοῦτον δὲ τύπον ἡμῖν δέδωκεν ὁ Σωτὴρ, καὶ μόνος καταληφθεὶς, ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπεβουλευέτο· ἵνα κὰν ἡμεῖς διωκόμενοι καταλειφθῶμεν ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων, μὴ ἐκκακῶμεν, ἀλλ' ἔχωμεν εἰς αὐτὸν τὴν ἐλπίδα, καὶ μὴ προδίδωμεν τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ἥτις, κὰν κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν θλίβεσθαι δόξῃ, ἀλλ' ὕστερον καὶ οἱ διώκοντες αὐτὴν ἐπιγνώσονται.
- Cp. Apol. ad Const. 22. 48. Παροξύνουσι τοῖνυν, καὶ γράφει τὸ πρῶτον βασιλεὺς, καὶ πέμπει πρὸς τε τὸν δοῦκα καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀπειλήν. Νοτάριοι τε Διογενίος τε καὶ Ἰλάριος, καὶ παλατῖνοι σὺν αὐτοῖς ἀποστέλλονται· καὶ γέγονε τὰ τοσαῦτα δεινὰ καὶ ὠμὰ κατὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἃ μικρῷ πρόσθεν δι' ὀλίγων εἴρηται, καὶ πάντες ἔγνωσαν, ἐξ ὧν ἔθηκαν οἱ λαοὶ διαμαρτυριῶν, ἃς καὶ ἀναγνῶναι δύναται τις γραφείσας ἐν τῷ τέλει τούτων. Εἴτα μετὰ τὸ γενέσθαι τὰ παρὰ Συριανοῦ, μετὰ τὸ γενέσθαι τοσαῦτα, καὶ ὡς κατὰ τῶν παρθένων ὕβρεις, ἀποδεξάμενος τὰ οὕτω καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα κακὰ, γράφει πάλιν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας, παροξύνων τοὺς νεωτέρους, ἵνα πάντες συνελθόντες ἢ διώξωσιν Ἀθανάσιον, ἢ γινώσκοιεν ἐχθροὺς αὐτοῦ τυγχάνειν αὐτούς. Αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν, καὶ πρὶν ἐλθεῖν ταῦτα, ἐξ οὗ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ Συριανὸς ἐπῆλθεν, ἀναχωρήσας ἦν, εἰδὼς τὸ γεγραμμένον· “Ἄλλ' ἀποκρύβηθι μικρὸν ὅσον ὅσον, ἕως ἂν παρέλθῃ ἡ ὀργή·” τῶν δὲ γραμμάτων τούτων γίνεται διάκονος Ἡράκλειος τις τῷ ἀξιωματὶ κόμης, προοδεύων τινὸς Γεωργίου τοῦ ἀποστελλομένου παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως κατασκόπον· οὐ γὰρ ἂν εἴη ἐπίσκοπος ὁ παρ' ἐκείνου πεμπόμενος, μὴ γένοιτο, ὥς καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ γενόμενα, καὶ τὰ προοίμια τῆς εἰσόδου δείκνυσιν.
- 3 Kings (1 Kings) xix. 3, 4.
Matt. xxvi. 56.
Cp. Apol. ad Fuga, 24.
Isa. xxvi. 20.
Apol. ad Const. 20.
Cp. Apol. de Fuga, 6.
c. 3.

49-50. Τὰ μὲν οὖν γράμματα προὔθηκε δημοσίᾳ, καὶ πολ- [Montp. reckons no c. at 49.]
λὴν αἰσχύνην ἐδείκνουν τοῦ γράφοντος· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ, ὡς ἔγρα-
ψεν ὁ μέγας Ὅσιος, οὐχ εὗρισκε πιθανὴν πρόφασιν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ
μεταβολῆς, ἐπενόησε πολλῶ καὶ μᾶλλον ἀπρεπεστέραν ἑαυτῷ·
καὶ τοῖς τούτῳ συμβουλευσασιν· ἔφησε γάρ· ‘Τὴν πρὸς τὸν
ἀδελφὸν αἰδούμενος φιλῶν, τὸν τῆς θείας καὶ εὐσεβοῦς μνή-
μης, ἐπὶ καιρὸν αὐτῷ τὴν ὡς ὑμᾶς γενέσθαι πάροδον ἡνεσχό-
μην.’ Τοῦτο δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν ψευδόμενον, καὶ πρὸς τὸν
ἀδελφὸν μετὰ θάνατον ἀγνώμονα δείκνυσιν. Εἴτα ‘θείας καὶ
εὐσεβοῦς αὐτὸν μνήμης,’ ὥσπεροῦν καὶ ἔστιν, ἄξιον ὀνομάζει,
οὗ τὴν ἐντολὴν καὶ τὴν ‘φιλῶν,’ ὡς αὐτὸς ἔγραψε, καίτοι, εἰ
καὶ διὰ τὸν μακαρίτην Κωνσταντα συγχωρήσας ἦν, ὥφειλε μὴ
ἀκαθήκων περὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν γενέσθαι, ἴν’, ὥσπερ τῆς βασι-
λείας, οὕτω καὶ τῆς γνώμης αὐτοῦ κληρονόμος γένηται. Ἀλλὰ
τὸν μὲν Βρετανίωνα καθεῖλεν, ἐβελήσας τὸ δίκαιον ἀπαιτεῖν,
λέγων· ‘Τίνι μετὰ θάνατον ἀδελφῶν ἡ κληρονομία γίνεται;’ Cp. c. 69.
διὰ δὲ τὴν μυσαρὰν αἵρεσιν τῶν Χριστομάχων οὔτε τὸ δίκαιον
οἶδεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ἀκαθήκων γίνεται· δι’ ἣν
αἵρεσιν οὐδὲ τοῦ πατρὸς ὀλόκληρον τὴν γνώμην φυλάττειν
ἐνενόησεν· ἀλλὰ εἰς μὲν τὸ ἀρέσκον τοῖς ἀσεβέσι, τοῦτο τη-
ρεῖν ὑποκρίνεται· εἰς δὲ τὸ λυποῦν ἐκείνους, οὐκ οἶδεν οὐδὲ
τὸ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα σέβας φυλάξαι. Ἀπέστειλε μὲν γὰρ
ἐκεῖνος τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ἐκ διαβολῆς τῶν περὶ Εὐσέβιον εἰς
τὰς Γαλλίας ἐπὶ καιρὸν διὰ τὴν τῶν ἐπιβουλευόντων ὁμότητα
(τοῦτο γὰρ ὁ μακαρίτης Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ τούτου ἀδελφὸς μετὰ
θάνατον τοῦ πατρὸς ἐδήλωσεν, ὡς ἐκ τῶν γραμμάτων αὐτοῦ
δείκνυται)· οὐκ ἐπείσθη δὲ τοῖς περὶ Εὐσέβιον ἀποστεῖλαι ὃν
ἤθελον ἐπίσκοπον αὐτοῖ, ἀλλὰ καὶ θέλοντας ἐκώλυσε, καὶ ἐπι-
χειρήσαντας ἐπέσχε μετὰ δεινῆς ἀπειλῆς.

51. Πῶς οὖν, εἰ τὰ τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ γεννήτορος, ὡς γράφει, φυ-
λάττειν ἤθελεν, ἀπέστειλε τὸ μὲν πρῶτον Γρηγόριον, καὶ νῦν
δὲ τὸν ταμειοφάγον Γεώργιον; ἢ διὰ τί τοὺς Ἀρειανούς, οὓς c. 75.
ἐκεῖνος Πορφυριανούς ὠνόμασε, τούτους οὗτος εἰς τὴν ἐκκλη- Soc. i. 9.
σίαν εἰσαγαγεῖν σπονδάζει, καὶ τούτων προϋστάμενος, ἄλλους
ἐξορίζει; Εἰ δὲ καὶ ἑώρακεν Ἀρειὸν ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ’ ἐπι- De Mortē
ορκήσας Ἀρειὸς καὶ βαγεῖς, ἔλυσε τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς φιλανθρω- Arii, 3.

- HIST. ARIAN. πῶς· καὶ γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς, μαθὼν, ὡς αἰρετικοῦ κατέγνω λοιπόν. Πῶς δὲ καὶ, προφασιζόμενος φροντίζειν τοῦ ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ κανόνος, πάντα παρὰ τοῦτον ἐπενόησε πράττειν; Ποίος γὰρ
- Cp. Encycl. κανὼν ἀπὸ παλατίου πέμπεσθαι τὸν ἐπίσκοπον; Ἡ ποίος κα-
2.
Apol. c. Ari. νὼν στρατιώτας ἐπιβαίνειν ἐκκλησίαις; Ἡ τίς παραδέδωκε
36.
κόμητας καὶ τοὺς ἀλογίστους σπάδοντας κατάρχειν τῶν ἐκ-
κλησιαστικῶν, καὶ διατάγματι τὴν κρίσιν τῶν λεγομένων ἐπι-
σκόπων δηλοῦσθαι; Πάντα ψεύδεται διὰ τὴν ἀνόσιον αἵρεσιν·
- Cp. Encycl. καὶ γὰρ παρὰ γνώμην τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τότε Φιλάργριον τὸ δεύ-
3.
τερον ἐπεμψεν ἑπαρχον, καὶ τὰ νῦν γενόμενα γέγονε. Καὶ
διὰ τὸν ἀδελφὸν δὲ οὐκ ἀληθεύει· καὶ γὰρ καὶ μετὰ τὸν ἐκεί-
νου θάνατον οὐχ ἄπαξ, οὐδὲ δεύτερον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τρίτον ἔγραψε
- c. 24.
τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ· καὶ πάλιν ἐπηγγέλατο μὴ μεταβάλλεσθαι· ἀλ-
λὰ καὶ θαρβῆναι παρεκελεύσατο, ὥστε παρὰ μηδενὸς αὐτὸν τα-
ράττεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ μένειν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ μετὰ πάσης ἀμε-
ριμνίας· καὶ ἐντολὰς δὲ δι' Ἀστερίου κόμητος καὶ Παλλαδίου
- Cp. Apol. ad
Const. 23.
νοταρίου ἐπεμψε Φηλικισσίμῳ τῷ τότε δουκί, καὶ Νεστορίῳ
τῷ ἐπάρχῳ, ἵνα εἴτε Φίλιππος ὁ ἑπαρχος, εἴτε τις ἄλλος ἐπι-
βουλεύειν Ἀθανασίῳ τολμήσοι, τοῦτον ἐκείνοι κωλύωσιν.
- c. 23.
52. Διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ ὅτε Διογένης ἦλθε, καὶ Συριανὸς
ἐνῆδρευσε, αὐτὸς τε καὶ ἡμεῖς, καὶ ὁ λαὸς ἀπηγοῦμεν γράμ-
ματα τοῦ βασιλέως, νομίζοντες, ὅτι, ὥσπερ γέγραπται, 'Μη-
δὲν ψεῦδος ἀπὸ στόματος λεγέσθω βασιλεῖ,' οὕτω καὶ βασι-
λεὺς, ἐπαγγειλάμενος, οὔτε ψεύσεται, οὔτε μεταβληθήσεται.
Πῶς οὖν, εἰ διὰ τὸν ἀδελφὸν συνεχώρησεν, ἔγραψε καὶ μετὰ
θάνατον αὐτοῦ; Εἰ δὲ καὶ τότε διὰ τὴν ἐκείνου 'μνήμην' ἔγ-
ραψε, διὰ τί μετὰ ταῦτα τὸ ὅλον ἡγνωμόνησεν αὐτὸν, διώκων
τὸν ἄνθρωπον, καὶ τοιαῦτα γράφων, ἐν οἷς προφασίζεται μὲν
κρίσιν ἐπισκόπων, πράττει δὲ αὐτὸς ὡς ἂν αὐτῷ δοκῇ, οὐ λαν-
θάνων ὁμως, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐγγὺς ἔχων τὸν ἔλεγχον τῆς πανουργίας;
Εἰ γὰρ ἐπισκόπων ἐστὶ κρίσις, τί κοινὸν ἔχει πρὸς ταύ-
την βασιλεὺς; εἰ δὲ βασιλέως ἐστὶν ἀπειλή, τίς ἐνταῦθα χρεῖα
τῶν λεγομένων ἐπισκόπων; Πότε γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ αἰῶνος ἠκούσθη
τοιαῦτα; πότε κρίσις ἐκκλησίας παρὰ βασιλέως ἔσχε τὸ κύ-
ρος, ἢ ὅλως ἐγνωσθῇ τὸ κρίμα; Πολλοὶ σύνοδοι πρὸ τούτου
γεγόνασι· πολλὰ κρίματα τῆς ἐκκλησίας γέγονεν· ἀλλ' οὔτε οἱ
- Apol. ad
Const. 22.
Eccles. vii.
13, 14.
Apol. c. Ari.
10.

πατέρες ἐπεισάν ποτε περὶ τούτων βασιλέα, οὔτε βασιλεὺς τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας περιειργάσατο. Παῦλος ἀπόστολος εἶχε φίλους τοὺς τῆς τοῦ Καίσαρος οἰκίας, καὶ γράφων ἡσπάζετο τοὺς Φιλιππησίους ἀπὸ τούτων· ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰς κρίματα τούτους κοι- Phil. iv. 22.
νωνοὺς παρελάμβανε. Νῦν δὲ θέαμα καινὸν, καὶ τοῦτο τῆς Ἀρειανῆς αἰρέσεώς ἐστιν εὕρημα· συνῆλθον γὰρ αἰρετικοὶ καὶ βασιλεὺς Κωνστάντιος, ἵνα κάκεῖνος, τὴν ἐπισκόπων ἔχων πρόφασιν, τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ καθ' ᾧ ἂν ἐθέλοι, πράττη, καὶ διώκων μὴ λέγοιτο διώκτης· καὶ οὗτοι δὲ, τὴν βασιλείῳ ἔχοντες δυναστείαν, ἐπιβουλεύωσιν οἷς ἂν ἐθέλωσι· θέλουσι δὲ τοῖς μὴ ἀσεβοῦσιν, ὡς αὐτοί. Τοῦτο δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ σκηνῆς ἂν τις ἴδοι Cp. Apol. c. Ari. 17.
κωμωδούμενον παρ' αὐτοῖς· καὶ τοὺς μὲν λεγομένους ἐπισκόπους ὑποκρινομένους, τὸν δὲ Κωνστάντιον τὰ ἐκείνων ἐνεργοῦντα, καὶ πάλιν ἐπαγγελλόμενον τοῦτον, ὡς Ἡρώδης τῆς Ἡρωδιάδος· τούτους δὲ πάλιν ὀρχουμένους τὰς διαβολὰς ἐπὶ ἐξορισμῷ καὶ θανάτῳ τῶν εἰς τὸν Κύριον εὐσεβούντων.

53. Τίνα οὖν οὐκ ἐβλάψαν διαβάλλοντες; τίνων οὐ γεγόνασιν ἐπίβουλοι οἱ Χριστομάχοι; τίνα Κωνστάντιος οὐκ ἐξώρισε κατενεχθέντα παρ' αὐτῶν; πότε καταθυμῶς αὐτῶν οὐκ ἤκουσε; καὶ τὸ παράδοξον, τίνα πώποτε λέγοντα κατ' ἐκείνων ἐδέξατο, καὶ οὐ μᾶλλον λέγοντας ἐκείνους οἷα κὰν εἴπωσιν ἀπεδέξατο; ποία ἐκκλησία νῦν τὸν Χριστὸν μετ' ἐλευθερίας προσκυνεῖ; ἂν τε γὰρ εὐσεβὴς ᾗ, κινδυνεύει· ἂν τε ὑποκρίνεται, φοβεῖται. Πάντα ὑποκρίσεως καὶ ἀσεβείας, ὅσον εἰς αὐτὸν ἦκε, πεπλήρωκεν. Εἰ γὰρ καὶ πού τις ἐστιν εὐσεβὴς καὶ φιλόχριστος (εἰσὶ δὲ πανταχοῦ πολλοὶ τοιοῦτοι, ὡς οἱ προφήται καὶ Ἡλίας ὁ μέγας), κρύπτονται, ἂν που καὶ αὐτοί, ὡς Apol. de Fuga, 10.
τὸν Ἀβδιοῦ, πιστὸν ἀνθρωπὸν εὗρωσι, καὶ ἡ εἰς σπήλαιον καὶ 3 Kings (1 Kings) xviii.
τὰς ὁπὰς τῆς γῆς ἀπέλθωσιν, ἡ ἐπ' ἐρημίαις περιερχόμενοι 10.
διατρίψωσι. Τοιαῦτα γὰρ διαβάλλουσιν οἱ ἄφρονες, οἷα καὶ ἡ Ἰεζάβελ ἐπλάσατο κατὰ τοῦ Ναβουθαί, καὶ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι 3 Kings (1 Kings) xxi.
κατὰ τοῦ Σωτῆρος· καὶ λοιπὸν ἐκεῖνος, προστάτης τῆς αἰρέ- 7.
σεως ὢν, τὴν τε ἀλήθειαν μεταστρέψαι θέλων, ὡς ὁ Ἀχὰβ τὸν ἀμπελῶνα εἰς κήπον λαχανίας, ἃ θέλουσιν ἐκεῖνοι πράττει, ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτὸς ἄπερ ἤθελεν ἤκουσε παρ' αὐτῶν.

54. Οὕτω, καθὰ προεῖπον, τοὺς ἀληθινοὺς ἐπισκόπους, ἐπεὶ

HIST. ARIAN. μὴ ἡσέβουν, ὡς ἤθελεν αὐτὸς, ἐξώρισεν· οὕτως καὶ κατὰ Ἀθανασίου νῦν ἀπέστειλεν Ἡράκλειον τὸν κόμητα, καὶ τὰ μὲν διατάγματα προέθηκε δημοσίᾳ, ἐντολὰς δὲ βασιλέως ἀπήγειλεν, εἰ μὴ πεισθεῖεν τοῖς γράμμασιν, ἀφαίρουν τοῦ ἄρτου, καὶ τῶν εἰδώλων ἔσεσθαι καταστροφὴν, πολλῶν τε πολιτευτῶν, καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου πάντως αἰχμαλωσίαν γενήσεσθαι. Εἴτα ταῦτα ἀπειλῶν, οὐκ ἡσχύνθη δημοσίᾳ μεγάλῃ τῇ φωνῇ λέγειν· 'Τὸν μὲν Ἀθανάσιον παραιτεῖται βασιλεὺς, τοῖς δὲ Ἀρειανοῖς τὰς ἐκκλησίας παραδοθῆναι ἐκέλευσε.' Πάντων τε ἐπὶ τούτῳ θαυμαζόντων, καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους νευόντων τε καὶ λεγόντων· 'Εἰ Κωνσταντίος αἰρετικὸς γέγονε;' δέον ἐρυθρίαν, ὁ δὲ μᾶλλον ἠνάγκαζε βουλευτὰς καὶ δημότας ἐθνικοὺς νεωκόρους τῶν εἰδώλων ἐπὶ τούτοις ὑπογράφειν καὶ ὁμολογεῖν, δέχεσθαι δὲ ἂν ἀποστείλῃ βασιλεὺς ἐπίσκοπον. Πάνυ γε κανόνας ἐκκλησίας ἐκδικῶν, ἐποίει τοῦτο γενέσθαι Κωνσταντίος· ἀντὶ γὰρ ἐκκλησίας τὴν ἀγορὰν, ἀντὶ τῶν λαῶν τοὺς νεωκόρους ἀπῆτει γράμματα· ἐγίνωσκε γὰρ οὐκ ἐπίσκοπον αὐτὸν Χριστιανοῖς, ἀλλὰ τινα φιλοπράγμονα πέμπειν αὐτοῖς τοῖς γράφουσιν.

Cp. Encycl.
5.

55. Ἕλληνες μὲν οὖν, ὥσπερ ὠνούμενοι τῇ ὑπογραφῇ τὴν τῶν εἰδώλων ἑαυτῶν ἀσυλίαν, καὶ τινες τῶν ἐργασιῶν, ἄκουτες μὲν, ἔγραψαν δὲ ὅμως, ὡς περὶ ἡγεμόνος, ἢ ἄλλου τινὸς ἀποστελλομένου δικαστοῦ, διὰ τὰς παρ' ἐκείνου λεγομένας ἀπειλάς· τί γὰρ ἔμελλον Ἕλληνες ὄντες ποιεῖν, ἢ τοῦθ' ὅπερ δοκεῖ τῷ βασιλεῖ; Τῶν δὲ λαῶν ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ συνελθόντων (τετάρτη γὰρ ἦν Σαββάτου), λαμβάνει μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ τῇ ἐξῆς Ἡράκλειος ὁ κόμης τὸν ἐπαρχον τῆς Αἰγύπτου Καταφρόνιον, καὶ Φανστῖνον τὸν καθολικόν, τόν τε Βιθυνὸν αἰρετικὸν ὄντα, καὶ παροξύνουσι τῶν ἀγοραίων τοὺς νεωτέρους καὶ σεβομένους εἰδῶλα, ταύτην ἐντολὴν εἶναι βασιλέως λέγοντες, ἵνα ἐπέλθωσιν ἐκκλησίᾳ, καὶ λιθάσωσι τοὺς λαοὺς. Ἦδη μὲν οὖν ἦσαν οἱ πλείστοι τοῦ λαοῦ, γενομένης ἀπολύσεως, ἐξεληθότες, γυναικῶν δὲ ὀλίγων ἀπομεινασῶν, γέγονεν ὡς προσέταξαν. Καὶ θέαμα οἰκτρὸν ἦν· ἄρτι γὰρ ἦσαν ἀπὸ τῆς εὐχῆς ὀλίγαι καθεζόμεναι, καὶ γυμνοὶ μετὰ λίθων εὐθὺς καὶ ξύλων ἐπῆλθον οἱ νεώτεροι· καὶ τὰς μὲν ἐλίθασον, τὰ δὲ τῶν παρθέ-

νων ἅγια σώματα κατέκοπτον πληγαῖς οἱ ἄθεοι, εἰλκόν τε τὰ σκεπάσματα, καὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς αὐτῶν ἐγύμνου, καὶ ἀνθελκούσας ἐλάττιζον τοῖς ποσὶν οἱ δέλαιοι. Δεινὰ μὲν οὖν ταῦτα καὶ λίαν ἐστὶ δεινὰ· ἀλλὰ τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα δεινότερα, καὶ πάσης ὕβρεως ἀφορητότερα γέγονεν. Εἰδότες γὰρ τὸ σεμνὸν τῶν παρθένων, καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀκοῆς ἄχραντον, καὶ ὅτι μᾶλλον λίθους καὶ ξίφη ἢ τὰ τῆς αἰσχρορῆμοσύνης φέρειν δύνανται ῥήματα, τούτοις ἐχρῶντο κατ' αὐτῶν ἐπερχόμενοι· Ἀρειανοὶ δὲ ταῦτα τοῖς νεωτέροις ὑπέβαλλον· καὶ γὰρ ἐγέλων τούτων λεγομένων καὶ γιγνομένων. Καὶ αἱ μὲν ἅγαι παρθένοι καὶ ἄλλαι σεμναὶ γυναικες ὡς ἀσπίδων δῆγματα τὰ τοιαῦτα φθέγματα ἔφευγον· οἱ δὲ Χριστομάχοι συνήργουν, τάχα δὲ καὶ συνεφθέγγοντο τοῖς νεωτέροις· καὶ γὰρ ἥδοντο τοῖς παρ' ἐκείνων ἐκβαλλομένοις μετὰ ἀσελγείας ῥήμασιν.

56. Εἴτα, ὡς τὸ δλον τῆς ἐντολῆς πληροῦντες (τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν τὸ σπονδαζόμενον, τοῦτο καὶ κόμης καὶ ὁ καθολικὸς πατήρ-γελλον), ἀρπάσαντες τὰ συμφέλλια, καὶ τὸν θρόνον, καὶ τὴν τράπεζαν (ξυλινὴ γὰρ ἦν), καὶ τὰ βῆλα τῆς ἐκκλησίας, τὰ τε ἄλλα, ὅσα ἠδυνήθησαν, ἐξενέγκαντες, ἔκανσαν ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ πυλῶνος ἐν τῇ πλατείᾳ τῇ μεγάλῃ, καὶ λίβανον ἐπέβαλον. Ὡ! τίς ἀκούσας οὐ δακρύσειε, τάχα καὶ τὴν ἀκοὴν κλείσειεν, ἵνα μὴδὲ ἐτέρου λέγοντος ἀνέχηται, βλάβην ἡγούμενος καὶ τὸ μόνον ἀκοῦσαι τι τοιοῦτον; Τὰ τε γὰρ εἰδῶλα ἑαυτῶν εὐφήμουν, καὶ ἔλεγον· “Ἑλλην γέγονε Κωνστάντιος, καὶ οἱ Ἀρειανοὶ τὰ ἡμῶν ἐπέγνωσαν” οὐ φροντίζουσι γὰρ οὐδὲ Ἑλληνισμὸν ὑποκρίνασθαι, ἵνα μόνον ἢ αἵρεσις ἔχη τὴν σύστασιν. Καὶ γὰρ βοῖδιον ἐπαντλοῦν τοὺς κηπευομένους ἐν τῷ Καισαρείῳ τόπους ἐπεχείρησαν θῦσαι, καὶ ἔθυσαν ἂν, εἰ μὴ θῆλυ τοῦτο Cp. c. 74. ἦν· τὰ τοιαῦτα γὰρ ἔλεγον μὴ ἐξεῖναι παρ' αὐτοῖς θύεσθαι.

57. Τοιαῦτα μὲν οὖν οἱ δυσσεβεῖς Ἀρειανοὶ, νομίζοντες εἰς ἡμῶν ὕβριν ταῦτα φθάνειν, μετὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐπραττον. Θεία δὲ δίκη τὴν πονηρίαν τούτων ἤλεγξε, καὶ σημείον τι μέγα καὶ ἐξαίρετον εἰργάσατο, δεικνύουσα καὶ διὰ τούτου πᾶσι φανερώς ὅτι, ὥσπερ ἀσεβοῦντες οὐκ εἰς ἄλλον, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸν Κύριον τολμῶσιν, οὕτω, ταῦτα ποιοῦντες. εἰς αὐτοῦ πάλιν ὕβριν ἐπεχείρησαν πράξαι· καὶ τοῦτο μᾶλλον ἐκ τοῦ γενομένου

Cp. Apol. ad
Const. 33.

HIST. ARIAN. θαύματος φανερωτέραν ἔσχε τὴν ἀπόδειξιν. Τῶν ἀσελγῶν γάρ τις νεώτερος εἰσδραμὼν, καὶ τολμήσας ἐπεκάθισε τῷ θρόνῳ. Καὶ καθίσας διὰ τῶν ῥινῶν τι πορνικὸν ἀπήχησεν ὁ ἄθλιος· εἶτα ἀναστὰς ἐβιάζετο τὸν θρόνον ἀποσπᾶν καὶ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἔλκειν· ἡγνῶει δὲ καθ' ἑαυτοῦ τὴν δίκην ἐπισπῶμενος. Ὡς γὰρ οἱ τότε τὴν Ἀζωτον κατοικοῦντες, τολμήσαντες ἄψασθαι τῆς κιβωτοῦ, ἥ καὶ προσβλέψαι θέμις οὐκ ἦν αὐτοῖς, παρ' αὐτῆς εὐθὺς ἀπώλλυντο, πρότερον διαφθειρόμενοι ταῖς βασάνοις τὰς ἔδρας· οὕτως καὶ οὗτος ὁ ἄθλιος μόνον ἐτόλμησεν ἔλκειν, καὶ ὅπερ εἶλεν, εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἐπεσπάσατο, καὶ ὡς ἀντιπεμπούσης τῆς δίκης τὸ ξύλον, ἐν αὐτῷ τὴν ἰδίαν κοιλίαν ἐπληξε· καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ θρόνου τῇ πληγῇ τὰ ἴδια ἐξήνεγκεν ἔντερα· καὶ μᾶλλον ὁ θρόνος ἐκείνου τὸ ζῆν ἀπέσπασεν, ἢ αὐτὸς ἀπεσπάσθη παρ' ἐκείνου. Ἐξεχύθη γοῦν, ὡς γέγραπται κατὰ τὸν Ἰούδαν, τοῖς σπλάγχνοις, καὶ καταπεσὼν ἐβαστάχθη, καὶ μετὰ μίαν ἡμέραν ἀπώλετο. Καὶ ἕτερος δὲ μετὰ θαλλῶν εἰσελθὼν, καὶ ὡς Ἕλλην κινῶν αὐτὰ τῇ χειρὶ καὶ χλευάζων, εὐθὺς ἐσκοτώθη, καὶ οὐκ ἔβλεπεν, οὐδὲ ἐγίνωσκεν ἔτι λοιπὸν ὅποι γῆς ἐτύγχανε· μέλλων τε καὶ αὐτὸς καταπίπτειν, χειραγωγούμενος ὑπὸ τῶν συνόντων, καὶ ὑποβασταζόμενος ἐξήρχετο αὐτὸς, μόγις μεθ' ἡμέραν διανήψας, καὶ οὐ γινώσκων οὔτε τί πεποίηκεν, οὔτε τί πέπουθεν ὁ τολμηρός.

Acts i. 18.

58. Ταῦτα βλέποντες, Ἕλληνες μὲν ἐφοβήθησαν, καὶ οὐδὲν πλεον ἐτόλμησαν· Ἀρειανοὶ δὲ οὐδὲ οὕτως ἡσυχύνθησαν, ἀλλ' ὡς Ἰουδαῖοι σημεῖα βλέποντες, οὐκ ἐπίστευον οἱ ἄπιστοι· μᾶλλον γὰρ ἐσκληρύνοντο κατὰ τὸν Φαραῶ, τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχοντες καὶ αὐτοὶ κάτω που κειμένας ἐν τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ ἐν τοῖς εὐνοῦχοις αὐτοῦ. Τοὺς μὲν οὖν Ἕλληνας, μᾶλλον δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τοὺς ἐκβλητοτέρους, τὰ προειρημένα ποιεῖν ἐπέτρεπον· εἶχον γὰρ τὸν ὑποκρινόμενον αὐτοῖς τὰ τοιαῦτα, καὶ παροξύνοντα τοὺς Ἕλληνας, Φαυστίνον, τὸν καθολικὸν μὲν λεγόμενον, ἀγοραῖον δὲ τὸν τρόπον, καὶ ἀσελγῇ τὴν ψυχὴν. Αὐτοὶ δὲ τὰ ὅμοια τούτοις ἀνεδέξαντο δι' ἑαυτῶν ποιεῖν· Ἰν', ὥσπερ τὴν αἵρεσιν ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων αἱρέσεων ἀπεμάζαντο, οὕτω καὶ τὴν πονηρίαν μετὰ τῶν ἀσελγεστέρων ἔχωσι μεμερισμένην. Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα δι' ἐκείνων, καθὰ προείπον, ἐπραττον· ἃ δὲ

δι' ἑαυτῶν ἐπλημμέλουν, πῶς οὐ πᾶσαν ὑπερβάλλει πονηρίαν, καὶ παντὸς δημίον νικᾷ κακίαν ; Ποῖον γὰρ οἶκον οὐκ ἐπόρθησαν ; πῶσαν οἰκίαν, προφάσει τοῦ ἐρευνᾶν, οὐ διήρπασαν ; ποῖον κῆπον οὐ κατεπάτησαν, καὶ τάφον οὐκ ἐπήνοιξαν ; πρόσφασιν μὲν ὥς ' Ἀθανάσιον ἐπιζητοῦντες ' προβαλλόμενοι, τὸ δ' ὅλον ἦν αὐτοῖς σπουδαζόμενον διαρπάζειν καὶ σκυλεύειν τοὺς ἀπαντῶντας. Πόσων ἐπεσφραγίσθησαν οἶκοι ; πόσων τὰ ἐν Apol. de Fuga, 6. ταῖς ξενίαις ἐκδεδώκασιν τοῖς ὑπουργοῦσιν αὐτοῖς στρατιώταις ; τίς τούτων ἀπείρατος τῆς κακίας γέγονε ; τίς, τούτοις ἀπαντήσας, οὐκ ἐκρύβη κατὰ τὴν ἀγοράν ; τίς διὰ τούτους οὐ, καταλείψας τὴν οἰκίαν, ἐπὶ τῆς ἐρημίας διῆγε τὴν νύκτα ; τίς, τούτων χάριν φυλάξαι τὰ ἴδια σπεύδων, οὐκ ἀπώλεσε τὰ πλείστα ; τίς ἄπειρος θαλάττης οὐ μᾶλλον εἴλετο ταύτην, καὶ τῶν ταύτης κινδύνων πείραν λαβεῖν, ἢ τούτους ὀρᾶν ἀπειλοῦντας ; Πολλοὶ καὶ οἶκους μετῆλθον καὶ μετέστησαν ἀπὸ λαύρας εἰς λαῦραν, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως εἰς τὰ προάστεια. Πόσοι τε ζημίας πόσας ὑπέστησαν, καὶ μὴ ἔχοντες ἐδανείσαντο παρ' ἐτέρων, ἵνα μόνον τὰς ἐπιβουλὰς τούτων ἐκφύγωσιν ;

59. Πᾶσι γὰρ φοβεροὺς ἑαυτοὺς ἐδείκνυν, καὶ πρὸς πάντας ἡλαζονεύοντο, βασιλέα πᾶσιν ὀνομάζοντες, καὶ ἀπειλοῦντες μὲν τὸν ἐκείνου φόβον, ἔχοντες δὲ ὑπουργοὺς εἰς τὴν πονηρίαν τὸν δοῦκα Σεβαστιανὸν, Μανιχαῖον ὄντα, καὶ ἀσελγῆ νεώτερον, καὶ τὸν ἑπαρχον, καὶ τὸν κόμητα, καὶ ὑποκριτὴν τὸν καθολικόν. Cp. c. 55. Πολλὰς γοῦν παρθένους καταγνούσας αὐτῶν τῆς ἀσεβείας, καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐπιγνούσας, κατήνεγκαν ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκιῶν, καὶ ἄλλας περιπατούσας ὕβριζον, καὶ ἐποιοῦν ὑπὸ τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς νεωτέρων γυμνοῦσθαι τὰς κεφαλὰς αὐτῶν καὶ γυναιξὶ δὲ ταῖς παρ' αὐτῶν δεδώκασιν ἐξουσίαν ὕβριζειν ἢν θέλουσι. Καὶ αἱ μὲν σεμναὶ καὶ πισταὶ γυναῖκες ἐξέκλινον καὶ παρεχώρουν ἐκείναις τὴν ὁδόν· αἱ δὲ ὥσπερ μαινάδες καὶ ἐρινυῆς περιερχόμεναι, συμφορὰν ἡγοῦντο τὸ μὴ εὐρίσκειν ἀδικεῖν, καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην μετὰ λύπης διῆγον, ἐν ᾗ μὴ ἠδύναντο κακοποιεῖν. Καὶ ὅλως οὕτως ἦσαν πᾶσιν ἄγριοι καὶ πικροὶ, ὥστε ' δημίους, φονευτὰς, ἀθεμίτους, φιλοπράγμονας, κακούργους,' καὶ πάντα μᾶλλον αὐτοὺς ἢ ' Χριστιανοὺς ' παρὰ πάντων καλεῖσθαι.

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60. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ τοὺς Σκύθας μιμούμενοι, ἤρπασαν Εὐτύχιον ὑποδιάκονον, ἄνδρα καλῶς ὑπηρετοῦντα τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ· καὶ ποιήσαντες εἰς τὰ νῶτα ταυρέαις ἴσα θανάτῳ κατακοπήναι, ἠξίωσαν εἰς μέταλλον ἀποσταλῆναι, καὶ μέταλλον οὐχ ἀπλῶς, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ τῆς Φαινῶ, ἔνθα καὶ φονεὺς καταδικαζόμενος ὀλίγας ἡμέρας μόγῃς δύναται ζῆσαι. Καὶ τὸ παράδοξον, οὐδὲ κὰν ὀλίγας ὥρας ἐπέτρεψαν αὐτὸν θεραπευθῆναι διὰ τὰς πληγὰς· ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἐποίησαν ἀποσταλῆναι, φάσκοντες· 'Εἰ τοῦτο γένηται, πάντες φοβηθήσονται, καὶ μεθ' ἡμῶν ἔσονται λοιπόν.' Οὐ πολὺ δὲ διέστη, καὶ μὴ δυνηθεὶς εἰς τὸ μέταλλον φθάσαι διὰ τὸν πόνον τῶν πληγῶν, ἀπέθανεν ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ. Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐτελεύτα χαίρων, ἔχων τὸ καύχημα τοῦ μαρτυρίου· οἱ δὲ ἄσεβεῖς οὐδὲ οὕτως ἡσχύνοντο, κατὰ δὲ τὸ γεγραμμένον, 'ἀνελεήμονα σπλάγχνα ἔχοντες,' καὶ τοῦτο μελετήσαντες, σατανικόν τι πάλιν πεποιθήκασιν. Ἀξιούντων γὰρ τῶν λαῶν διὰ τὸν Εὐτύχιον, καὶ δεομένων περὶ αὐτοῦ, πεποιθήκασιν ἄρπασθῆναι

[Qu. Ἑρμεῖαν τε.] καλοὺς καὶ ἐλευθέρους ἄνδρας τέσσαρας, Ἑρμεῖαν, λούοντα τοὺς ἀνεξόδους, καὶ πάνν γε τούτους πληγαῖς κατακόψας ἐνέβαλεν εἰς τὸ δεσμοκτήριον ὁ δούξ. Ἄλλ' οἱ Ἀρειανοὶ, καὶ Σκυθῶν ὁμότεροι τυγχάνοντες, ἐπεὶ ἐωράκασιν μὴ τελευτήσαντας ἐκείνους ἀπὸ τῶν πληγῶν, ἐμέμφοντο καὶ ἠπειλοῦν· 'Γράφομεν,' λέγοντες, 'τοῖς εὐνούχοις, ὅτι μὴ μαστίζει ὡς ἐθέλομεν ἡμεῖς.' Ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἀκούσας καὶ φοβηθεὶς, ἠναγκάσθη καὶ δεύτερον τύψαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. Καὶ οἱ μὲν τυπτόμενοι, εἰδότες διὰ τί τύπτονται, καὶ παρὰ τίνων διεβλήθησαν, οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἔλεγον ἢ· 'Διὰ μὲν τὴν ἀλήθειαν τυπτόμεθα, οὐ κοινωνοῦμεν δὲ τοῖς αἰρετικοῖς· τύπτε λοιπὸν, ὡς θέλεις, καὶ σε μέλλει διὰ τοῦτο κρίνειν ὁ Θεός.' Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄσεβεῖς ἤθελον αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐν τῷ δεσμοτηρίῳ κινδυνεύσαι καὶ ἀποθανεῖν· ὁ δὲ τοῦ Θεοῦ λαὸς, εἰδὼς τὸν καιρὸν, ἠξίωσαν, καὶ μεθ' ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ που ἦ καὶ πλεον ἀπελύθησαν.

61. Οἱ δὲ, ὥσπερ λυπηθέντες, ἕτερόν τι πάλιν ὁμότερον καὶ ἀνόσιον ποιεῖν ἐπεχείρησαν, ὥμὸν μὲν πρὸς πάντας, ἁρμόζον δὲ τῇ Χριστομάχῳ αὐτῶν αἵρέσει. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ Κύριος ἐνετείλατο τῶν πτωχῶν μνημονεύειν, 'Καὶ πωλήσατε,' λέγων, 'τὰ ὑπάρχοντα, καὶ δότε ἐλεημοσύνην,' καὶ, 'Ἐπεινῶν, καὶ

Luke xii. 33.
Matt. xxv.
35, 40.

ἐδώκατέ μοι φαγεῖν· ἐδίψων, καὶ ἐποτίσατέ με. Ἐφ' ὅσον γὰρ ἐποιήσατε ἐνὶ τῶν μικρῶν τούτων, ἐμοὶ ἐποιήσατε.' Οὗτοι δὲ, ὡς τῷ ὄντι κατὰ Χριστοῦ φρονοῦντες, καὶ ἐν τούτοις ἀντι-
 πρᾶξαι τῷ βουλήματι αὐτοῦ τετολμήκασι. Τοὺς γὰρ δεομέ-
 νους καὶ τὰς χήρας, ἐπειδὴ τὰς ἐκκλησίας παραδέδωκεν ὁ δοῦς
 τοῖς Ἀρειανοῖς, καὶ ἐν αὐταῖς διατρίβειν οὐκ ἠδύναντο, καθε-
 ζόμενας ἐν οἷς ὥρισαν αὐταῖς τόποις οἱ πεπιστευμένοι τὰς
 χήρας κληρικοὶ, ἐπειδὴ ἐβλεπον τοὺς ἀδελφούς προθύμως
 ἐπιδιδόντας αὐταῖς, καὶ τρέφοντας τὰς χήρας, αὐτὰς τε κατὰ
 τῶν ποδῶν τύπτουντες ἐδίωκον, καὶ τοὺς παρέχοντας διέβαλλον
 τῷ δουκί. Καὶ τοῦτο ἐγένετο διὰ Δυναμίου τινὸς στρατιώτου·
 φίλον δὲ ἦν τοῦτο Σεβαστιανῷ· παρὰ Μανιχαίοις γὰρ ἔλεος
 οὐκ ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐχθρόν ἐστι παρ' αὐτοῖς τὸ ἐλεεῖν πένητα.
 Ἦν τοίνυν καινὴ μέμψις, καὶ δικαστήριον νῦν πρῶτον ἐπινοη-
 θέν παρ' αὐτῶν. Ἐπὶ εὐεργεσίᾳ τις ἐκρίνετο· καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐλεῶν
 κατηγορεῖτο, ὁ δὲ εὐεργετούμενος ἐτύπτετο· καὶ μᾶλλον ἤθελον
 πειῶν τὸν πένητα, ἢ τὸν βουλόμενον ἐλεεῖν παρέχειν. Καὶ
 τοῦτο δὲ παρὰ τῶν παλαιῶν πάλιν Ἰουδαίων ἔμαθον, νέοι
 ὄντες Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ αὐτοί· καὶ γὰρ κἀκεῖνοι βλέποντες τὸν ἐκ
 γενετῆς τυφλὸν λοιπὸν βλέποντα, καὶ τὸν πολλῷ τῷ χρόνῳ
 παραλυτικὸν γενόμενον ὑγιᾶ· τὸν μὲν εὐεργετήσαντα Κύριον
 ᾗτιώντο, τοὺς δὲ εὖ παθόντας ὡς παραβάτας ἔκρινον.

Cp. Matt.
xviii. 6.Cp. Contest,
c. 81.

Cp. c. 19.

John ix. 9.
Matt. ix. 7.

62. Τίς οὖν ἐπὶ τούτοις οὐκ ἐθαύμαζε ; Τίς οὐ κατηράτο
 τὴν αἵρεσιν, καὶ τοὺς ἐκδικοῦντας αὐτήν ; Τίς οὐκ ἐγίνωσκεν,
 ὅτι καὶ θηρίων ἀγριώτεροι τυγχάνουσιν οἱ Ἀρειανοί ; οὐδὲ γὰρ
 οὐδὲ ὧν ἕνεκα ταῦτα ἐποιοῦν ἐκέρδαινον οἱ μιαιοὶ, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 μᾶλλον τὸ καθ' ἑαυτῶν μῖσος παρὰ πᾶσιν ἠΰξανον. Ἐνόμιζον
 ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς καὶ φόβου βιάζεσθαι τινας εἰς τὴν αἵρεσιν, ὥστε
 καὶ συνάγεσθαι μετ' αὐτῶν. Ἀπέβαινε δὲ αὐτοῖς τὰ ἐναντία·
 οἱ μὲν γὰρ πάσχοντες ὡς μαρτύριον ὑπέφερον τὰ παρ' ἐκείνων
 γιγνόμενα, καὶ οὔτε προεδίδουν, οὔτε ἠρνοῦντο τὴν εἰς Χριστὸν
 εὐσέβειαν· οἱ δὲ θεωροῦντες ἔξωθεν αὐτοὺς, λοιπὸν δὲ καὶ οἱ
 Ἕλληνες βλέποντες, ὡς ἀντιχρίστους, ὡς δημίους κατηρώντο·
 φιλόπτωχον γὰρ καὶ συμπαθὲς τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος. Οὐ-
 τοι δὲ καὶ τὸν ἀνθρώπων λογισμὸν ἀπώλεσαν· καὶ οἱ πάσχον-
 τες ἂν ἠΰξαντο παρ' ἐτέρων εὖ παθεῖν, αὐτοὶ τοῦτο παθεῖν τοὺς

HIST. ARIAN.

ἄλλους οὐκ ἐπέτρεπον, ἔχοντες τὴν τῶν δικαστῶν, καὶ μάλιστα τὴν παρὰ τοῦ δουκὸς ἐπιτριβὴν καὶ ἐξουσίαν.

63. Ἄ γὰρ καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις καὶ διακόνοις πεποιήκασι, καὶ πῶς αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ δουκὸς καὶ τῶν δικαστῶν ἐφνυγάδευσαν, καταφέροντες ἐκ τῶν οἰκῶν τοὺς οἰκείους αὐτῶν διὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, καὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ Γοργονίου καὶ πληγαῖς κατακόπτοντος, καὶ πῶς αὐτῶν (τό γε πάντων ὁμότερον) καὶ τῶν ἤδη τετελευτηκότων τοὺς ἄρτους μεθ' ὅσης ὕβρεως διήρπασαν, οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲ λόγῳ φράσαι, νικώσης τῆς ὁμότητος αὐτῶν τὴν ἐκ τῶν λόγων διήγησιν. Τί γὰρ ἂν τις εἰπὼν εἰρηκέναι δόξειεν; Ἡ πολὺν πρῶτον μνημονεύσας, οὐχ εὐρίσκει τὰ δεύτερα δεινότερα, τῶν δευτέρων τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα; Πάντα γὰρ αὐτῶν τὰ ἐπιχειρήματα καὶ τὰ ἀσεβήματα φόνου καὶ ἀσεβείας πεπλήρωται· καὶ οὕτως εἰσὶ πανοῦργοι τὴν γνώμην, καὶ ποικίλοι τὸν τρόπον, ὥς καὶ ἐπαγγελία προστασίας, καὶ δόσει χρημάτων ἐπιχειρεῖν ἀπατᾶν· Ἰν', ἐπεὶ μὴ ἐξ εὐλόγων ἔχουσι τὴν σύστασιν, κἂν ἐκ τούτων δόξωσι φαντασίαν τινὰ τοῖς ἀκεραλοῖς ἐμποιεῖν.

64. Τίς οὖν ἔτι τούτους κἂν ἐθνικοὺς καλέσειεν ἀπλῶς, μή τιγε Χριστιανούς; τίς τούτων τὸν τρόπον ἀνθρώπων, καὶ μὴ μᾶλλον τοῦτον θηριώδη ὑπολάβοι, διὰ τε τὸ ὦμον καὶ τὸ ἄγριον τῆς πράξεως; Καὶ γὰρ καὶ δημίων εἰσὶ πονηρότεροι, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων αἰρέσεων τολμηρότεροι· Ἑλλήνων γὰρ πολὺ δεύτεροι, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ μακρὰν αὐτῶν τυγχάνουσιν. Ἐγὼ γὰρ ἤκουσα τῶν πατέρων, καὶ πιστὸν ἡγοῦμαι τὸν ἐκείνων λόγον, ὅτι τὸ πρῶτον, ὅτε γέγονε καὶ ἐπὶ Μαξιμιανῷ τῷ πάππῳ Κωνσταντίου διωγμὸς, Ἕλληνες ἔκρυπτον τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ἡμῶν, τοὺς Χριστιανούς ζητουμένους· καὶ πολλάκις ἀπώλεσαν αὐτοὶ χρήματα, δεσμοτηρίων τε ἐπειράσθησαν, ἵνα μόνον τῶν φεγγόντων μὴ γένωνται προδοταί· ὥς γὰρ ἑαυτοὺς ἐφύλαττον τοὺς προσφεύγοντας, καὶ κινδυνεύειν πρὸ αὐτῶν ἐβουλεύοντο. Ἀλλὰ νῦν οἱ θαυμαστοὶ οὗτοι, οἱ τῆς νέας αἰρέσεως ἐφευρεταί, ἐκ μηδενὸς ἐτέρου ἢ ἐκ τοῦ ἐπιβουλεύειν ἐπιγινωσκόμενοι, πάντα τὰναντία πράττουσιν. Αὐτοὶ τε γὰρ, δι' ἑαυτῶν δῆμιοι γινόμενοι, πάντας ζητοῦσι παραδιδόναι· καὶ τοὺς κρύπτοντας ἐπιβουλεύεσθαι ποιοῦσιν, ἴσον ἐχθρὸν ἡγούμενοι τὸν τε κρύπτοντα

A. D. 303.

καὶ τὸν κρυπτόμενον· οὕτως εἰσὶ φονευταί, καὶ τὴν Ἰούδα πονηρίαν ἐξήλωσαν οἱ κακοῦργοι.

65. Καὶ οὐκ ἔστι κατ' ἀξίαν ὧν διαπράττονται κακῶν εἰπεῖν ἢ τοῦτο μόνον, ὅτι γράφοντά με καὶ θέλοντα καταλέγειν τῆς πονηρίας ἐκείνων τὰς πράξεις, ὑπεισέρχεται νοεῖν, μὴ ἄρα τῆς ἐν ταῖς Παροιμίαις 'βδέλλης ἢ τετάρτη θυγάτηρ' ἔστιν ἡ αἵρεσις Prov. xxx. 15. αὕτη, ἣτις μετὰ τὰς τοσαύτας ἀδικίας καὶ τοὺς τοσοῦτους φόνους οὐκ εἶπεν, 'Ἀρκεῖ.' Ἔτι γὰρ νεανιεύεται· καὶ τοὺς μὲν μηδέπω γνωσθέντας αὐτῇ περιέρχεται ζητοῦσα, οὗς δὲ ἔφθασεν ἀδικῆσαι, πάλιν ἐπαδικεῖν σπουδάζει. Ἴδον γὰρ μετὰ τὴν νυκτερινὴν ἐφοδον, μετὰ τὰ ἐξ αὐτῆς γενόμενα κακὰ, Apol. de Fuga, 24. μετὰ τὸν δι' Ἡρακλείου γενόμενον διωγμὸν, πάλιν οὐ παύονται διαβάλλοντες βασιλεῖ· θαρρόσυι γὰρ ὡς ἀσεβούντες ἀκούονται· ἵνα πλέον τι τοῦ ἐξορισμοῦ γένηται, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν οἱ μὴ πειθόμενοι ταῖς ἀσεβείαις αὐτῶν ἀναιρῶνται. Οὕτω γὰρ καὶ νῦν καταθρασυνόμενοι Σεκοῦνδος μὲν ὁ παγκάκιστος Πενταπολίτης, Apol. c. Ari. 24, ad Ep. Æg. 7, 19. καὶ ὁ τούτου συνωμότης Στέφανος, εἰδότες, ὅτι, κὰν ἀδικῶσιν, ἔχουσι πρὸς ἀπολογίαν τὴν αἵρεσιν, ἐπειδὴ μὴ πειθόμενον αὐτοῖς ἐν Βάρκῃ πρεσβύτερον ἐωράκασιν· Σεκοῦνδος δὲ ἐκαλεῖτο, ὁμώνυμος μὲν, οὐχ ὁμόπιστος δὲ τῷ αἱρετικῷ· ἀπέκτειναν λακτίσμασιν αὐτόν. Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀναιρούμενος ἐμμεῖτο τὸν ἄγιον, λέγων· 'Μηδεὶς με παρὰ δικασταῖς ἐκδικεῖτω· ἔχω τὸν ἐκδικούντά με Κύριον, δι' ὃν καὶ ταῦτα πάσχω παρ' αὐτῶν.' Οἱ δὲ οὔτε λέγοντα ἠλέουν, οὔτε τὰς ἡμέρας ἐδυσωποῦντο· ἐν αὐτῇ γὰρ τῇ Τεσσαρακοστῇ λακτίζοντες ἀπέκτειναν τὸν ἄνθρωπον.

66. Ὡς καινῆς αἱρέσεως, ὅλον ἐνδυσαμένης τὸν διάβολον ἐν ἀσεβείᾳ καὶ πράξει· ἄρτι γὰρ πρῶτον ἐπενοήθη τοῦτο τὸ κακόν. Εἰ δὲ καὶ τινες ἐδόκουν ποτὲ περὶ αὐτῆς λογίζεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐκρυπτον καὶ ἐλάνθανον ταῦτα φρονούντες. Εὐσέβιος δὲ καὶ Ἀρειος, ὡς ὅφεις ἐξελθόντες ἀπὸ φωλεοῦ, τὸν ἰὸν τῆς ἀσεβείας ταύτης ἐξήμεσαν· καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἀρειος τὴν τοῦ βλασφημεῖν ἐκ φανεροῦ τόλμην ἀνεδέξατο· ὁ δὲ Εὐσέβιος τὴν ταύτης Apol. c. Ari. 59. προστασίαν· ἀλλ' οὐ πρότερον ἰσχυσε προστῆναι τῆς αἱρέσεως, εἰ μὴ, καθὰ προείπον, βασιλέα εὔρε προστάτην ταύτης. Οἱ Cp. c. 45. μὲν οὖν πατέρες ἡμῶν οἰκουμενικὴν σύνοδον πεποιήκασιν, καὶ τριακόσιοι πλείον ἢ ἑλαττον συνελθόντες κατέκριναν τὴν Ἀρεια- Apol. c. Ari. 23.

HIST. ARIAN. νὴν αἵρεσιν, καὶ ἀπεφώνησαντο πάντες ἄλλοτρίαν αὐτὴν καὶ ξένην τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς πίστewς εἶναι. Οἱ δὲ προστάται ταύτης, ὁρῶντες ἑαυτοὺς λοιπὸν ἀσχημονοῦντας, καὶ μηδὲν εὖλογον ἔχοντας, ἄλλην ὁδὸν ἐπενόησαν, καὶ διὰ τῆς ἑξωθεν ἐξουσίας ἐκδικεῖν ταύτην ἐπεχείρησαν. Ἐφ' ᾧ μᾶλλον ἂν τις αὐτῶν θαυμάσειε τὸ καινὸν καὶ πονηρὸν ἐπιτήδευμα, καὶ πῶς ὑπερ-
 Cp. Ep. Æg. 17. βάλλουσι τὰς ἄλλας αἵρέσεις. Τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἄλλων αἵρέσεων τὰ ἐφευρήματα ἐν πιθανότητι ῥημάτων ἔχει τὴν μανίαν πρὸς ἀπάτην τῶν ἀκεραίων. Καὶ Ἕλληνες μὲν, ὡς εἶπεν ὁ ἀπόστολος, ἐν ὑπεροχῇ καὶ πειθοῖ λόγων καὶ σοφίσμασι πιθανοῖς ἐπιχειροῦσιν· Ἰουδαῖοι δὲ, ἀφέντες τὰς θείας γραφὰς, λοιπὸν, ὡς εἶπεν ὁ ἀπόστολος, ἐν μύθοις καὶ γενεαλογίαις ἀπεράντοις ἔχουσι τὴν ἔριν· Μανιχαῖοι γὰρ καὶ Οὐαλεντῖνοι σὺν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἄλλοι, καπηλεύοντες τὰς θείας γραφὰς, τοῖς ἑαυτῶν ἐπιπλάστοις λόγοις μυθολογοῦσιν· οἱ δὲ Ἀρειανοὶ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων αἵρέσεων εἰσι τολμηρότεροι, καὶ μικροτέρας ἑαυτῶν ἀδελφὰς ἀπέδειξαν ἐκεῖνας, πλέον αὐτῶν ἀσεβοῦντες, καθάπερ εἴρηται, καὶ πάντας, μάλιστα δὲ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους, ζηλώσαντες ἐν πονηρίᾳ. Ὡς γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι, μὴ δυνάμενοι τὸν Παῦλον ἐλέγχειν περὶ ὧν ἐπροφασίζοντο, εὐθὺς ἤγαγον αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸν χιλιάρχον καὶ τὸν ἡγεμόνα· οὕτως οὗτοι, καὶ πλέον ἐκεῖνων ἐπινοοῦντες, τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ μόνῃ τῶν δικαστῶν κέχρηται· καὶ μόνον τις αὐτοῖς ἀντείρηκεν, ἔλκεται πρὸς τὸν ἡγεμόνα, ἢ τὸν στρατηλάτην.

67. Καὶ αἱ μὲν ἄλλαι αἵρέσεις, ἐλεγχόμεναι ταῖς ἀποδείξεσιν ὑπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ἀληθείας, σιωπῶσι, μηδὲν πλέον ἢ ἐντροπόμεναι τοῖς ἐλέγχοις· ἡ δὲ νέα καὶ μυσαρὰ τούτων αἵρεσις, ὅταν ἀνατραπῇ τοῖς λόγοις, ὅταν ὑπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ἀληθείας αἰσχυρηθεῖσα πέσῃ, λοιπὸν οὐδὲ μὴ δεδύνηται πείσαι λόγοις, τούτους τῇ βίᾳ, καὶ πληγαῖς, καὶ δεσμωτηρίοις ἔλκειν ἐπιχειρεῖ, γνωρίζουσα ἑαυτὴν καὶ οὕτως, ὡς πάντα μᾶλλον ἔστιν ἢ θεοσεβής. Θεοσεβείας μὲν γὰρ ἴδιον μὴ ἀναγκάζειν, ἀλλὰ πείθειν, ὥσπερ εἶπαμεν. Καὶ γὰρ ὁ Κύριος αὐτὸς οὐ βιαζόμενος, ἀλλὰ τῇ προαιρέσει διδοὺς ἔλεγε πᾶσι μὲν· Ἐἴ τις θέλει ὀπίσω μου ἐλθεῖν· τοῖς δὲ μαθηταῖς· Μὴ καὶ ὑμεῖς θέλετε ἀπελθεῖν ; Ἀὕτη παντελῶς ἄλλοτρία τῆς θεοσεβείας ἐστὶ. Τί ποιεῖν αὐτὴν ἐχρῆν ἢ τὰναντία τοῦ Σωτῆρος, ὡς Χριστομάχον ἡγεμόνα τῆς

c. 33. Apol. de Fuga, 23.
 Matt. xvi. 24.
 John vi. 68.

ἀσεβείας ἐπιγραφομένην Κωνστάντιον, ὡς αὐτὸν τὸν Ἀντί-
 χριστον ; Αὐτὸς γὰρ διὰ τὴν αἵρεσιν ἐσπούδασε πρῶτον καὶ
 τὸν Σαούλ ἐν ὁμότητι ζηλῶσαι· ἐκεῖνος μὲν γὰρ, ἐπειδὴ δεδώ-
 κασιν οἱ ἱερεῖς ἐπισιτισμὸν τῷ Δαβίδ, κελεύει, καὶ ἀναιροῦν-
 ται πάντες, τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὄντες ἑτριάκοντα καὶ πέντε· οὗτος δὲ, 1 Kings (1
Sam.) xxii. 18
Lxx.
 ἐπειδὴ τὴν μὲν αἵρεσιν πάντες φεύγουσιν, ἡ δὲ ὑγιαίνουσα
 πίστις ἢ εἰς τὸν Κύριον ὁμολογήθῃ, τριακοσίων ὄλων σύνοδον
 ἐπισκόπων ἀναιρεῖ· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐπισκόπους αὐτοὺς ἐξορίζει,
 τοὺς δὲ λαοὺς ἐμποδίζει μελετᾶν τὴν εὐσέβειαν καὶ εὐχεσθαι
 τῷ Θεῷ, κωλύων αὐτῶν τὰς συναγωγάς. Καὶ ὥσπερ Σαούλ
 κατέσκαψε τὴν Νομβὰ τὴν πόλιν τῶν ἱερέων, οὕτως οὗτος καὶ
 πλέον τὸ κακὸν αὐξάνων, τὰς ἐκκλησίας τοῖς ἀσεβοῦσι παρα-
 δέδωκε· καὶ ὡς ἐκεῖνος Δαὴκ τὸν διαβαλόντα προτετίμηκε τῶν
 ἀληθῶς ἱερέων, τὸν τε Δαβίδ ἐδίωκε προσέχων τοῖς Ζιφαλοῖς· 1 Kings (1
Kings) xxvi.
1.
 οὕτως οὗτος τοὺς μὲν αἵρετικὸν προκρίνει τῶν εὐσεβῶν, τοὺς
 δὲ φεύγοντας αὐτὸν ἐτι διώκει, προσέχων τοῖς θλαδίαις ἑαυτοῦ,
 τοῖς καὶ διαβάλλουσι τοὺς ὀρθοδόξους· μὴ συνορῶν, ὡς ὅσα δ'
 ἂν ὑπὲρ τῆς αἵρέσεως τῶν Ἀρειανῶν πράττῃ τε καὶ γράφῃ,
 ταῦτα κατὰ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἔχει τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν.

Cp. Apol. c.
Ari. 23.

68. Οὐχ οὕτως Ἀχαὰβ κατὰ τῶν ἱερέων τοῦ Θεοῦ γέγονεν,
 ὡς οὗτος κατὰ τῶν ἐπισκόπων τετόλμηκεν. Ὅλως γὰρ ἐκεῖνος
 καὶ, φονευθέντος τοῦ Ναβουθαί, κατενύγη, καὶ τὸν Ἥλιαν
 ἐωρακῶς ἐφοβήθη· οὗτος δὲ οὐδὲ τὸν τηλικούτον Ὅσιον 3 Kings (1
Kings) xxi.
20.
 ἠδέσθη, οὐδὲ τοὺς τοσοῦτους ἐπισκόπους ἐξορίσας, ἐνάρκησεν,
 ἢ καὶ κατενύγη· ἀλλ' ὡς ἄλλος Φαραὼ, μᾶλλον ἐπιτριβόμενος,
 σκληρύνεται, καὶ χείρονα καθημέραν ἐπενόει. Καὶ ἔστιν αὐ-
 τοῦ τοῦτο παράδοξον τῆς πονηρίας· τῶν γὰρ ἐπισκόπων ἐξο-
 ριζομένων, συνέβαινε καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς δι' ἐγκλήματα φόνου,
 ἢ στάσεως, ἢ κλοπῆς, κατὰ τὴν τοῦ ἐγκλήματος ποιότητα,
 λαμβάνειν τὴν καταδίκην· καὶ τούτους μὲν μετὰ μῆνας ὀλίγους
 ἀξιούμενος, ὡς τὸν Βαραβᾶν Πιλάτος, ἀπέλυε· τοὺς δὲ τοῦ [Qu. Βαραβ-
βαν.]
 Χριστοῦ δούλους οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἠφίει, ἀλλὰ καὶ μᾶλλον ἀνη-
 λεῶς κατεδίκαζεν ἐν τοῖς ἐξορισμοῖς, ἀθάνατον κακὸν γιγνό-
 μενος εἰς αὐτούς. Τῶν μὲν γὰρ διὰ τὸν τρόπον φίλος ἦν, τῶν
 ὀρθοδόξων δὲ διὰ τὴν εἰς Χριστὸν εὐσέβειαν ἐχθρὸς ἐτύγχανεν.
 Ἄρ' οὖν οὐ πᾶσιν ἐκ τούτου λευκῶς ἐδείκνυνεν, ὅτι καὶ τότε οἱ

HIST. ARIAN. Ἰουδαῖοι, τὸν μὲν Βαραβᾶν αἰτησάμενοι, τὸν δὲ Κύριον σταυρώσαντες, τοιοῦτοι ἦσαν, οἳ καὶ νῦν εἰσιν οἱ μετὰ Κωνσταντίου Χριστομάχοι; Καὶ τάχα πικρότερος οὗτος ἢ Πιλάτος· ὁ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἐνέψατο ἑαυτῷ τὴν ἀδικίαν· οὗτος δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον τρίξει τοὺς ὀδόντας, ἐξορίζων τοὺς ἁγίους.

Matt. xxvii.
24.

[Julius-Constantius, the Dalmatii, etc.]
[πενθερόν.]

69. Τί δὲ θαυμαστὸν εἰ, πλανηθεὶς εἰς ἀσέβειαν, οὕτω κατὰ τῶν ἐπισκόπων ἔστιν ὤμδος, ὅπου γε οὐδὲ τῆς ἰδίας συγγενείας ὥς ἄνθρωπος ἐφείσατο; Τοὺς μὲν γὰρ θείους κατέσφαξε, καὶ τοὺς ἀνεψιούς ἀμείλε· καὶ πενθεροῦ μὲν, ἔτι τὴν θυγατέρα γαμῶν αὐτοῦ, συγγενεὶς δὲ πάσχοντας οὐκ ἠλέησεν· ἀλλὰ καὶ ὄρκων ἀεὶ πρὸς πάντας παραβάτης γέγονεν. Οὕτω γὰρ καὶ εἰς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀσεβεῖν τετόλμηκε. Καὶ προσποιεῖται μὲν οἰκοδομεῖν αὐτῷ μνημεῖον, τὴν δὲ μνηστὴν αὐτοῦ τὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα βαρβάρους ἐκδέδωκεν, ἣν ἐκεῖνος μέχρι τελευτῆς ἐφύλαττε, καὶ ὥς ἰδίαν ἀνέτρεφεν ἑαυτῷ γυναῖκα. Καὶ τὴν γνώμην δὲ αὐτοῦ παραλύειν ἐπεχείρησεν, οὗ καὶ κληρονόμος εὐχεταί εἶναι, γράφων τοιαῦτα, ἐφ' οἷς καὶ ὀλίγην αἰσθησιν ἔχων ἂν τις ἡσχύνηθῃ. Ἐγὼ δὲ, σύμβάλλων αὐτοῦ τὰς ἐπιστολάς, εὐρίσκω τοῦτον μὴ κατὰ φύσιν ἔχοντα τὰς φρένας, ἀλλὰ μόνον πρὸς τοὺς ὑποβάλλοντας κινούμενον, ἴδιον δὲ νοῦν καθόλου μὴ ἔχοντα. Ὁ μὲν οὖν Σολομών φησι· Ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑπακούοντος λόγον ἀδικον, πάντες οἱ ὑπ' αὐτὸν παράνομοι. Οὗτος δὲ ἐξ ὧν ποιεῖ, δείκνυσιν ἑαυτὸν ἐκείνον εἶναι τὸν ἀδικον, καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν παρανόμους.

Cp. c. 50.

Prov. xxix.
12.

70. Πότε οὖν οὗτος, τοιοῦτος ὢν, καὶ τοιούτοις χαίρων, δύναται τι δίκαιον ἢ κατὰ λόγον φρονῆσαι; ἄνθρωπος δεδεμένος τῇ τῶν συνόντων παρανομίᾳ καὶ τούτων ὄντων ἐπαδόντων, οἷτινες τὸν ἐγκέφαλον μᾶλλον ἐν ταῖς πτέρυγαις καταπεπατημένον ἔχουσι. Διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ γράφει, καὶ γράφων μεταμελεῖται, καὶ μεταμελόμενος παροξύνεται, πάλιν τε ὀδύρεται, καὶ οὐκ ἔχων ὃ πράξει, δείκνυσιν ἑαυτοῦ τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ ἔρημον τῶν φρενῶν. Οὕτω δὲ τοῦτον ὄντα τοιοῦτον οἰκτείρειεν ἂν τις μᾶλλον δικαίως, ὅτι μετ' ἐλευθέρου σχήματος καὶ ὀνόματος δοῦλός ἐστι τῶν ἐλκόντων αὐτὸν πρὸς τὴν ἰδίαν ἡδονὴν τῆς ἀσεβείας. Ἀμέλει τὸ ἀνόητον καὶ κέπφον, ὥς εἶπεν ἡ γραφή, καθηκεῖν θέλων ἄλλοις, ἑαυτὸν εἰς καταδίκην τῇ μελλούσῃ

Cp. c. 51.

Cp. Prov. vii.
22. LXX.

κρίσει τοῦ πυρὸς παρανάλωμα δέδωκεν· ἤδη πρᾶττων δὲ θέλου-
 σιν ἐκεῖνοι, καὶ προπίνων αὐτοῖς τὴν τε κατὰ τῶν ἐπισκόπων
 ἐπιβουλήν, καὶ τὴν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἐξουσίαν. Ἰδοὺ γὰρ καὶ
 νῦν πάλιν ἐτάραξε τὰς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ἐκκλησίας, καὶ τὰς ἐν Apol. ad
Const. 27.
 Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ Λιβύαις πάσαις· καὶ φανερώς προσέταξε τοὺς
 μὲν τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ τῆς εὐσεβείας ἐπισκόπους
 ἐκβάλλεσθαι τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, τοῖς δὲ τὰ Ἀρείου φρονοῦσι πά-
 σας αὐτὰς παραδίδοσθαι. Τοῦτό τε ποιεῖν ὁ στρατηλάτης ἤρ- Cr. c. 54.
 ξατο· καὶ λοιπὸν ἐπίσκοποι δέσμιοι, πρεσβύτεροί τε καὶ μονά-
 ζοντες σεσιδηρωμένοι, καὶ πληγαῖς κατακοπέντες ἴσα θανάτῳ,
 παρεπέμφθησαν. Πάντα τε κατὰ τόπον τετάρακται· καὶ ἡ
 Αἴγυπτος καὶ Λιβύη πᾶσα κινδυνεύει, τῶν λαῶν δυσανασχε-
 τούντων ἐπὶ τῷ παρανόμῳ προστάγματι τούτῳ, καὶ βλεπόντων
 τὴν τοῦ Ἀντιχρίστου παρασκευὴν, καὶ τὰ ἴδια ἀπ' αὐτῶν μὲν
 ἀρπαζόμενα, τοῖς δὲ αἰρετικοῖς ἐκδιδόμενα ταῦτα.

71. Πότε οὖν ἠκούσθη τοσαύτη παρανομία ; πότε τι τοιοῦτο
 κἂν ἐν διωγμῷ γέγονε κακόν ; Ἕλληνες γεγόνασιν οἱ πρότερον
 διώξαντες· ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰς τὰς ἐκκλησίας εἰσήνεγκαν τὰ εἰδωλα.
 Ἰουδαία ἦν Ζηνοβία, καὶ Παύλου προέστη τοῦ Σαμοσατέως·
 ἀλλ' οὐ δέδωκε τὰς ἐκκλησίας τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις εἰς συναγωγάς.
 Καινὸν ἐστὶ τοῦτο μῦθος· οὐκ ἔστιν ἀπλῶς διωγμός, ἀλλὰ
 διωγμοῦ μὲν πλέον· προοίμιον δὲ καὶ παρασκευὴ τοῦ Ἀντι-
 χρίστου. Ἔστω γὰρ, καὶ κατὰ Ἀθανασίου, καὶ κατὰ τῶν
 ἄλλων ἐπισκόπων, οὓς ἐξώρισαν, προφάσεις ἐπλάσαντο ψευ-
 δεῖς· τί πρὸς τὸ καινὸν ἐπιτήδευμα τοῦτο ; ποίαν ἄρα πρό-
 φασιν ἔχουσι κατὰ πάσης τῆς Αἰγύπτου, καὶ Λιβύης, καὶ Πεν-
 ταπόλεως εἰπεῖν ; Οὐδὲ γὰρ καθ' ἕκαστον ἐπιβουλεύειν ἤρ-
 ξαντο, ἵνα κἂν ψεύσασθαι δυνηθῶσιν· ἀλλ' ἀθρόως πᾶσιν
 ἐπέθεντο, ἵνα, κἂν θέλωσι πλάσασθαι, καταγινωσθῶσιν.
 Ἐτύφλωσε γοῦν αὐτῶν ἐν τούτοις τὴν διάνοιαν ἡ κακία, καὶ Wisd. ii. 21.
 πάντας ἀπλῶς τοὺς ἐπισκόπους ἀπροφασίστως ἠξίωσαν ἐκ-
 βάλλεσθαι· ἵνα δείξωσιν ὅτι κατὰ Ἀθανασίου καὶ κατὰ τῶν
 ἄλλων ἐπισκόπων, οὓς ἐξώρισαν, προφάσεις ἐπλάσαντο ψευ-
 δεῖς, δι' οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἢ διὰ τὴν μιὰν αἵρεσιν τῶν Χριστομά-
 χων Ἀρειανῶν. Τοῦτο γὰρ λοιπὸν οὐ κέκρυπται, ἀλλὰ πᾶσι
 μάλιστα νῦν γέγονε φανερόν. Ἀθανασίου μὲν γὰρ προσέ-

HIST. ARIAN. *ταξεν ἐκβάλλεσθαι τῆς πόλεως, ἐκείνοις δὲ παραδέδωκε τὰς ἐκκλησίας. Καὶ οἱ μὲν πρεσβύτεροι καὶ οἱ διάκονοι, οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ, ἀπὸ Πέτρου καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου τυγχάνοντες, ἐκβάλλονται καὶ φυγαδεύονται· οἱ δὲ ἀληθῶς Ἀρειανοὶ, οἱ μὴ ξέσθην ἀληθῶς ὑπονοούμενοι, ἀλλ' οἱ ἐξ ἀρχῆς διὰ τὴν αἵρεσιν ἐκβληθέντες μετ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἀρείου παρὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, ἐν μὲν τῇ ἄνω Λιβύῃ Σεκοῦνδος, ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ Εὐζώιος ὁ Χαναναῖος, καὶ Ἰούλιος, καὶ Ἀμμων, Μάρκος τε, καὶ Εἰρηναῖος, καὶ Ζώσιμος, καὶ Σαραπίων ἐπίκλην Πελύκων, καὶ ἐν Λιβύῃ Σισίννιος, καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ νεώτεροι συνασβεσούντες αὐτοῖς· οὗτοι τὰς ἐκκλησίας παρειλήφασιν.*

Cp. Soc. i.
25.

Cp. Apol. de
Fuga, 7.

72. Καὶ ὁ μὲν στρατηλάτης Σεβαστιανὸς ἔγραψε τοῖς κατὰ τόπον πραιποσίτοις καὶ στρατιωτικαῖς ἐξουσίαις· καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀληθῶς ἐπίσκοποι ἐδιώχθησαν, οἱ δὲ τὰ τῆς ἀσεβείας φρονοῦντες αὐτ' ἐκέλευον εἰσῆχθησαν. Καὶ ἐξώρισαν μὲν ἐπισκόπους γηράσαντας ἐν τῷ κλήρῳ, καὶ πολυτεῖς ἐν τῇ ἐπισκοπῇ, ἀπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου ὄντας τοῦ ἐπισκόπου· Ἀμμώνιον μὲν καὶ Ἑρμῆν, καὶ Ἀνάγαμφον, καὶ Μάρκον, εἰς τὴν ἄνω ὄασιν. Μοῦιν δὲ καὶ Ψενόσιριν, καὶ Νειλάμμωνα, καὶ Πλήνην, καὶ Μάρκον, καὶ Ἀθηνόδωρον, εἰς τὴν Ἀμμωνιακὴν, δι' οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἢ ἵνα διὰ τῶν ἐρήμων διερχόμενοι τελευτήσωσι. Καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ νοσοῦντας αὐτοὺς ἤλέησαν· ἀλλὰ καὶ βαρέως διὰ τὴν ἀσθένειαν φέροντες ἤλαυνον, ὥστε φορελοῖς αὐτοὺς ἀποφέρεισθαι, καὶ διὰ τὴν νόσον ἐπακολουθεῖν αὐτοῖς τὰ ἐντάφια. Ἀπέθανε γοῦν εἰς ἐξ αὐτῶν, καὶ οὐδὲ τὸ σῶμα συνεχώρησαν ἀποφέρεισθαι τοῖς ἰδίους. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ Δρακόντιον μὲν ἐπίσκοπον εἰς τὰ ἔρημα περὶ τὸ Κλύσμα ἐξώρισαν, Φίλωνα δὲ εἰς Βαβυλῶνα, καὶ Ἀδέλφιον εἰς Ψίναβλα τῆς Θηβαΐδος, Ἰερακά τε καὶ Διόσκορον τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους εἰς Σοήνην ἐξώρισαν· καὶ Ἀμμώνιον μὲν καὶ Ἀγαθὸν, καὶ Ἀγαθοδαίμονα, καὶ Ἀπολλώνιον, καὶ Εὐλόγιον, καὶ Ἀπολλῶ, καὶ Παφνούτιον, καὶ Γάϊον, καὶ Φλάβιον, ἀρχαίους ἐπισκόπους, καὶ Διόσκορον, καὶ Ἀμμώνιον, καὶ Ἡρακλεῖδην, καὶ Ψαῖν, πάλιν ἐπισκόπους, ἐφυγάδευσαν· καὶ τοὺς μὲν εἰς λιθουργίαν παραδεδώκασιν, τοὺς δὲ ἐδίωξαν ἀναιρῆσαι θέλοντες, ἄλλους τε πολλοὺς διήρπασαν. Καὶ λαϊκοὺς μὲν μ' καὶ παρθένους, πρότερον παρὰ πῦρ στή-

σαυτες αὐτὰς, ἐξώρισαν· οὕτω κόψαντες πληγαῖς ταῖς ἀπὸ Apol. de Fuga, 7.
φοινίκων ῥάβδοις, ὥς μετὰ ἡμέρας πέντε τὰς μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπο-
θανεῖν, τὰς δὲ χειρουργεῖσθαι διὰ τοὺς ἐμπαγέντας ἐν τοῖς
μέλεσι σκόλοπας, καὶ μείζοντας θανάτου τὰς βασάνους ὑπομέ-
νειν. Καὶ τό γε δεινότερον παντὶ μὲν ἰσχύουσι, οἰκείου δὲ
τῶν ἀσεβῶν· ἐπειδὴ κοπτόμεναι τὸν Χριστὸν ἐπεκαλοῦντο,
μειζόνως ἔτριζον κατ' αὐτῶν τοὺς ὁδόντας. Ἀμέλει οὐδὲ τὰ
σώματα τῶν ἀπογιγνομένων ἀπεδίδουν τοῖς ἰδίοις εἰς ταφήν·
ἀλλ' ἔκρυπτον, ἵνα δόξωσι λαυθάνειν τὴν ἀνδροφονίαν. Ἀλλ'
οὐκ ἔλαθον· πᾶσα γὰρ ἡ πόλις ἐώρακε, καὶ πάντες ὡς δημίους,
ὡς κακούργους καὶ ληστὰς ἀπεστρέφοντο. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ μονα-
στήρια κατέστρεψαν, καὶ εἰς πῦρ ἐμβαλεῖν μοναχοὺς ἐπείρα-
σαν· καὶ διήρπασαν οἴκους, καὶ παραθήκας πεθείσας παρὰ τοῦ
ἐπισκόπου εἰς οἶκον ἐλευθέρων ἐπεισελθόντες ἥρπασαν, καὶ
ἀπεστέρησαν τὰς χήρας κατὰ πελμάτων ἔκοπτον, καὶ τὰς
ἐλεημοσύνας ἐκώλυνον.

73. Τοιαῦτα μὲν οὖν τὰ πονηρεύματα τῶν Ἀρειανῶν. Οἷα
δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ τῆς ἀθεότητος ἐπιχειρήματα, τίς ἀκούσας οὐ
φρίξειε; Τοὺς μὲν γὰρ τηλικούτους γέροντας καὶ πολυετείς
ἐπισκόπους ἐξορισθῆναι πεποιήκασιν· ἀπὲρ δὲ τούτων νεωτέ-
ρους ἀσελεγεῖς Ἕλληνας, μήτε κατηχηθέντας, δόξαντες εὐθὺς
περάλνειν· καὶ ἄλλους διγυναίους, καὶ ἐπὶ μείζουσιν αἰτίαις
ἐγκαλούμενους, διὰ τὸν περὶ αὐτοὺς πλοῦτον, καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῆς Apol. ad Const. 28.
πολιτείας δυναστείαν, χρυσίον διδόντας, ὡς ἀπὸ πωλητηρίου
ἀπέστελλον αὐτοὺς ὀνομάσαντες ἐπισκόπους. Καὶ λοιπὸν
τοῖς λαοῖς δεινότερα ἐγένετο ἡ συμφορά· ἀποστρεφόμενοι
γὰρ τοὺς μισθωτοὺς ἐκείνων, καὶ ἄλλοτρίους ἑαυτῶν, ἐμαστι-
ζοντο, ἐδημεύοντο, εἰς τὰ δεσμωτήρια κατεκλείοντο παρὰ τοῦ
στρατηλάτου. Ἐποίει γὰρ τοῦτο προθύμως Μανιχαῖος ὢν·
ἵνα τοὺς μὲν ἰδίους μὴ ἐπιζητῶσιν, οὓς δὲ ἀπεστρέφοντο,
δέχωνται, ἀνθρώπους τοιαῦτα πράττοντας, οἷα καὶ πρὸ τού-
του ἐν τοῖς εἰδώλοις ἔπαιζον.

74. Τίς οὖν ταῦτα βλέπων ἢ ἀκούων, τίς ὁρῶν τὴν ἀλα-
ζονείαν τῶν ἀσεβῶν, καὶ τοσαύτην ἀδικίαν, εἰ δίκαιός ἐστιν,
οὐ στενάζειν; Ἐν τόποις γὰρ ἀσεβῶν στένουσι δίκαιοι. Prov. xxviii. 28. LXX.
Τίς, τούτων γιγνομένων καὶ τῆς ἀσεβείας τοσαύτην ἀναισχυν-

- HIST. ARIAN. τὴν λαβούσης, ἔτι τολμᾷ λέγειν 'Κοστούλλιον' Χριστιανόν, [Dimin. of Constantius.] καὶ οὐ μᾶλλον 'Αντιχρίστου τὴν εἰκόνα; Τί γὰρ τῶν τούτου γνωρισμάτων παραλέλοιπεν; *Ἡ πῶς οὐ πανταχόθεν οὗτος ἐκείνος εἶναι νομισθήσεται, καὶ ἐκεῖνος τοιοῦτος ἂν ὑπονοηθείη, οἷός ἐστιν οὗτος; Οὐ τὰς ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ, τῇ ἐν τῷ Καισαρείῳ, γινομένας θυσίας, καὶ κατὰ Χριστοῦ βλασφημίας, ὡς ἐξ ἐντολῆς αὐτοῦ πεποιήκασιν 'Αρειανοὶ τε καὶ Ἕλληνες;
- Cp. c. 56. οὐχ ἡ δρασις τοῦ Δαριῆλ οὕτω σημαίνει τὸν 'Αντίχριστον, ὅτι ποιήσει πόλεμον μετὰ τῶν ἁγίων, καὶ ἰσχύσει πρὸς αὐτοὺς, καὶ ὑπεροίσει ἐν κακοῖς πάντας τοὺς ἔμπροσθεν, 'καὶ τρεῖς βασιλεῖς ταπεινώσει, καὶ λόγους πρὸς τὸν Ὑψιστον λαλήσει, καὶ ὑπονοήσει τοῦ ἀλλοιωῶσαι καιρὸν καὶ νόμον;' Τίς οὖν ἄλλος πώποτε τοιαῦτα ἐπεχείρησε πράξαι ἢ μόνος Κωνσταντίος; Οὗτος γὰρ τοιοῦτός ἐστιν, οἷος ἂν ἐκείνος γένοιτο. Λαλεῖ γὰρ λόγους πρὸς τὸν Ὑψιστον, προῖστάμενος τῆς ἀσεβοῦς αἰρέσεως· καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἁγίους ποιεῖ πόλεμον, ἐξορίζων τοὺς ἐπισκόπους· εἰ καὶ πρὸς ὀλίγον ἐπὶ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ ἀπωλείᾳ ταύτην τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἔχει. Καὶ γὰρ οὗτος τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ νενίκηκεν ἐν κακίᾳ, καινὸν ἐπινοήσας τρόπον τοῦ διωγμοῦ· καὶ τρεῖς βασιλεῖς, Βρετανίωνα, καὶ Μαγνέντιον, καὶ Γάλλον καθελὼν, εὐθὺς προέστη τῆς ἀσεβείας· καὶ ὡς γίγας πρὸς τὸν Ὑψιστον ἐτόλμησεν ἐπαρθῆναι τῇ ἀλαζονείᾳ. Οὗτος ὑπενόησεν ἀλλοιωῶσαι νόμον, παραλύων τὴν μὲν τοῦ Κυρίου διὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων διάταξιν, τὰ δὲ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀλλάττων ἔθη, καὶ καινὸν αὐτὸς ἐπινοῶν τρόπον τῶν καταστάσεων. Ἐξ ἄλλων γὰρ τόπων καὶ πρὸ πεντήκοντα μόνων μετὰ στρατιωτῶν ἐπισκόπους ἀποστέλλει πρὸς τοὺς μὴ θέλοντας λαοὺς· καὶ ἀντὶ γνώσεως τῆς πρὸς τοὺς λαοὺς, ἐκεῖνοι φέρουσι τὰς ἀπειλὰς, καὶ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς δικαστὰς γράμματα. Οὕτω Γρηγόριον ἀπὸ Καππαδοκίας ἐπεμψεν εἰς 'Αλεξάνδρειαν· καὶ εἰς μὲν τὸ Σίρμιον ἀπὸ Κυζίκου μετεπέμψατο Γερμίνιον· ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Λαοδικείας Κεκρόπιον εἰς τὴν Νικομήδειαν ἀπέστειλεν.
- Dan. vii. 24, 25. Ep. Aeg. 7. 75. Καὶ Αὐξέντιον μὲν τινα φιλοπράγμονα μᾶλλον ἢ Χριστιανὸν ἀπὸ Καππαδοκίας εἰς Μεδιόλανον μετεστεύλατο· Ἰν', ἐπειδὴ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον τὸν ἐκεῖ Διονύσιον, ἄνθρωπον εὐλαβῆ, διὰ τὴν εἰς Χριστὸν εὐσέβειαν ἐξώρισε, τοῦτον ἐκεῖ κελεύθη

εἶναι· ἄνθρωπον μήπω μηδὲ τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν εἰδότα γλῶτταν, ἣ μόνον ἀσεβεῖν· νῦν δὲ πάλιν Γεώργιον τινα Καππαδόκην ἄνθρωπον, ὑποδέκτην ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει ταμιακῶν γενόμενον, καὶ σφετερισάμενον πάντα, καὶ δι' αὐτὸ τοῦτο φυγόντα, προσέταξεν εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν εἰσελθεῖν μετὰ στρατιωτικῆς φαντασίας, καὶ τῆς τοῦ στρατηλάτου ἐξουσίας. Εἴτα εὐρὼν Ἐπίκτητόν τινα νεόφυτον, καὶ νεώτερον θρασὺν, ἡγάγησεν, ὁρῶν αὐτὸν ἔτοιμον εἰς κακίαν· καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ οἷς ἐθέλοι λοιπὸν ἐπισκόποις ἐπιβουλεύει· ἔτοιμος γὰρ ἐκείνός ἐστι πάντα ποιεῖν ἃ βούλεται βασιλεὺς. Τούτῳ γοῦν ὑπηρέτῃ χρώμενος, καὶ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ πεποίηκε παράδοξον, καὶ ἀληθῶς ὁμοίωμα τῆς Ἀντιχρίστου κακονοίας· ἀντὶ γὰρ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τὸ παλάτιον παρασκευάσας, καὶ ἀντὶ τῶν λαῶν τρεῖς πού θλαδίας ἑαυτοῦ πεποίηκε παρεῖναι· καὶ λοιπὸν ἡνάγκασε τρεῖς κακοήθεις κατασκόπους (οὐ γὰρ ἄν τις ἐπισκόπους εἴποι) καταστήσαι δῆθεν ἐπίσκοπον ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ Φήλικά τινα ἄξιον ἑαυτῶν. Οἱ γὰρ λαοὶ πάντες, εἰδότες τὴν παρανομίαν τῶν αἵρετικῶν, οὔτε συνεχώρησαν αὐτοῖς εἰς τὰς ἐκκλησίας εἰσελθεῖν, ἀλλὰ μακρὰν ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀνεχώρησαν.

76. Τί οὖν οὗτος τοῦ Ἀντιχρίστου παραλέλοιπεν; ἢ τί πλεον ἐκεῖνος ἐλθὼν τούτου ποιήσκειν; Ἡ πῶς ἐκεῖνος ἐλθὼν οὐχ εὕρησει πρὸς ἀπάτην εὐκόλον προετοιμασθεῖσαν αὐτῷ παρὰ τούτου τὴν ὁδόν; Καὶ γὰρ πάλιν ἀντὶ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν εἰς τὰ παλάτια πρὸς ἑαυτὸν τὰς κρίσεις προκαλεῖται. Καὶ τούτων μὲν αὐτὸς ἐξάρχει· τὸ δὲ θαυμαστὸν, ὅτι, κὰν θεωρήσῃ τοὺς κατηγοροὺς ἀποροῦντας, αὐτὸς ἀναδέχεται τὴν κατηγορίαν· ἵνα μηδὲ ἀπολογεῖσθαι λοιπὸν ἐξῇ τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις διὰ τὴν παρ' αὐτοῦ βίαν. Καὶ τοῦτο πεποίηκεν ἐν τοῖς κατὰ Ἀθανασίου· τὴν γὰρ Παυλίνου, καὶ Λουκιφέρου, καὶ Εὐσεβίου, καὶ Διονυσίου τῶν ἐπισκόπων παρρησίαν βλέπων, καὶ ὥς ἐκ τῆς μετανοίας Οὐρσακίου καὶ Οὐάλεντος διήλεγchon τοὺς κατὰ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου λέγοντας, καὶ συνεβούλευον μηκέτι χρῆναι πιστεῦεσθαι τοὺς περὶ Οὐάλεντα μεταγνόντας ἐφ' οἷς λέγουσι νῦν, εὐθὺς ἀναστὰς εἶπεν· Ἐγὼ κατήγορός εἰμι νῦν Ἀθανασίου, δι' ἐμὲ πιστεῦσατε οἷς ἂν λέγωσιν οὗτοι. Εἴτα, ἐκείνων λεγόντων, Πῶς δύνασαι κατήγορος εἶναι, μὴ παρόντος τοῦ κατηγορου-

c. 51. Ep.
Æg. 7. Apol.
de Fuga, 6.
De Syn. 12.

Ep. Æg. 7.

c. 3.

Cp. Theod.
ii. 17.

c. 44, 52.

Apol. c. Ari.
58.

Cp. c. 33.

HIST. ARIAN. μένου ; εἰ γὰρ σὺ κατήγορος εἶ, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος μὴ παρὼν, οὐ δύναται κρίνεσθαι. Οὐ γὰρ Ῥωμαϊκὴ ἐστὶν ἡ κρίσις, ἢ ὡς βασιλεὺς πιστευθῆς, ἀλλὰ περὶ ἐπισκόπου ἐστὶ τὸ κρίμα· καὶ δεῖ τὴν κρίσιν ἴσην εἶναι τῷ κατηγοροῦντι καὶ τῷ κρινομένῳ. Πῶς δὲ καὶ κατηγορεῖς ; συνεῖναι γὰρ οὐκ ἡδύνασο τῷ μακρὰν σου τυγχάνοντι· εἰ δὲ παρὰ τούτων ἀκούσας λέγεις, δίκαιόν ἐστὶ σε καὶ τὰ παρ' ἐκείνου λεγόμενα πιστεύειν· εἰ δὲ μὴ πιστεύεις ἐκεῖνῳ, πιστεύεις δὲ τούτοις, φαίνονται μᾶλλον οὗτοι διὰ σέ λέγοντες ταῦτα, καὶ εἰς σὴν χάριν κατηγοροῦντες Ἀθανασίου.' Ταῦτα ἀκούσας, καὶ νομίσας ὕβριν εἶναι τὸ λεχθὲν ὀρθῶς, ἐκείνους μὲν ἐξώρισε· κινηθεὶς δὲ κατὰ Ἀθανασίον, ἀγριώτερον ἔγραψεν αὐτόν τε παθεῖν τὰ γενόμενα, καὶ τοῖς Ἀρειανοῖς παραδοθῆναι τὰς ἐκκλησίας, καὶ τούτοις ἐξεῖναι πράττειν ἃ βούλονται.

77. Δεινὰ μὲν οὖν καὶ πέρα δεινῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα· πρέπουσα δὲ πρᾶξις ὅμως τῷ σχηματιζομένῳ τὰ τοῦ Ἀντιχρίστου. Τίς γὰρ, βλέπων αὐτὸν ἐξάρχοντα τῶν νομιζομένων ἐπισκόπων καὶ προκαθήμενον τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν κρίσεων, οὐκ ἀκολούθως ἂν εἴποι τοῦτ' εἶναι τὸ διὰ τοῦ Δανιὴλ εἰρημένον 'βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως ;' Τὸν γὰρ Χριστιανισμόν περιβεβλημένος, καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἁγίους τόπους 'εἰσερχόμενος,' ἐστηκώς τε ἐν αὐτοῖς, ἐρημοὶ τὰς ἐκκλησίας, παραλύων τοὺς τούτων κανόνας, καὶ τὰ ἴδια κρατεῖν βιαζόμενος. Ἄρα τίς ἔτι τολμᾷ λέγειν τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον εἰρηνικὸν εἶναι Χριστιανῶν, καὶ οὐ μᾶλλον διωγμὸν ; καὶ διωγμὸν, οἷος οὔτε πώποτε γέγονεν, οὔτε τάχα τις ποιήσει

2 Thess. ii. 8. ποτὲ τοιοῦτον, εἰ μὴ ἄρα 'ὁ υἱὸς τῆς ἀνομίας,' οἱ Χριστομάχοι δεικνύουσιν, ἀναζωγραφοῦντες ἐν αὐτοῖς ἤδη. Διὸ καὶ μάλιστα προσήκει νήφειν, μήπως ἡ αἵρεσις αὕτη, πολλὴν ἀναισχυντίαν ἔχουσα, καὶ διαχυνομένη ὡς 'ὁδὸς κεράστου,' καθὼς ἐν ταῖς Παροιμίαις γέγραπται, διδάσκουσά τε κατὰ τοῦ Σωτῆρος φρονεῖν, αὕτη ἂν εἴη ἡ ἀποστασία μεθ' ἧν ἐκεῖνος ἀποκαλυφθήσεται, πάντως ἔχων τὸν πρόδρομον ἑαυτοῦ Κωνσταντίον. Ἐπεὶ διὰ τί οὕτως μαίνεται κατὰ τῶν εὐσεβῶν ; διὰ τί ὡς ὑπὲρ ἰδίας αἱρέσεως ἀγωνίζεται ; καὶ ἐχθρὸν μὲν ἴδιον λέγει τὸν μὴ πειθόμενον τῇ Ἀρεῖον μανίᾳ, τὰ δὲ παρὰ τῶν Χριστομάχων λεγόμενα καταθυμῶς δέχεται, καὶ τοιαύτας καὶ τοσαύτας συνόδους

Dan. ix. 27.
Matt. xxiv.
15.

Prov. xxiii.
32.

ἀτιμάζει; διὰ τί τοῖς Ἀρειανοῖς ἐκέλευσε τὰς ἐκκλησίας παρα-
δίδοσθαι; οὐχ ἵνα ἐκεῖνος ἐλθὼν εὖρη, πῶς εἰς αὐτὰς εἰσέλθῃ,
καὶ ἀποδέξηται τοῦτον ἐτοιμάσαντα τοὺς τόπους αὐτῷ; Οἱ
μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου, καὶ τοῦ πρὸ αὐτοῦ Ἀχιλλᾶ, καὶ
πάλιν τοῦ πρὸ τούτου Πέτρου, γέροντες ἐπίσκοποι ἐξεβάλ-
λουντο· ἐκεῖνοι δὲ εἰσήγοντο, οἷς ἂν ἔλεγον οἱ ἀκολουθοῦντες
τοῖς στρατιώταις· ἔλεγον δὲ τοὺς τὰ αὐτῶν φρονεῖν ἐπαγγελ-
λομένους.

78. Εὐκόλον δὲ τοῦτο Μελιτιανοῖς ἦν τὸ πρόβλημα· οἱ γὰρ Cp. Ep. Aeg.
πλείστοι, μᾶλλον δὲ οἱ πάντες, οὐκ ἀπὸ θεοσεβοῦς ἀγωγῆς 22.
εἰσιν, οὐδὲ γινώσκουσι τὴν εἰς Χριστὸν ὑγιαίνουσαν πίστιν,
οὐδ' ὅλως τί ἐστι Χριστιανισμὸς, ἢ ποίας ἔχομεν ἡμεῖς οἱ
Χριστιανοὶ γραφάς. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐξ εἰδώλων ἐλθόντες,
οἱ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου καὶ τῆς πρώτης πολιτείας διὰ τὴν
ταλαίπωρον ἀλειτουργησίαν καὶ προστασίαν· πείσαντές τε
χρήμασι τοὺς πρὸ αὐτῶν Μελιτιανούς, εἰς τοῦτο παρήλθον, καὶ
πρὶν κατηχηθῶσιν. Εἰ δὲ καὶ ἔδοξαν, ποία κατήχησις παρὰ
Μελιτιανοῖς ἐστιν; ὅμως οὐδὲ δόξαντες κατηχεῖσθαι, ἦλθον
ἅμα· καὶ εὐθὺς, ὥσπερ παῖδες ὄνομα λαβόντες, ἐκλήθησαν
ἐπίσκοποι. Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο, τοιοῦτοι ὄντες, οὐδὲν ἠγήσαντο τὸ
πρᾶγμα, οὐδὲ διαφέρειν εὐσέβειαν ἀσεβείας ἐνόμισαν. Προ-
θύμως γοῦν καὶ ταχέως ἐκ Μελιτιανῶν Ἀρειανοὶ γεγόνασιν.
Ἄν δὲ καὶ ἕτερόν τι προστάξῃ βασιλεὺς, καὶ εἰς τοῦτο πάλιν
εἰσὶν ἕτοιμοι μεταβάλλεσθαι. Ἡ γὰρ τῆς εὐσεβείας ἀγνοια
ταχέως ἐπὶ τὴν συνήθη καὶ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ἣν μεμαθήκασιν,
ἀφροσύνην καταφέρει τούτους. Καὶ γὰρ οὐδέν ἐστιν αὐτοῖς
'ἀνέμψαντι καὶ κλύδωνι περιφέρεσθαι,' ἕως μόνον εἰσὶν ἀλει- Cp. Eph. iv.
τούργητοι, καὶ προστασίαν ἀνθρωπίνην ἔχουσι· τάχα δὲ οὐδὲ 14.
μεταβάλλεσθαι, οἷοι καὶ πρὸ τούτου ἦσαν, καὶ οἷοι ἦσαν ὅτε
πάλιν Ἕλληνες ἐτύγχανον. Ἀμέλει, τοιοῦτοι τὸν τρόπον
ὄντες εὐκόλοι, καὶ νομίζοντες πολιτείαν βουλῆς εἶναι τὴν ἐκ-
κλησίαν, καὶ τὰ τῶν εἰδώλων φρονοῦντες, ὥσπερ ἔθνη, εἰσελ-
θόντες εἰς 'τὸ καλὸν ὄνομα' τοῦ Σωτῆρος, ἐμίαναν τὴν Αἴγυπτον James ii. 7.
πᾶσαν ποιήσαντες καὶ ὅλως ὀνομασθῆναι τὴν Ἀρειανὴν αἵρε-
σιν ἐν αὐτῇ. Ἔτι γὰρ ἐν ὁλοκλήρῳ μόνη τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ παρῆρ-
σία τῆς ὀρθοδοξίας ἦν· καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἐσπούδασαν καὶ ταύτη

HIST. ARIAN. φθόνον ἐπαγαγείν οἱ δυσσεβεῖς, μᾶλλον δὲ οὐκ αὐτοὶ, ἀλλ' ὁ κινήσας αὐτοὺς διάβολος· Ἰν' ἐλθὼν ὁ τούτου κήρυξ Ἀντίχριστος εὖρη καὶ ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ τὰς ἐκκλησίας ἑαυτοῦ γενομένας, τοὺς τε Μελιτιανοὺς προκατηχηθέντας ἤδη τὰ ἐκείνου, καὶ ἐπιγνῶ ἑαυτὸν ἐν ἐκείνοις ἤδη μορφωθέντα.

79. Τοιοῦτον μὲν οὖν ἐστὶ τὸ ἐξελθὼν παρὰ Κωνσταντίου παράνομον πρόσταγμα· τῶν δὲ λαῶν προθυμία μὲν ἦν εἰς μαρτύριον, καὶ μᾶλλον μῖσος κατὰ τῆς ἀσεβεστάτης αἱρέσεως, πένθος δὲ ὅμως διὰ τὰς ἐκκλησίας, καὶ στεναγμοὶ παρὰ πάντων, βοῶντων πρὸς τὸν Κύριον· 'Φεῖσαι, Κύριε, τοῦ λαοῦ σου, καὶ μὴ δῶς τὴν κληρονομίαν σου εἰς ὄνειδος τοῖς ἐχθροῖς σου· ἀλλὰ καὶ τάχυνον τοῦ ἐξελεῖσθαι ἡμᾶς ἐκ χειρὸς ἀνόμων.' Ἰδοὺ γὰρ τῶν μὲν σου θεραπόντων οὐκ ἐφείσαντο, τῷ δὲ Ἀντιχρίστῳ τὴν ὁδὸν παρασκευάζουσιν.' Οὐ γὰρ ἀντιστήσονται ποτε Μελιτιανοὶ τούτῳ, οὐδὲ φροντίσουσι περὶ ἀληθείας, οὐδὲ ἀρνήσασθαι τὸν Χριστὸν φαῦλον ἡγήσονται· ἄνθρωποι μηδόλως γνησίως προσελθόντες τῷ Λόγῳ, πρὸς πάντα κατὰ τὸν χαμαιλέοντα σχηματιζόμενοι, καὶ μισθωτοὶ τῶν ἀνυόντων αὐτῶν τὴν χρεῖαν γιγνόμενοι. Οὐ γὰρ πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἔχουσι τὸν σκοπὸν, ἀλλὰ ταύτης τὴν παραντίκα προκρίνουσιν ἡδονήν·

1 Cor. xv. 32. καὶ μόνον λέγουσι· 'Φάγωμεν καὶ πίωμεν· αὔριον γὰρ ἀποθνήσκομεν.' Τῶν μὲν οὖν ὑποκριτῶν Ἐπικριτιανῶν ἀντὶ Μελιτιανῶν ἡ πρόθεσις τοιαύτη, καὶ ὁ τρόπος ἀπιστος· οἱ δὲ πιστοὶ δοῦλοι τοῦ Σωτῆρος καὶ ἀληθῶς ἐπίσκοποι, οἱ γνησίως πιστεύσαντες, καὶ μὴ ἑαυτοῖς, ἀλλὰ τῷ Κυρίῳ ζῶντες, οὗτοι, πιστῶς εὐσεβοῦντες εἰς τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν, καὶ γινώσκοντες, καθὰ προείπον, ὥς κατὰ τῆς ἀληθείας προφάσεις εἰσὶ ψευδεῖς, καὶ φανερώς ἐπλάσθησαν διὰ τὴν Ἀρειανὴν αἵρεσιν·

Apol. c. Ari. 58. καὶ γὰρ ἐκ τῆς Οὐρσακίου καὶ Οὐάλεντος μετανόας κατεμάνθανον τὴν κατὰ Ἀθανασίου συντεθείσαν συκοφαντίαν, ἵνα αὐτὸν μὲν ἐκποδῶν ἄρωσι, τὴν δὲ ἀσέβειαν τῶν Χριστομάχων εἰς τὰς ἐκκλησίας εἰσάξωσι· ταῦτα συνορῶντες, ὥς ἀληθείας ὄντες ὑπέρμαχοι καὶ κήρυκες, ὑβρισθῆναι καὶ ἐξορισθῆναι μᾶλλον εἴλοντο, καὶ ὑπέμειναν, ἢ κατ' αὐτοῦ ὑπογράψαι, καὶ τοῖς Ἀρειομανίταις κοινωνῆσαι. Οὐ γὰρ ἐπελάθοντο, ἀ ἐδίδαξαν· ἀλλὰ καὶ μᾶλλον γινώσκουσιν, ὥς τοῖς μὲν προδόταις ἀτιμία

πολλή, τοῖς δὲ ὁμολογοῦσι τὴν ἀλήθειαν, βασιλεῖα οὐρανῶν· καὶ τοῖς μὲν ὀλιγόροις καὶ φοβηθείσι Κωνσταντίον οὐδὲν ἔσται ἀγαθόν· τοῖς δὲ ὑπομείνασι τὰς ᾧδε θλίψεις, ὡς ἐκ χειμῶνος ναύταις εὐδῖος λιμὴν, ὡς ἀθληταῖς μετὰ τὸν ἀγῶνα στέφανος, οὕτω καὶ αὐτοῖς μεγάλη καὶ αἰώνιος χαρὰ καὶ εὐφροσύνη ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς γενήσεται· οἶαν ἔσχεν Ἰωσήφ μετὰ τὰς θλίψεις ἐκείνας· οἶαν ὁ μέγας Δανιὴλ μετὰ τοὺς πειρασμοὺς καὶ τὰς πολλὰς ἐπιβουλὰς τῶν βασιλικῶν· οἶαν ἔχει νῦν ὁ Παῦλος στεφανούμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ Σωτῆρος· οἶαν προσδοκῶντες καὶ οἱ πανταχοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ λαοί, ταῦτα βλέποντες, οὐκ ἡσθένησαν τῇ προαιρέσει, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἐνεδυναμώθησαν τῇ πίστει, καὶ πλέον ἡὔξησαν τὴν προθυμίαν. Πληροφορηθέντες γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῆς συκοφαντίας καὶ ἀσεβείας τῶν αἵρετικῶν, καταγινώσκουσι μὲν τοῦ διώκοντος, συντρέχουσι δὲ τοῖς διωκομένοις τῇ γνώμῃ καὶ τῇ ὁμοφροσύνῃ· ἵνα καὶ αὐτοὶ τὸν τῆς ὁμολογίας ἀπολάβωσι στέφανον.

80. Πολλὰ μὲν οὖν ἂν τις δύναιτο λέγειν κατὰ τῆς μυσαρᾶς καὶ Χριστομάχου ταύτης αἵρέσεως· πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἀποδείξειεν ἂν τις εἶναι προοίμια τοῦ Ἀντιχρίστου τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα Κωνσταντίου· ἐπειδὴ δὲ, ὡς εἶπεν ὁ προφήτης, ‘ἀπὸ ποδῶν ἕως κεφαλῆς οὐδὲν ἔστιν· εὐλογον· ἐν αὐτῇ,’ παντὸς δὲ ῥύπου καὶ πάσης ἀσεβείας πεπλήρωται, ὥστε καὶ μόνον ἐξ ἀκοῆς φευκτέαν αὐτὴν εἶναι, ὡς ἐξέραμα κυνὸς, καὶ δρακόντων ἰόν· ἔστι δὲ καὶ Κοστύλλιος ἐκ φανεροῦ τὴν εἰκόνα φέρων τοῦ ἀντικειμένου· ἵνα μὴ μακρὸς ὁ λόγος γένηται, διὰ τοῦτο καλὸν ἀρκεσθῆναι τῇ θείᾳ γραφῇ, καὶ πάντας αὐτῇ πεισθῆναι παραγγελούσῃ διὰ τε τὰς ἄλλας αἵρέσεις, καὶ μάλιστα διὰ ταύτην· ἔστι δὲ αὐτῆς τὸ παράγγελμα τοῦτο· ‘Ἀπόστητε, ἀπόστητε, ἐξέλθετε ἐκεῖθεν, καὶ ἀκαθάρτου μὴ ᾄψησθε, ἐξέλθετε ἐκ μέσου αὐτῶν, καὶ ἀφορίσθητε, οἱ φέροντες τὰ σκεύη Κυρίου.’ Τοῦτο γὰρ πρὸς διδασκαλίαν ἀρκεῖ πᾶσιν· ἵν’ εἰ μὲν τις ἡπατήθη παρ’ αὐτῶν, ἐξελθὼν ὡς ἀπὸ Σοδόμων, μηκέτι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐπιστρέψῃ, μήποτε πάθῃ τὰ τῆς γυναικὸς τοῦ Λῳτ· εἰ δὲ τις καθαρὸς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀπὸ τῆς ἀσεβοῦς ταύτης αἵρέσεως διέμεινεν, ἔχῃ τὸ καύχημα ἐν Χριστῷ λέγων· ‘Οὐκ ἐξεπετάσαμεν χεῖρας ἡμῶν πρὸς Θεὸν ἀλλότριον, οὐδὲ προσεκυνήσαμεν τοῖς ἔργοις

Isa. i. 6.

Isa. lii. 11.

Psal. xliii (xlii). 21.

HIST. ARIAN. τῶν χειρῶν ἡμῶν, οὐδὲ ἐλατρεύσαμεν τῇ κτίσει παρὰ σὲ τὸν κτίσαντα τὰ πάντα Θεὸν, διὰ τοῦ σοῦ Λόγου τοῦ μονογενοῦς Υἱοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, δι' οὗ σοὶ τῷ Πατρὶ, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ τῷ Λόγῳ ἐν Πνεύματι Ἀγίῳ, ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.

(Ἀθανασίου ἐπισκόπου πρὸς τοὺς ἀπανταχοῦ μοναχοὺς περὶ τῶν γεγεννημένων παρὰ τῶν Ἀρειανῶν ἐπὶ Κωνσταντίου. Οὗτος ὁ λόγος διόλου κατὰ Κωνσταντίου συντέτακται τῷ πάπῃ.)

81.

Διαμαρτυρία δευτέρα.

(*Contestatio Secunda.*) Τάδε δημοσίᾳ διαμαρτύρεται διὰ τῶν ἐξῆς ὑπογραφόντων ὁ λαὸς τῆς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἥτις ἐστὶν ὑπὸ Ἀθανασίου τὸν αἰδεσιμώτατον ἐπίσκοπον.

Cp. Apol. de Fuga, 24.

Ἦδη μὲν διεμαρτυράμεθα περὶ ἧς πεπόνθαμεν νυκτερινῆς ἐφόδου ἡμεῖς τε καὶ τὸ Κυριακόν, εἰ καὶ διαμαρτυρίας χρεῖα οὐκ ἦν ἐφ' οἷς πᾶσα ἡ πόλις ἔγνωκέ τε καὶ γινώσκει. Τὰ τε γὰρ εὑρεθέντα σώματα τῶν ἀναιρεθέντων δημοσίᾳ προετέθη, καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ Κυριακῷ ὄπλα τε καὶ τόξα κέκραγε τὴν παρανομίαν. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ μετὰ τὴν διαμαρτυρίαν ὁ λαμπρότατος δοῦξ Συριανὸς βιάζεται πάντας συνθέσθαι αὐτῷ, ὥς οὔτε θορύβου γενομένου, οὔτε τινὸς ἀποθανόντος· ἔλεγχος δὲ οὗτος οὐκ ὀλίγος μὴ γεγενῆσθαι ταῦτα κατὰ γνώμην τοῦ φιλανθρωποτάτου Αὐγούστου Κωνσταντίου· οὐκ ἂν γὰρ ἐφοβήθη ἐπὶ τοῖς οὕτω γενομένοις, εἰ ἐκ προστάξεως ταῦτα ἐπεποιήκει· καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἀπελθόντας ἡμᾶς πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ ἀξιούντας μηδενὶ βίαν ποιεῖν, μηδὲ ἀρνείσθαι τὰ γενόμενα, ἐκέλευσε, Χριστιανούς ἡμᾶς ὄντας, κατακοπῆναι ῥοπάλοις· δεικνὺς καὶ ἐκ τούτων τὸν γενόμενον νυκτὸς πόλεμον κατὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας· διὰ τοῦτο καὶ νῦν ταῦτα διαμαρτυρόμεθα, ἤδη καὶ μελλόντων τινῶν ἐξ ἡμῶν ἀποδημεῖν παρὰ τὸν εὐσεβέστατον Αὐγούστον. Ὁρκίζομεν δὲ κατὰ τοῦ παντοκράτορος Θεοῦ ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου Αὐγούστου Κωνσταντίου, τόν τε ἑπαρχὸν τῆς Αἰγύπτου Μάξιμον καὶ τοὺς κουριώσους, ἀνενεγκεῖν πάντα ἐπὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν τοῦ Αὐγούστου, καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τῶν λαμπροτάτων ἐπαρχῶν. Ὁρκίζομεν δὲ καὶ τοὺς ναυκλήρους πάντας

κηρύξαι ταῦτα πανταχοῦ, καὶ εἰς ἀκοὰς τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου Αὐγουστου ἀνενεγκεῖν, καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἐπάρχους, καὶ εἰς τοὺς κατὰ τόπον δικαστάς· ἵνα γνωσθῇ ὁ γενόμενος πόλεμος κατὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, καὶ ὅτι ἐν καιροῖς τοῦ Αὐγουστου Κωνσταντίου ἐποίησε Συριανὸς γενέσθαι μάρτυρας παρθένους τε καὶ ἄλλους πολλούς. Ἐπιφωσκούσης γὰρ τῇ πρὸ πέντε εἰδῶν Φεβρουα- [Feb. 9; qu.,
6 Id.=Feb. 8.]
ρίων, τουτέστι τῆς ιδ' τοῦ Μεχίρι μηνὸς, ἀγρυπνούντων ἡμῶν ἐν τῷ Κυριακῷ, καὶ ταῖς εὐχαῖς σχολαζόντων (σύναξις γὰρ ἐμελλε τῇ παρασκευῇ γίνεσθαι), ἐξαίφνης περὶ τὸ μεσονύκτιον ἐπήλθεν ἡμῖν τε καὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ὁ λαμπρότατος δοῦξ Συριανὸς μετὰ πολλῶν λεγεόνων στρατιωτῶν, ἐχόντων ὅπλα, καὶ ξίφη γυμνά, καὶ βέλη, καὶ ἄλλα πολεμικὰ σκεύη, καὶ τὰς περικεφαλαίας ἐπὶ τῶν κεφαλῶν. Καὶ ἀληθῶς εὐχομένων ἡμῶν καὶ ἀναγνώσεως γινομένης, τὰς μὲν θύρας κατέαξαν· ὥς δὲ τῇ βίᾳ τοῦ πλήθους ἠνεφέγεισαν αἱ θύραι, ἐκέλευσε· καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐτόξευον, οἱ δὲ ἠλάλαζον, καὶ κτύπος ἐγίγνετο τῶν ὅπλων, καὶ τὰ ξίφη ἀντέλαμπον τῷ ἐκ τῶν λύχνων φωτὶ. Καὶ λοιπὸν τὰ ἐκ τούτων, παρθένοι ἀνηροῦντο, καὶ πολλοὶ κατεπατοῦντο, καὶ συνέπιπτον ἀλλήλοις, ἐπερχομένων τῶν στρατιωτῶν, καὶ ἄνδρες τοξενόμενοι ἐθανατοῦντο· ἔνιοι δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ διαρπάζειν ἐτρέποντο, καὶ γυμνὰς ἴστων τὰς παρθένας, ὁπότε φόβος ἦν αὐταῖς μείζων τοῦ θανάτου τὸ κἂν ὅλως ἀπεσθαί τινας αὐτῶν. Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐπίσκοπος ἐκάθητο ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου, προτρέπων πάντας εὔχεσθαι· ὁ δὲ δοῦξ ἐστρατήγει, ἔχων μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ Ἰλάριον τὸν νοτάριον, ἐνεργοῦντα τοιαῦτα οἷα c. 48.
καὶ τὸ τέλος ἐδειξε. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐπίσκοπος, ἐλκόμενος, παρ' ὀλίγον διεσπάσθη. Παραλυθεὶς γοῦν μεγάλως, καὶ ὥς νεκρὸς γενόμενος, οὐκ οἶδμεν ποῦ γέγονεν ἀφανῆς παρ' αὐτῶν· ἀποκτεῖναι γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐσπούδαζον. Οἱ δὲ, ὥς εἶδον πολλοὺς ἀποθανόντας, προσέτατον τοῖς στρατιώταις ἀφανῆ τὰ σώματα καταστῆσαι τῶν τετελενηκότων. Αἱ δὲ καταλειφθεῖσαι νεκρὰ ἀγιάτται παρθένοι ἐτάφησαν ἐν τοῖς μνήμασιν, ἔχουσαι καύχημα ὅτι ἐν τοῖς καιροῖς τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου Κωνσταντίου γεγόνασι μάρτυρες. Διάκονοι δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ Κυριακῷ κατεκόπτοντο πληγαῖς, καὶ συνεκλείοντο. Οὐκ ἄχρι δὲ τούτων ἔσθη τὸ πρᾶγμα· ἀλλὰ γὰρ μετὰ τὸ ταῦτα γενέσθαι, ὁ βουλό-

CONTESTA-
TIO.

c. 63.

c. 61.

c. 22.

[Feb. 12; qu.
3 Id. = Feb.
11.]

μενος λοιπόν ἦν ἡδύνατο θύραν κατεάσσω ἥνοιγε, καὶ ἡρεύνα, καὶ ἥρπαξε τὰ ἔνδον· καὶ εἰς τοιοῦτους τόπους εἰσῆρχοντο, εἰς οὗς οὐδὲ πᾶσι τοῖς Χριστιανοῖς ἔξεστιν εἰσελθεῖν. Οἶδε ταῦτα καὶ ὁ στρατηγὸς τῆς πόλεως Γοργόνιος· ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἦν. Οὐ μικρὸς γὰρ ἔλεγχος τῆς τοιαύτης πολεμικῆς ἐφόδου τὸ ἐν τῷ Κυριακῷ καταλιπεῖν τὰ παρὰ τῶν εἰσελθόντων ὄπλα καὶ βέλη, καὶ ξίφη· μέχρι γὰρ νῦν ἐκρεμάσθη ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἵνα μὴ ἀρνήσασθαι δυνηθῶσι. Καὶ γὰρ πολλάκις ἀπέστειλε τὸν τῆς τάξεως Δυνάμιον καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν, θέλων αὐτὰ ἄραι· καὶ τέως οὐ συνεχωρήσαμεν, ἕως πᾶσι γνωσθῇ. Εἰ μὲν οὖν πρόσταγμα ἐστὶ διώκεσθαι ἡμᾶς, ἔτοιμοι πάντες μαρτυρῆσαι· εἰ δὲ μὴ ἐστὶ τοῦ Αὐγούστου πρόσταγμα, ἀξιούμεν τὸν ἑπαρχὸν τῆς Αἰγύπτου Μάξιμον, καὶ τοὺς πολιτευτὰς πάντας, ἀξιῶσαι αὐτὸν μηκέτι τοιαῦτα ἐπιχειρῆσαι. Ἀξιούμεν δὲ καὶ ταύτην ἡμῶν τὴν δέξιον ἀνενεχθῆναι· ἵνα μὴ ἄλλον τινὰ ἐπίσκοπον ἐπιχειρήσωσιν εἰσαγαγεῖν ὧδε· μέχρι γὰρ θανάτου ἐστήκαμεν, αὐτὸν ἐπιθυμοῦντες τὸν αἰδεσιμώτατον Ἀθανάσιον, ὃν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῖν δέδωκε κατὰ διαδοχὴν τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν· ὃν καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ εὐσεβέστατος Αὐγουστος Κωνστάντιος μετὰ γραμμάτων καὶ ὀρκῶν ἀπέστειλε. Πιστεύομεν γὰρ ὅτι, ἐὰν μάθῃ ἡ εὐσέβεια αὐτοῦ, ἀγανακτήσει μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς γενομένοις, οὐδὲν δὲ παρὰ τοὺς ὀρκους ποιήσει· ἀλλὰ καὶ πάλιν κελεύσει τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ἡμῶν Ἀθανάσιον μένειν μεθ' ἡμῶν. Τοῖς μετὰ τὴν ὑπατεῖαν Ἀρβαιθίωνος καὶ Κολλιανοῦ τῶν λαμπροτάτων ἀποδειχθησομένοις ὑπάτοις, Μεχὶρ ιζ', ἥτις ἐστὶ τῇ πρὸ μιᾶς εἰδῶν Φεβρουαρίων.

(Ἡ μὲν προγεγραμμένη πρὸς τοὺς ἀπανταχοῦ μοναχοὺς ἐπιστολὴ τελευτᾷ εἰς τὰ γεγενημένα ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ἐπὶ τῇ χειροτονίᾳ Γεωργίου τοῦ Καππάδοκος ἀπὸ ὑποδεκτῶν, τοῦ Ἀρειανοῦ· ἡ δὲ ἐξῆς ἐπιστολὴ, περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀριμίνῃ καὶ ἐν Σελευκείᾳ τῆς Ἰσαυρίας γεγενημένων συνόδων διηγουμένη, τὸν προειρημένον Γεώργιον ἐν τῇ Σελευκείᾳ καθηρῆσθαι φησιν. Ὡστε καλῶς πρώτη τέτακται ἢ πρὸς τοὺς μοναχοὺς, ἐν τῷ ἀντιγράφῳ δευτέρα κειμένη.)

ΤΟΥ ΕΝ ΑΓΙΟΙΣ ΠΑΤΡΟΣ ΗΜΩΝ

ΑΘΑΝΑΣΙΟΥ

ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΑΣ,

ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΩΝ ΕΝ Τῇ ΑΡΙΜΙΝΩ ΤΗΣ ΙΤΑΛΙΑΣ, ΚΑΙ
ΕΝ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΙΑ ΤΗΣ ΙΣΑΥΡΙΑΣ ΣΥΝΟΔΩΝ.

1. Ἐφθασε μὲν ἴσως καὶ παρ' ὑμᾶς ἡ ἀκοὴ περὶ τῆς καὶ
νῦν θρυλουμένης συνόδου· καὶ γὰρ βασιλέως καὶ τῶν ἐπάρχων
ἐφοίτησε πανταχῇ γράμματα καλοῦντα τοὺς εἰς ταύτην συνερ-
χομένους· ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ, φιλομαθεῖς ὄντες, ζητεῖτε γινῶναι τὰ
πεπραγμένα, ἀκόλουθον εἶναι νενόμικα, ἅπερ ἑώρακα καὶ ἔγνων
ἀκριβῶς, ταῦτα καὶ ὑμῖν δηλῶσαι· ἵνα μὴ, παρ' ἑτέρων ἀκούον-
τες, ἀμφίβολον ἔχητε τὴν διάνοιαν· μάλιστα ὅτι τινὲς εἰώθα-
σιν ἑτέρως ἀπαγγέλλειν τὰ πραττόμενα ἢ ὡς γέγονεν. Ἐν
μὲν οὖν τῇ Νικαίᾳ, ὥσπερ ἦν ὀρισθὲν, οὐκέτι γέγονε τὸ συνέ-
δριον, ἀλλὰ δεύτερον πρόσταγμα πεφοίτηκεν· ὥστε τοὺς μὲν Cp. Soz. iv.
16.
ἐν τοῖς δυτικοῖς μέρεσιν ἐπισκόπους ἐν Ἀριμίνῃ τῆς Ἰταλίας
συνελθεῖν, τοὺς δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἀνατολικοῖς μέρεσιν ἐν τῇ λεγομένῃ
Τραχείᾳ Σελευκειᾷ τῆς Ἰσαυρίας συγκροτηθῆναι. Ἡ δὲ πρό-
φασις τῆς τοιαύτης συνελεύσεως ἐθρυλεῖτο περὶ πίστεως τῆς
εἰς τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν τὸν Χριστόν. Οἱ δὲ ταύτην
παρασχόντες εἰσὶν ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς Παννουρίας, Οὐρσάκιος, καὶ
Οὐάλης, καὶ Γερμίνιός τις· ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Συρίας, Ἀκάκιος, Εὐδό- Cp. Ep. Æg.
17.
ξιος, καὶ Πατρόφιλος ὁ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπωνύμου τῶν Σκυθῶν πόλεως
τυγχάνων. Οὗτοι γὰρ, αἰὲ τῆς Ἀρείου μερίδος ὄντες, καὶ μὴ

DE SYNOD.

Cp. 1 Tim.

i. 7.

Gal. ii. 6.

Cp. Apol. de
Fuga, 26.

‘νοοῦντες μήτε πῶς πιστεύουσι, μήτε περὶ τίνων διαβεβαιούνται,’ ἀπατῶντες δὲ ἕκαστον ἡρέμα, καὶ σπέρματα τῆς αἰρέσεως ἐαυτῶν ἐπισπείροντες, ὑφῆρπασάν τινας ‘τῶν δοκούντων εἶναι τι,’ καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν βασιλέα Κωνσταντίον αἰρετικὸν ὄντα, σχηματίζοντες περὶ πίστεως, ὥστε ποιῆσαι γενέσθαι σύνοδον νομίζοντες δύνασθαι καλύψαι τὴν ἐν Νικαίᾳ σύνοδον καὶ τοὺς πάντας μεταπειθεῖν, ὥστε τὴν ἀσέβειαν ἀντὶ τῆς ἀληθείας κρατῆσαι πανταχοῦ.

2. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἔγωγε θαυμάζω (ἡγοῦμαι δὲ καὶ πάντα ὄντιναοῦν φρόνιμον τοῦτο συνορᾶν), ὅτι, καθολικῆς ὁρισθείσης συνόδου, καὶ ταύτην πάντων προσδοκῶντων, ἐξαίφνης διηρέθη· καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐκεῖ συνήλθον, οἱ δὲ ὧδε συνεκρότησαν ἑαυτούς. Ἦν δὲ ἄρα τοῦτο τῆς Προνοίας ἔργον, ἵνα ἐν ἐκάστη, τῶν μὲν τὸ ἄδολον καὶ καθαρὸν τῆς πίστεως δειχθῇ φρόνημα, τῶν δὲ τὸ ὑποπτον καὶ ἀμφίβολον ἦθος ἐλεγχθῇ. Ἐπεὶτα κάκεινο διενουσῶν μετὰ τῶν ἐνταῦθα γνησίων ἀδελφῶν, καὶ καθ’ ἑαυτούς ἡσχάλλομεν, θεωροῦντες τὸ ἀπρεπὲς τῆς τοσαύτης συνδρομῆς. Τί γὰρ τοσοῦτον ἤπειζεν, ὥστε τὴν οἰκουμένην διαταραχθῆναι, καὶ τοὺς λεγομένους ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τούτῳ κληρικοὺς διατρέχειν ἄνω καὶ κάτω, καὶ ζητεῖν, πῶς ἄρα μάθωσι πιστεύειν εἰς τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν; Εἰ γὰρ ἐπίστευον, οὐκ ἂν ὥς μὴ ἔχοντες ἐζήτουν. Τοῦτο δὲ τοῖς μὲν κατηγουμένοις οὐκ ὀλίγον σκάνδαλον· τοῖς δὲ Ἑλλησι οὐ τὸ τυχόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πλατὺν γέλωτα παρέσχευ, εἰ Χριστιανοὶ, ὥσπερ ἐξ ὕπνου νῦν ἐγερθέντες, ζητοῦσι πῶς δεῖ περὶ Χριστοῦ πιστεύειν. Οἱ δὲ λεγόμενοι κληρικοὶ τούτων, καίτοι τὰ πρεσβεῖα παρὰ τῶν λαῶν ἐκδικοῦντες, ὡς διδάσκαλοι, νῦν ἡλεγξαν ἑαυτοὺς ἀπίστους, ζητοῦντες ὅπερ οὐκ ἔχουσι. Καὶ ἡγνόησαν οἱ περὶ Οὐρσάκιον, τούτων αἴτιοι γενόμενοι, ὁσπιν ἑαυτοῖς ‘ἐθησαύρισαν ὀργήν,’ λέγοντος τοῦ Κυρίου διὰ μὲν τῶν ἀγίων· ‘Οὐαὶ, δι’ οὗ τοῦ ὀνόματός μου βλασφημεῖται ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι,’ διὰ δὲ ἑαυτοῦ ἐν τοῖς εὐαγγελίοις· “Ὁς οὖν ἐὰν σκανδαλίσῃ ἓνα τῶν μικρῶν τούτων, συμφέρει αὐτῷ ἵνα μύλος ὀνικὸς κρεμασθῇ εἰς τὸν τράχηλον αὐτοῦ, καὶ καταποντισθῇ ἐν τῷ πελάγει τῆς θαλάσσης” ἢ ἵνα,’ ὡς ὁ Λουκᾶς προσέθηκε, ‘σκανδαλίσῃ τῶν μικρῶν τούτων ἓνα.’

Rom. ii. 5.

Isa. lii. 5;

Rom. ii. 24.

Matt. xviii.

6; Luke xvii.

2.

3. Τί γὰρ ἔλειπε διδασκαλίας εἰς εὐσέβειαν τῇ καθολικῇ ^{Cp. Soc. ii. 37.} ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἵνα νῦν περὶ πίστεως ζητῶσι, καὶ τὴν ὑπατείαν τῶν παρόντων χρόνων προτάσσωσι τῶν παρ' αὐτῶν ἐκτιθεμένων ῥημάτων δῆθεν περὶ πίστεως; Οὐρσάκιος γὰρ καὶ Οὐάλης, καὶ Γερμίνιος, καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτοῖς πεποιθήκασιν ὃ μήτε γέγονε, μήτε ^{Cp. c. 8.} ἠκούσθη πώποτε παρὰ Χριστιανοῖς. Γράψαντες γὰρ, ὥς ἤθε- ^{Cp. Soz. iv. 17.} λον αὐτοὶ πιστεύειν, προέταξαν τὴν ὑπατείαν, καὶ τὸν μῆνα, καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ παρόντος χρόνου· ἵνα δείξωσι πᾶσι τοῖς φρονίμοις ὅτι μὴ πρότερον, ἀλλὰ νῦν ἐπὶ Κωνσταντίου ἀρχὴν ἔχει τούτων ἡ πίστις. Πάντα γὰρ πρὸς τὴν ἰδίαν αἵρεσιν βλέποντες ἔγραψαν. Πρὸς τούτοις, περὶ τοῦ Κυρίου προσποιούμενοι γράφειν, ἄλλον 'δεσπότην' ὀνομάζουσιν ἑαυτοῖς Κων- ^[Soc. ἐαυτῶν.] σταντίον· αὐτὸς γὰρ ἦν ὁ τὴν δυναστείαν τῆς ἀσεβείας αὐτοῖς παρέχων· καὶ 'αἰώνιον' δὲ αὐτὸν 'βασιλέα' εἰρήκασιν οἱ τὸν Υἱὸν αἰδίδιον ἀρνούμενοι· οὕτως εἰσὶ πρὸς ἀσέβειαν Χριστομάχοι. 'Ἀλλ' ἴσως αὐτοῖς ἐστὶ πρόφασις τῆς ὑπατείας ἡ τῶν ἁγίων προφητῶν χρονογραφία. 'Ἀλλὰ κὰν τοῦτο τολμήσωσιν εἰπεῖν, πολὺ τὴν ἀμαθίαν ἑαυτῶν ἐξαγγέλλουσιν· αἱ μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἁγίων προφητεῖαι χρόνων ἔχουσι μνῆμην. Καὶ 'Ἡσαίας μὲν ^{Isa. i. i. Hds. i. i.} καὶ 'Ωσηέ 'ἐν ἡμέραις' Οὔζου, καὶ 'Ιωάθαμ, καὶ 'Αχάζ, καὶ 'Εζεκιίου' γεγόνασιν. 'Ιερεμίας δὲ ἐν ἡμέραις' Ἰωσίου, 'Ἰεζεκιήλ δὲ καὶ Δανιὴλ ἐπὶ Κύρου καὶ Δαρείου, καὶ ἄλλοι ἐν ἄλλοις χρόνοις προεφήτευσαν, οὐ τῆς θεοσεβείας ἀρχὴν καταβαλλόμενοι· ἦν γὰρ καὶ πρὸ αὐτῶν, καὶ αἰεὶ ἦν, καὶ πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου ταύτην ἡμῖν ὁ Θεὸς ἐν Χριστῷ προητοίμασεν· οὐδὲ τῆς αὐτῶν δὴ πίστεως τοὺς χρόνους ἐσήμαινον· ἦσαν μὲν καὶ πρὸ τούτων τῶν χρόνων αὐτοὶ πιστοί· ἀλλὰ τῆς δι' αὐτῶν ἀπαγγελίας ἦσαν οἱ χρόνοι. 'Ἦν δὲ ἡ ἀπαγγελία προηγουμένη μὲν περὶ τῆς ἐπιδημίας τοῦ Σωτῆρος, ἐπακολούθημα δὲ περὶ τῶν ἐσομένων τῷ Ἰσραὴλ καὶ τοῖς ἔθνεσι. Καὶ ἦσαν οἱ χρόνοι σημαίνοντες οὐκ ἀρχῆς πίστεως, καθὰ προείπον, ἀλλ' αὐτῶν τῶν προφητῶν, καθ' οὓς οὗτοι γενόμενοι τοιαῦτα προεφήτεον. Οὗτοι δὲ οἱ νῦν σοφοί, οὐχ ἱστορίας ἐξηγούμενοι, οὐδὲ τὰ μέλλοντα προλέγοντες, ἀλλὰ γράψαντες, 'Ἐξετέθη ἡ πίστις ἡ καθολικὴ,' εὐθὺς προσέθηκαν καὶ τὴν ὑπατείαν, καὶ τὸν μῆνα, καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν· ἵνα, ὥσπερ οἱ ἄγιοι τῶν ἱστοριῶν καὶ τῆς

DE SYNOD. ἐαυτῶν διακονίας τοὺς χρόνους ἔγραφον, οὕτως οὗτοι τῆς ἐαυτῶν πίστεως τὸν χρόνον σηµάνωσι. Καὶ εἶθε περὶ τῆς ἐαυτῶν ἔγραφον νῦν γὰρ ἤρξατο, καὶ μὴ ὥς περὶ τῆς καθολικῆς ἐπεχείρουν· οὐ γὰρ ἔγραψαν, 'Οὕτω πιστεύομεν,' ἀλλ' ὅτι 'ἐξέτέθη ἡ καθολικὴ πίστις.'

4. Τὸ μὲν οὖν τολμηρὸν τῆς προαιρέσεως ἐλέγχει τὴν ἀμαθίαν αὐτῶν· τὸ δὲ καινὸν ἐπινόημα τῆς γραφῆς ἴσον ἐστὶ τῆς Ἀρειανῆς αἵρέσεως. Οὕτω γὰρ γράψαντες ἔδειξαν πότε μὲν ἤρξαντο πιστεύειν αὐτοί· ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ νῦν βούλονται τὴν πίστιν αὐτῶν καταγγέλλεσθαι. Καὶ ὥσπερ, κατὰ τὸν εὐαγγελιστὴν Λουκᾶν, 'ἐτέθη δόγμα' περὶ τῆς ἀπογραφῆς, καὶ τοῦτο τὸ δόγμα πρότερον μὲν οὐκ ἦν, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ἡμερῶν ἐκείνων ἤρξατο, ἐν αἷς καὶ ἐτέθη παρὰ τοῦ γράψαντος· οὕτω καὶ οὗτοι γράψαντες, 'Ἐξετέθη νῦν ἡ πίστις,' ἔδειξαν ὅτι νεώτερόν ἐστι τὸ τῆς αἵρέσεως αὐτῶν φρόνημα, καὶ οὐκ ἦν πρότερον. Εἰ δὲ προστιθέασι, 'τῆς καθολικῆς,' ἔλαθον ἑαυτοὺς πεσόντες εἰς τὴν παράνοϊαν τῶν ἀπὸ Φρυγίας· ὥστε καὶ αὐτοὺς κατ' ἐκείνους εἰπεῖν· 'Ἡμῖν πρῶτον ἀπεκαλύφθη, καὶ ἀφ' ἡμῶν ἡ πίστις ἄρχεται τῶν Χριστιανῶν.' Καὶ ὥσπερ ἐκείνοι Μαξιμύλλαν καὶ Μουντανὸν, οὕτως οὗτοι ἀντὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ Κωνσταντῖον 'δεσπότην' ἐπιγράφονται. Εἰ δὲ κατ' αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς νῦν ὑπατείας ἀρχὴν ἡ πίστις ἔχει, τί ποιήσουσιν οἱ πατέρες καὶ οἱ μακάριοι μάρτυρες; τί δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ ποιήσουσι τοὺς παρ' αὐτῶν κατηχηθέντας, καὶ πρὸ τῆς ὑπατείας ταύτης κοιμηθέντας; Πῶς αὐτοὺς ἐγείρουσιν, ἵνα ἃ μὲν ἔδοξαν δεδιδασχένοι τούτους ἀπαλείψωσιν, ἃ δὲ νῦν ὥς ἐφευρόντες ἔγραψαν ἐπισπείρωσιν αὐτοῖς; Οὕτως εἰσὶν ἀμαθεῖς, μόνον εἰδότες πλάττειν προφάσεις, καὶ ταύτας ἀπρεπεῖς καὶ ἀπιθάνους ἐχούσας ἐγγὺς τὸν ἔλεγον.

5. Ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἐν Νικαίᾳ σύνοδος οὐχ ἀπλῶς γέγονεν, ἀλλ' εἶχε τὴν χρεῖαν κατεπεύγουσαν, καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν εὐλογον. Οἱ Cp. Soc. i. 9. μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς Συρίας, καὶ Κιλικίας, καὶ Μεσοποταμίας ἐχώλουν περὶ τὴν ἐορτὴν, καὶ μετὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐποιοῦν τὸ Πάσχα· ἢ τε Ἀρειανὴ αἵρεσις ἐπαναστᾶσα ἦν κατὰ τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας, καὶ προστάτας εἶχεν εἰς τε τὴν ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῆς σπουδὴν καὶ εἰς τὴν κατὰ τῶν εὐσεβούντων ἐπιβουλήν τοὺς

περὶ Εὐσέβιον· καὶ αὕτη αἰτία γέγονεν οἰκουμενικὴν συναχθῆ-
ναι σύνοδον, ἵνα πανταχοῦ μία τῆς ἑορτῆς ἡμέρα ἐπιτελῇται,
καὶ ἡ παραφνεῖσα αἵρεσις ἀναθεματισθῇ· γέγονε γοῦν· καὶ οἱ
μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς Συρίας ἐπέλσθησαν· τὴν δὲ Ἀρειανὴν αἵρεσιν
ἀπεφήναντο πρόδρομον τοῦ Ἀντιχρίστου, καὶ κατ' αὐτῆς γρά-
ψαντες ἐκδεδώκασιν καλῶς. Καὶ ὁμοῦ γράψαντες καὶ τοσοῦτοι
ὄντες, οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον τετολμήκασιν, οἷον οἱ τρεῖς ἢ τέσσαρες
οὔτοι. Οὐ γὰρ προέταξαν ὑπατεῖαν, καὶ μῆνα, καὶ ἡμέραν·
ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τοῦ Πάσχα· "Ἐδοξε τὰ ὑποτεταγμένα·" τότε
γὰρ ἔδοξε πάντας πείθεσθαι· περὶ δὲ τῆς πίστεως ἔγραψαν
οὐκ "Ἐδοξεν," ἀλλ', "Οὕτως πιστεύει ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία·" καὶ
εὐθὺς ὡμολόγησαν πῶς πιστεύουσιν, ἵνα δείξωσιν ὅτι μὴ c. 43.
νεώτερον, ἀλλ' ἀποστολικόν ἐστὶν αὐτῶν τὸ φρόνημα, καὶ ἃ
ἔγραψαν οὐκ ἐξ αὐτῶν εὐρέθη, ἀλλὰ ταῦτ' ἐστὶν ἅπερ ἐδίδα-
ξαν οἱ ἀπόστολοι.

6. Αἱ δὲ νῦν κινούμεναι παρ' αὐτῶν σύνοδοι πόλιν ἔχουσιν
εὐλογον αἰτίαν; Εἰ μὲν γὰρ καινότερα τις ἄλλη γέγονεν
αἵρεσις μετὰ τὴν Ἀρειανὴν, εἰπάτωσαν τὰ τῆς ἐπινοίας αὐτῆς
ρήματα, καὶ τίνες οἱ ταύτην ἐφευρόντες εἰσὶ· γράφοντές τε
ἀναθεματίζέτωσαν τὰς πρὸ τῆς συνόδου ταύτης αἱρέσεις, ἐν αἷς
ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ Ἀρειανή, ὥσπερ οἱ ἐν Νικαίᾳ πεποιήκασιν, ἵνα
δόξωσι καὶ αὐτοὶ πιθανὴν τινα πρόφασιν ἔχειν τοῦ καινότερα
λέγειν· εἰ δὲ μηδὲν τοιοῦτον γέγονε, μηδὲ δύνανται δεῖξαι,
αὐτοὶ δὲ μᾶλλον, ἔχοντες τὴν ἀσέβειαν Ἀρείου, ταῦτα φθέγ-
γονται, καὶ καθημέραν ἐλεγχόμενοι μεταβάλλονται· τίς ἡ
χρεία τῶν συνόδων, ἀρκούσης τῆς ἐν Νικαίᾳ γενομένης πρὸς τε
τὴν Ἀρειανὴν καὶ τὰς ἄλλας αἱρέσεις, ἃς κατέκρινε πάσας διὰ
τῆς ὑγιαίνουσας πίστεως; Καὶ γὰρ καὶ ὁ θρυλούμενος Ἀέτιος, c. 38.
ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς Ἄθεος, οὐκ ἰδίαν ἐφευρὼν μανίαν θρασύνεται, Cp. Soc. ii.
ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν Ἀρειανὴν ἑτεροδοξίαν χειμαζόμενος ἐνανάγησε 35.
καὶ αὐτὸς μετὰ τῶν ἀπατηθέντων παρ' αὐτοῦ. Μάτην γοῦν
περιτρέχοντες προφασίζονται διὰ πίστιν ἡξιωκῆναι γενέσθαι
τὰς συνόδους. Ἔστι μὲν γὰρ ἱκανωτέρα πάντων ἡ θεία Cp. Ep. Æg.
γραφὴ· εἰ δὲ καὶ συνόδου χρεία περὶ τούτου, ἐστὶ τὰ τῶν 41
πατέρων· καὶ τούτου γὰρ οὐκ ἡμέλησαν οἱ ἐν Νικαίᾳ συνελ-
θόντες· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔγραψαν οὕτω καλῶς, ὥστε τοὺς γνησίως

DE SYNOD.

ἐντυγχάνοντας τοῖς ἐκείνων γράμμασι δύνασθαι παρ' αὐτῶν ὑπομιμνήσκεσθαι τὴν ἐν ταῖς θείαις γραφαῖς καταγγελλομένην εἰς Χριστὸν εὐσέβειαν.

7. Οὐκοῦν, ἐπεὶ μὴδὲν εὐλογόν ἐστι παρ' αὐτοῖς, ἀπορροῦσι δὲ πανταχόθεν, καίτοι καὶ προφάσεις πλάττοντες, τοῦτο λοιπὸν αὐτοῖς περιλείπεται λέγειν· “Ἡμεῖς ἀντιλέγοντες τοῖς πρὸ ἡμῶν, καὶ παραβαίνοντες τὰς τῶν πατέρων παραδόσεις, ἡξιώσαμεν σύνοδον γενέσθαι· ἀλλὰ πάλιν φοβηθέντες μὴ πάλιν εἰς ἐν συνελθόντων μάταιος ἡμῖν ἡ σπουδὴ γένηται, ἡξιώσαμεν εἰς δύο διαιρεθῆναι τὴν σύνοδον· ἵνα, ἐν μέρει γενόμενοι, δείξαντες ἅπερ ἐγράψαμεν, ὑφαρπάσαι δυνηθῶμεν τὸ πλεόν, ἀπειλοῦντες τὸν προϋστάμενον τῆς ἀσεβείας Κωνστάντιον, καὶ οὕτω τὰ μὲν ἐν Νικαίᾳ πραχθέντα σχολάσαι ποιήσωμεν, σχηματисάμενοι τὴν ἀπλότητα τῶν γραφέντων παρ' ἡμῶν.” Ταῦτα δὲ εἰ καὶ μὴ τοῖς ῥήμασιν αὐτοῖς εἰρηκασιν, ἀλλὰ τῇ διανοίᾳ ταύτῃ πάντα πεποιήκασί τε καὶ διετάραξαν. Ἀμέλει πολλὰ πολλάκις εἰρηκότες καὶ γράψαντες ἐν διαφόροις συνόδοις, οὐδεπώποτε περὶ τῆς Ἀρειανῆς αἵρέσεως ὥς φαύλης ἐμνημόνευσαν· ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ ποτε παρόντες τινὲς τὰς αἵρέσεις διέβαλλον, αὐτοὶ τὴν Ἀρειανὴν ἐξεδίκουν, ἣν ἡ ἐν Νικαίᾳ σύνοδος ἀνεθεμάτισε· καὶ μᾶλλον οὗτοι τοὺς τὰ Ἀρείου λέγοντας γνησίως ἐδέχοντο. Μέγα μὲν οὖν καὶ τοῦτο τεκμήριον, ὅτι μὴ δι' ἀλήθειαν, ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἀναιρέσει τῶν ἐν Νικαίᾳ πραχθέντων ἡ ἐπίνοια τῶν νῦν συνόδων ἦν· ἃ δὲ καὶ ἐν αὐταῖς ταῖς συνόδοις παρ' αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων πέπρακται, δείκνυσιν οὐδὲν ἥττον εἶναι ταῦτα ἀληθῆ. Λοιπὸν γὰρ ἀναγκαῖον ὥς ἕκαστα γέγονε δηλῶσαι.

c. 21.

c. 33.

8. Πάντων προσδοκῶντων εἰς ἐν συνέρχεσθαι, οὗς ἐκάλει τὰ παρὰ βασιλέως γράμματα, καὶ μίαν γίνεσθαι τὴν σύνοδον, ἐπεὶ διηρέθησαν, καὶ οἱ μὲν εἰς Σελεύκειαν τὴν λεγομένην Τραχείαν κατήλθον, οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀριμίνῃ συνήλθον· ἦσαν δὲ οἱ ἐν αὐτῇ ἐπίσκοποι υ' καὶ πλεόν· εἰς ταύτην ἀνῆλθον καὶ Γερμίνιος, καὶ Αὐξέντιος, καὶ Οὐάλης, καὶ Οὐρσάκιος, Δημόφιλός τε καὶ Γάϊος. Ἀλλὰ, τῶν ἐπισκόπων πάντων διαλεγόμενων ἀπὸ τῶν θείων γραφῶν, οὗτοι χάρτην ἐπεδείκνυν· καὶ τὴν ὑπατείαν ἀναγινώσκοντες, ἡξίουσαν ταῦτα προκρίνεσθαι

πάσης συνόδου, καὶ τούτων μηδὲν πλέον ζητεῖν παρὰ τῶν αἰρε- Soz. iv. 17.
τικῶν, μηδὲ ἐρευνᾶσθαι τὴν ἐκείνων διάνοιαν, ἀλλ' ἀρκεῖσθαι
τούτοις μόνοις. Καὶ ἔστι τὰ γραφέντα παρ' αὐτῶν ταῦτα·

Ἐξετέθη ἡ πίστις ἡ καθολικὴ ἐπὶ παρουσίᾳ τοῦ δεσπότου ἡμῶν τοῦ
εὐσεβεστάτου καὶ καλλινίκου βασιλέως Κωνσταντίου Αὐγούστου, τοῦ
αἰωνίου, σεβαστοῦ, ὑπατεῖα Φλαυίων Εὐσεβίου καὶ Ὑπατίου τῶν λαμ-
προτάτων ἐν Σιρμίῃ τῇ πρὸ ια' καλανδῶν Ἰουνίων.

Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἓνα τὸν μόνον καὶ ἀληθινὸν Θεὸν Πατέρα (The 'Da-
ted' Creed,
or fourth
Sirmian),
May 22, 359.
Soc. ii. 37.
Cp. Hil.
Fragm. 15.
Epiph. Hær.
73, 22, and
infr. c. 29.
παντοκράτορα, κτίστην καὶ δημιουργὸν τῶν πάντων· καὶ εἰς
ἓνα μονογενῆ Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, τὸν πρὸ πάντων τῶν αἰώνων, καὶ
πρὸ πάσης ἀρχῆς, καὶ πρὸ παντὸς ἐπινοουμένου χρόνου, καὶ
πρὸ πάσης καταληπτῆς οὐσίας γεγεννημένον ἀπαθῶς ἐκ τοῦ
Θεοῦ· δι' οὗ οἱ τε αἰῶνες κατηρτίσθησαν, καὶ τὰ πάντα
ἐγένετο· γεγεννημένον δὲ μονογενῆ, μόνον ἐκ μόνου τοῦ
Πατρὸς, Θεὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ, ὁμοιον τῷ γεννήσαντι αὐτὸν Πατρὶ
κατὰ τὰς γραφάς· οὗ τὴν γένεσιν οὐδεὶς ἐπίσταται, εἰ μὴ
μόνος ὁ γεννήσας αὐτὸν Πατήρ. Τοῦτον ἴσμεν τοῦ Θεοῦ
μονογενῆ Υἱὸν, νεύματι πατρικῷ παραγενόμενον ἐκ τῶν οὐ-
ρανῶν εἰς ἀθέτησιν ἁμαρτίας, καὶ γεννηθέντα ἐκ Μαρίας τῆς
παρθένου, καὶ ἀναστραφέντα μετὰ τῶν μαθητῶν, καὶ πᾶσαν
τὴν οἰκονομίαν πληρώσαντα κατὰ τὴν πατρικὴν βούλησιν,
σταυρωθέντα καὶ ἀποθανόντα, καὶ εἰς τὰ καταχθόνια κατελ-
θόντα, καὶ τὰ ἐκείσε οἰκονομήσαντα, ὃν 'πυλωροὶ ᾄδου ἰδόντες' Job xxxviii.
17, LXX.
ἔφριξαν, καὶ ἀναστάντα ἐκ νεκρῶν τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ, καὶ ἀνα-
στραφέντα μετὰ τῶν μαθητῶν, καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκονομίαν
πληρώσαντα, καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἡμερῶν πληρουμένων ἀναλη-
φθέντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς, καὶ καθεζόμενον ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ
Πατρὸς, καὶ ἔλευσόμενον ἐν τῇ ἐσχάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς ἀναστάσεως
τῇ δόξῃ τῇ πατρικῇ, ἀποδιδόντα ἐκάστῳ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ·
καὶ εἰς τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, ὃ αὐτὸς ὁ μονογενὴς τοῦ Θεοῦ
'Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἐπηγγέλατο πέμψαι τῷ γένει τῶν ἀνθρώπων,
τὸν Παράκλητον, κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον· 'Ἀπέρχομαι πρὸς τὸν John xiv. 16,
17, 26
Πατέρα μου, καὶ παρακαλέσω τὸν Πατέρα, καὶ ἄλλον Παρά-
κλητον πέμψει ὑμῖν· τὸ Πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας, ἐκείνος ἐκ τοῦ
ἐμοῦ λήψεται, καὶ διδάξει, καὶ ὑπομνήσει ὑμᾶς πάντα.' Τὸ
δὲ ὄνομα τῆς οὐσίας διὰ τὸ ἀπλούστερον ὑπὸ τῶν πατέρων

DE SYNOD. *τεθείσθαι, ἀγνοούμενον δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν λαῶν, σκάνδαλον φέρειν,*
 (The 'Dated'
 Creed.) διὰ τὸ μήτε τὰς γραφὰς τοῦτο περιέχειν, ἤρεσε τοῦτο περι-
 αιρεθῆναι, καὶ παντελῶς μηδεμίαν μνήμην οὐσίας ἐπὶ Θεοῦ
 εἶναι τοῦ λοιποῦ· διὰ τὸ τὰς θείας γραφὰς μηδαμοῦ περὶ
 Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ οὐσίας μεμνησθαι. Ὅμοιον δὲ λέγομεν τὸν
 Υἱὸν τῷ Πατρὶ κατὰ πάντα· ὥς καὶ αἱ ἅγαι γραφαὶ λέγουσί
 τε καὶ διδάσκουσιν.

c. 28-30.

9. Τούτων ἀναγνωσθέντων, οὐ μακρὰν ἐγνώσθη τῶν γρα-
 ψάντων ἡ πανουργία. Τῶν γὰρ ἐπισκόπων προτεινάντων
 ἀναθεματισθῆναι τὴν Ἀρειανὴν αἵρεσιν μετὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
 αἱρέσεων, πάντων τε ἐπὶ τούτῳ συνθεμένων, Οὐρσάκιος καὶ
 Οὐάλης, καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτοῖς ἀνένευον· καὶ λοιπὸν κατεγνώ-
 σθησαν, ὥς οὐ γνησίως, ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἀναιρέσει τῶν ἐν Νικαίᾳ
 πραχθέντων γράψαντες ταῦτα, ἵνα τὴν δυσώνυμον αἵρεσιν ἀν-
 εισάξωσι. Θανμάσαντες γοῦν ἐπὶ τοῖς δολίοις αὐτῶν ῥήμασι
 καὶ πανούργῳ προαιρέσει, ἔλεγον· 'Ἡμεῖς οὐ δεόμενοι πῖσ-
 τεως συνήλθομεν (ἔχομεν γὰρ ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ὑγιαίνουσιν τὴν
 πίστιν), ἀλλ' ἵνα τοὺς ἀντιλέγοντας τῇ ἀληθείᾳ καὶ καινοτο-
 μεῖν ἐπιχειροῦντας ἐντρέψωμεν. Εἰ μὲν οὖν ὑμεῖς ὥς νῦν
 ἀρχόμενοι πιστεύειν ἐγράψατε ταῦτα, οὕτω ἔστω κληρικοὶ,
 ἀρχὴν ἔχοντες τοῦ κατηχεῖσθαι· εἰ δὲ τῇ γνώμῃ ἢ συνήλθομεν
 ἡμεῖς, ταύτην καὶ ὑμεῖς ἔχοντες ἀπηντήσατε, ἔστω πάντων
 ὁμοφροσύνη, καὶ τὰς μὲν αἱρέσεις ἀναθέματι ἀναθεματίσωμεν,
 τὰ δὲ τῶν πατέρων φυλάξωμεν, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηκέτι διατρέχειν
 προφάσεις συνόδων, ἀπαξ προλαβόντων τῶν ἐν Νικαίᾳ συνελ-
 θόντων, καὶ πάντα πραξάντων ὑπὲρ τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας.'
 Ἀλλὰ καὶ οὕτω τῶν ἐπισκόπων πάλιν πάντων συνθεμένων,
 ἀνένευσαν οἱ προειρημένοι· καὶ λοιπὸν καταγρόντες αὐτῶν, ὥς
 ἀμαθῶν δολίων τε καὶ μᾶλλον αἰρετικῶν, τῇ μὲν ἐν Νικαίᾳ
 γενομένῃ συνόδῳ συνεψηφίσαντο πάντες, καὶ ταύτῃ πάντες
 ἔκριναν ἀρκεῖσθαι· τοὺς δὲ προειρημένους Οὐρσάκιον καὶ Οὐά-
 ληντα, Γερμίνιον, Αὐξέντιον, Γάιον, Δημόφιλον, αἰρετικούς
 ἀπέφηναν, καὶ καθελόντες αὐτοὺς, ὥς μὴ ὄντας ἀληθῶς Χρισ-
 τιανούς, ἀλλ' Ἀρειανούς, ἔγραψαν κατ' αὐτῶν Ῥωμαῖστί μὲν,
 ἐρμηνευθέντα δὲ Ἑλληνιστί κατὰ δύναμιν, ταῦτα·

[July 21, 359.
 Hil. fragm.
 7.]

10. Ἀντίγραφον ἐπιστολῆς παρὰ τῆς συνόδου πρὸς τὸν Αὔγουστον
Κωνσταντῖον.

Ἐκ τε τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ κελεύσεως καὶ τοῦ τῆς σῆς εὐσεβείας (Letter I of Council of Ariminum to Constantius.)
προστάγματος τὰ πάλαι δογματισθέντα γεγενῆσθαι πιστεύομεν. Soc. ii. 37.
Εἰς γὰρ Ἀρίμινον ἐκ πασῶν τῶν πρὸς δύσιν πόλεων εἰς τὸ Soc. iv. 18.
αὐτὸ πάντες οἱ ἐπίσκοποι συνήλθομεν, ἵνα καὶ ἡ πίστις τῆς Theod. ii. 19.
καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας γνωρισθῇ, καὶ οἱ τὰναντία φρονούντες Hil. Fragm. 8.
ἐκδηλοὶ γένωνται. Ὡς γὰρ ἐπὶ πλείστον διασκοποῦντες
εὐρήκαμεν, ἀρεστὸν ἐφάνη τὴν πίστιν τὴν ἐκ παλαιοῦ δια-
μένουσαν, ἣν καὶ οἱ προφῆται καὶ τὰ εὐαγγέλια, καὶ οἱ
ἀπόστολοι διὰ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐκήρυξαν,
τοῦ καὶ τῆς σῆς βασιλείας φρουροῦ, καὶ τῆς σῆς ῥώσεως
προστάτου, ἵνα ταύτην κατασχόντες φυλάξωμεν, καὶ φυλάτ-
τουτες μέχρι τέλους διατηρήσωμεν. Ἀτοπον γὰρ καὶ ἀθέμι-
τον ἐφάνη τῶν ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως ὠρισμένων τι μεταλλάσσειν,
καὶ τῶν ἐν Νικαίᾳ κοιτῇ μετὰ τοῦ ἐνδοξοτάτου Κωνσταντίνου
τοῦ σοῦ πατρὸς καὶ βασιλέως ἐσκεμμένων, ὧν ἡ διδασκαλία
καὶ τὸ φρόνημα διηγήθῃ τε καὶ ἐκηρύχθῃ εἰς πάσας ἀνθρώπων
ἀκοάς τε καὶ διανοίας, ἦτις ἀντίπαλος μόνῃ καὶ ὀλετήρ τῆς
Ἀρείου αἵρέσεως ὑπῆρξε· δι' ἧς οὐ μόνον αὕτη, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἱ
λοιπαὶ αἵρέσεις καθηρέθησαν· ἐν ᾗ ὅντως καὶ τὸ προσθεῖναι τι Cp. Hil.
σφαλερὸν, καὶ τὸ ἀφελέσθαι τι ἐπικίνδυνον ὑπάρχει· ὥς, εἴπερ
τι θάτερον γένοιτο, ἔσται τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἄδεια τοῦ ποιεῖν ἅπερ
βούλονται.

Ὅθεν Οὐρσάκιός τε καὶ Οὐάλης, ἐπειδὴ ἔκπαλαι μέτοχοί τε
καὶ σύμφωνοι τοῦ Ἀρειανοῦ δόγματος ἦσαν καθεστηκότες, καὶ
τῆς ἡμετέρας κοινωνίας χωρισθέντες ἀπεφάνθησαν· ἥς ἵνα
μετάσχωσιν ἐφ' οἷς ἑαυτοῖς συνεγνώκεισαν πλημμελήσαντες,
μετανοίας τε καὶ συγγνώμης ἡξίου τυχεῖν, ὥς καὶ τὰ ἔγγραφα
τὰ ὑπ' ἐκείνων γεγενημένα μαρτυρεῖ· δι' ὧν ἀπάντων φειδῶ
γεγένηται, καὶ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων συγγνώμη. Ἦν δὲ ὁ καιρὸς,
καθ' ὃν ταῦτα ἐπράττετο, ὅτε ἐν Μεδιολάνῳ τὸ συνέδριον τῆς [A.D. 347.]
συνόδου συνεκροτεῖτο, συμπαρόντων δὲ καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων
τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας· ἐγνωκότες δὲ ἅμα καὶ τὸν μετὰ
τελευτὴν ἄξιον μνήμης Κωνσταντίνου μετὰ πάσης ἀκριβείας
καὶ ἐξετάσεως τὴν συγγραφεῖσαν πίστιν ἐκτεθεικότα· ἐπειδὴ

DE SYNOD.

*(Letter I of
Council of
Ariminum to
Constantius.)*[Soc. ins.
ἐνομίσαμεν.]

δὲ, ὡς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἐγένετο βαπτισθεὶς, καὶ πρὸς τὴν ὀφει-
 λομένην εἰρήνην ἀνεχώρησεν, ἄτοπον εἶναι μετ' ἐκεῖνό τι και-
 νοτομεῖν, καὶ τοσοῦτους ἀγίους ὁμολογητὰς, μάρτυρας, τοὺς καὶ
 τοῦδε τοῦ δόγματος συγγραφεῖς τε καὶ εὐρετὰς ὑπεριδεῖν· οἷτι-
 νες κατὰ τὸν παλαιὸν τῆς ἐκκλησίας θεσμὸν ἅπαντα φρονούν-
 τες διαμεμενῆκασιν· ὧν ὁ Θεὸς τὴν πίστιν, καὶ εἰς τοὺς σὺν
 χρόνους τῆς βασιλείας μετέδωκε διὰ τοῦ Δεσπότη τοῦ ἡμῶν Ἰη-
 σοῦ Χριστοῦ, δι' οὗ σοι καὶ τὸ βασιλεύειν οὕτως ὑπῆρξεν, ὡς
 καὶ τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς οἰκουμένης κρατεῖν. Πάλιν γοῦν οἱ ἔλεεινοὶ
 καὶ οἰκτροὶ τῷ φρονήματι ἀθεμίτῳ τολμήματι τῆς δυσσεβοῦς
 φρονήσεως κήρυκας ἑαυτοὺς ἀνήγγειλαν, καὶ ἐπιχειροῦσιν ἀνα-
 τρέπειν πᾶν ἀληθείας σύνταγμα. Ὡς γὰρ κατὰ τὸ σὸν πρόσ-
 ταγμα τὸ συνέδριον τῆς συνόδου συνεκροτεῖτο, κἀκεῖνοι τῆς
 ἰδίας ἀπάτης ἐγύμνον τὴν σκέψιν. Ἐπειρῶντο γὰρ πανουρ-
 γία τινὶ καὶ ταραχῇ προσφέροντές τι καινοτομεῖν, τῆς τοιαύτης
 ἐταιρίας συναλισκομένους εὐρόντες Γερμίνιον, Αὐξέντιον καὶ
 Γάϊον, τοὺς τὴν ἔριν καὶ διχοστασίαν ἐμποιοῦντας· ὧν ἡ διδα-
 σκαλία, μία μὲν οὖσα, πᾶν πλῆθος βλασφημιῶν ὑπερβέβηκεν.
 Ὡς δὲ συνείδον οὐχὶ τῆς τοιαύτης προαιρέσεως ὄντας, οὔτε
 ὁμογνωμονοῦντας, ἐφ' οἷς κακῶς ἐφρόνουν, εἰς τὸ συμβούλιον
 ἡμῶν μετήγαγον ἑαυτοὺς, ὡς δοκεῖν ἕτερόν τι γράφειν· ἦν δὲ ὁ
 καιρὸς βραχὺς ὁ καὶ τὰς γνώμας αὐτῶν ἐξελέγχων. Ἵνα οὖν
 μὴ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀεὶ τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας περιπίπτῃ, καὶ ταραχῇ,
 καὶ θόρυβος καλινδούμενος ἅπαντα συγχέῃ, βέβαιον ἐφάνη τὰ
 πάλαι ὠρισμένα ἔννομα καὶ ἀμετακίνητα διαφυλάττειν· τοὺς δὲ
 προειρημένους τῆς ἡμετέρας κοινωνίας ἀποκεχωρίσθαι· δι' ἣν
 αἰτίαν τοὺς ἀναδιδάξοντας πρέσβεις πρὸς τὴν σὴν ἐπιείκειαν
 ἀπεστάλκαμεν, τὴν γνώμην τοῦ συνεδρίου διὰ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς
 μηνύσοντας· τοῖς δὲ πρέσβεσι πρό γε πάντων τοῦτο παρεκε-
 λευσάμεθα, τὸ τὴν ἀλήθειαν πιστώσασθαι ἐκ τῶν πάλαι ἀρ-
 χαίων καὶ δικαίων ὁρμωμένους· οἱ καὶ τὴν σὴν ἀναδιδάξουσιν
 ὁσιότητα, ὅτι οὐχ, ὥσπερ ἔφησαν Οὐρσάκιός τε καὶ Οὐάλης,
 ἔσται εἰρήνη, εἴπερ τι τῶν δικαίων ἀνατραπείῃ. Πῶς γὰρ
 εἰρήνην οἶόν τε ἀγειν τοὺς τὴν εἰρήνην καταλύοντας ; μᾶλλον
 γὰρ ἔρις καὶ ταραχὴ ἐκ τούτων σὺν ταῖς λοιπαῖς πόλεσι καὶ
 τῇ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίᾳ γενήσεται.

[Hil. immissa
est.]

Cp. Hil.

Διὸ δὴ ἱκετεύομεν τὴν σὴν ἐπιείκειαν, ἵνα προσηνέσιν ἀκοαῖς καὶ γαληναῖς βλέμματι τοὺς ἡμετέρους πρέσβεις ἀθρήσειας, μήτε πρὸς ὕβριν τῶν τετελευτηκότων καινόν τι μεταλλάττειν ἐπιτρέψειας· ἀλλ' ἐάσης ἐμμένειν ἡμᾶς τοῖς παρὰ τῶν προγόνων ὀρισθεῖσί τε καὶ νεομοθετημένοις· οὗς ἅπαντα μετὰ ἀγχινοίας τε καὶ φρονήσεως καὶ Πνεύματος Ἁγίου πεποιηκέναι φήσαιμεν ἂν. Τὰ γὰρ νῦν παρ' ἐκείνων καινοτομούμενα τοῖς μὲν πιστεύουσιν ἀπιστίαν ἐμποιεῖ, τοῖς δὲ ἀπιστοῦσιν ὁμότητα. Ἰκετεύομεν δὲ ἔτι, ἵνα κελεύσης ἐπισκόπους τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἀλλοδαπαῖς διατρέβοντας, οὗς καὶ τὸ τῆς ἡλικίας ἐπίπονον καὶ τὸ τῆς πενίας ἐνδεὲς τρύχει, τὴν εἰς τὰ οἰκεία ἀνακομιδὴν ῥαδίαν ποιήσασθαι· ἵνα μὴ ἔρημοι τῶν ἐπισκόπων ἀφωρισμένων, αἱ ἐκκλησίαι διαμένωσιν. Ἔτι δὲ πρὸς ἅπασιν καὶ τοῦτο δεόμεθα, ἵνα μηδὲν μήτε ἐλλείπῃ τῶν προὔπαρξάντων, μήτε πλεονάζοι· ἀλλὰ πάντα ἄβρῃκτα διαμείλῃ, ἐκ τῆς τοῦ σοῦ πατρὸς εὐσεβείας καὶ εἰς τὸν νῦν χρόνον διαφυλαττόμενα· μήτε λοιπὸν ἡμᾶς μοχθεῖν, καὶ τῶν οἰκείων παροικήσεων ἀλλοτρίους ἐπιτρέψειας γίνεσθαι· ἀλλ' ἵνα οἱ ἐπίσκοποι σὺν τοῖς ἰδίοις λαοῖς μετ' εἰρήνης εἰς εὐχὰς τε καὶ λατρείας σχολὴν ἄγοιεν, ἱκετεύοντες ὑπὲρ τῆς σῆς βασιλείας, καὶ σωτηρίας, καὶ εἰρήνης, ἣν ἡ Θεοῦ σοι εἰς τὸ διηνεκὲς χαριεῖται. Οἱ δὲ ἡμέτεροι πρέσβεις τὰς τε ὑπογραφὰς καὶ τὰς τῶν ἐπισκόπων προσηγορίας κομίζουσιν, οἵτινες καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν θείων γραφῶν, τὴν σὴν ἀναδιδάξουσιν ὁσιότητα.

[Hil. fideles populi perturbati . . infideles ad credulitatem vetantur accedere.]

[Soc. θεότητα.]

Ἀπόφασις τῆς συνόδου.

II. Ὅπως προσήκον ἦν καὶ δυνατόν, ἀδελφοὶ τιμιώτατοι, ἡ καθολικὴ σύνοδος καὶ ἡ ἁγία ἐκκλησία τῇ ἰδίᾳ ὑπομονῇ καὶ ἀνεξικακίᾳ ἤνεγκεν οὐκ ἀγεννῶς Οὐρσάκιον, καὶ Οὐάλην, καὶ Γάϊον, καὶ Γερμίνιον, καὶ Αὐξέντιον· οἵτινες ἄλλοτε ἄλλα φρονοῦντες πάσας τὰς ἐκκλησίας συνετάραξαν, οἱ καὶ νῦν ἐπιχειρῆσαι τετολμήκασιν τὸν αἵρετικὸν λογισμόν τῇ τῶν ὀρθοδόξων πίστει συνάψαι, καὶ διαλύσαι τὴν ἐν Νικαίᾳ σύνοδον, ἣτις ἀντίμαχος ὑπάρχει τῇ τῶν Ἀρειανῶν αἵρέσει· ἔξωθεν ἰδίαν τιμὰ καὶ ἀλλοτριωτάτην τῆς ἀγιοτάτης ἐκκλησίας συγγραφείσαν πίστιν προσφέροντες· ἥντινα ἡμᾶς δέξασθαι ἀθέμιτον

(Decree of Council against Ursacius, etc.)

[Hil. om. Auxentius.]

DE SYNOD.
(Decree of
Council
against Ur-
sacius, 4.)

ἡγησάμεθα· ἔκπαλαι γὰρ οὗτοι αἰρετικοὶ ὄντες καὶ τὰναντία φρο-
νούντες καὶ νῦν ἀπεδείχθησαν· οὗς πρὸς τὴν ἡμετέραν κοινωνίαν
συνελθεῖν οὐκ ἐπιτρέπομεν, τῇ ἰδίᾳ φωνῇ παρόντας αὐτοὺς κατα-
κρίναντες, καὶ καθαιροῦντες. Νῦν τοίνυν, ὅπερ δοκεῖ, ἀποφή-
νασθε· ἵνα ἐνὸς ἐκάστου ἡ γνώσις ἐκ τῆς ὑπογραφῆς εἴη βέ-
βαιος· Ὁμοθυμαδὸν οἱ ἐπίσκοποι φάσκομεν· Ὅτι προειρημένοι
ἐχθροὶ καθαιρεθῶσιν, ἵνα ἡ καθολικὴ πίστις ἐν εἰρήνῃ διαμείνη·

Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἀριμίνῳ πραχθέντα ταχείαν καὶ τοιαύτην ἔσχε
τὴν διάλυσιν. Οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἐκεῖ διεφώνησεν, ἀλλὰ πάντες συμ-
φώνως ὡς ἔγραψαν τὰ δόξαντα, καὶ τοὺς Ἀρειανοὺς καθήρησαν.

12. Τὰ δὲ ἐν Σελευκείᾳ τῇ Τραχείᾳ γενόμενα ταῦτά ἐστι.
Μὴν μὲν ἦν ὁ κατὰ Ῥωμαίους καλούμενος Σεπτέμβριος, κατὰ
δὲ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους Θῶθ, καὶ κατὰ Μακεδόνας Γορπιαῖος, καὶ
ἡμέρα τοῦ μηνὸς κατ' Αἰγυπτίους ἑκκαίδεκάτη, εἰς ἣν συνέδρα-
μον πάντες οἱ κληθέντες συνελθεῖν ἦσαν δὲ καὶ ἐκεῖ πού ρξ'·
πολλῶν δὲ ὄντων τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς κατηγορουμένων, καὶ τῶν
κατηγορούντων βοώντων κατ' αὐτῶν, Ἀκάκιος καὶ Πατρόφιλος,
καὶ Οὐράνιος ὁ ἀπὸ Τύρου, καὶ Εὐδόξιος ὁ ἐπεισηδηήσας τῇ
Ἀντιοχείᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ, Λεόντιός τε καὶ Θεόδοτος, καὶ Εὐάγριος,
καὶ Θεόδουλος, καὶ Γεώργιος ὁ διωχθεὶς ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκουμένης,
πράττουσί τι πανούργον. Φοβηθέντες γὰρ τοὺς κατ' αὐτῶν
παρὰ τῶν κατηγορῶν ἐλέγχους, προσελάβοντο τοὺς ἄλλους τῆς
Ἀρείου μερίδος, τοὺς εἰς αὐτὸ τοῦτο μισθωτοὺς εἰς ἀσέβειαν
γινομένους, καὶ κατασταθέντας παρὰ Σεκούνδου τοῦ καθαιρε-
θέντος παρὰ τῆς μεγάλης συνόδου· ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς Λιβύης Στέ-
φανον καὶ Σερὰν, καὶ Πολυδεύκην, κατηγορουμένους ἐπὶ δια-
φόροις ἐγκλήμασι· καὶ λοιπὸν Παγκράτιον, καὶ Πτολεμαῖον,
Μελιτιανὸν τινα, καὶ σχηματισάμενοι δῆθεν περὶ πίστεως ζη-
τεῖν, οὐκ ἐλάνθανον τοὺς κατηγοροὺς δεδιότες· καὶ τὴν αἵρεσιν
ἐξεδίκουν, καὶ λοιπὸν ἐσχίσθησαν· καὶ οἱ μὲν μετὰ τῶν περὶ
Ἀκάκιον ἦσαν ὑποπτοὶ, καὶ ὀλίγιστοι παντελῶς· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι
τὸ πλῆθος ἦσαν. Οἱ μὲν οὖν περὶ Ἀκάκιον ἀποχρησάμενοι τῷ
τῆς ἀπουσίας θράσει, τέλεον ἠρνοῦντο τὰ ἐν Νικαίᾳ γραφέντα,
καὶ τὴν σύνοδον διέβαλλον· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι (τὸ πλῆθος δὲ ἦσαν
οὗτοι) τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πάντα τῆς συνόδου ἀπεδέχοντο· μόνην δὲ

Cp. Soc. ii.
39 ; Soz. iv.
22.

c. 37.

Cp. Hil. c.
Const. 12.

Cp. Theod. ii.
28.

Cp. Soc. ii.
39, fin.

τὴν τοῦ ὁμοουσίου λέξιν, ὥς ἐκ τῆς ἀσαφείας ὑποπτον, ἐπρο-
 φασίζοντο. Ἐγχρουνίζοντων τοίνυν ἐν τῷ τόπῳ, καὶ τῶν μὲν
 κατηγορῶν ἐπικειμένων, τῶν δὲ κατηγορουμένων φευγόντων,
 καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πλέον ἐξ ἀσεβείας ἐξαγομένων, καὶ βλασφη-
 μούντων εἰς τὸν Κύριον, ἡγανάκτησε τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐπισκόπων,
 καὶ καθήρησαν μὲν Ἀκάκιον, Πατρόφιλον, Οὐράνιον, Εὐδόξιον,
 καὶ τὸν ἀπὸ ὑποδεκτῶν Γεώργιον, καὶ ἄλλους ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας,
 Λεόντιον καὶ Θεοδοσίον, Εὐάγριον καὶ Θεόδουλον· ἀκοινωνή-
 τους δὲ πεποιήκασιν Ἀστέριον, Εὐσέβιον, Αὔγαρον, καὶ Βασι-
 λικὸν, καὶ Φοῖβον, καὶ Φιδήλιον, καὶ Εὐτύχιον, καὶ Εὐστάθιον,
 καὶ Μάγνον. Τοῦτο δὲ πεποιήκασιν, ἐπειδὴ, κληθέντες ἀπο-
 λογησασθαι ἐφ' οἷς αὐτῶν πλείστοι κατηγοροῦν, οὐκ ἀπήντη-
 σαν· καὶ ὥρισαν οὕτω μένειν αὐτοὺς, ἕως ἂν, ἀπολογησάμενοι,
 δείξωσιν ἑαυτοὺς καθαρὸς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπιφερομένων αὐτοῖς ἐγ-
 κλημάτων. Γράψαντές τε εἰς τὴν ἐκάστου παροικίαν τὴν κατ'
 αὐτῶν γενομένην κρίσιν, ἀνῆλθον παρὰ τὸν ἀσεβεστάτον Αὔ-
 γουστον Κωνστάντιον, ἀπαγγελοῦντες αὐτῷ τὰ πεπραγμένα·
 ταύτην γὰρ εἶχον πρόσταξιν. Καὶ τοῦτο τέλος γέγονε καὶ τῆς
 ἐν Σελευκείᾳ συνόδου.

Hil. c. Const.
12.

Hist. Ari. 75.

c. 55.

13. Τίς τοίνυν οὐκ ἂν ἀποδέξαιτο μὲν τὴν εὐλάβειαν τῶν ἐν
 τῇ Ἀριμίνῃ συνόδῳ συνελθόντων ἐπισκόπων; οἱ τοσοῦτον
 κάματον ὁδοῦ, καὶ θαλάττης κινδύνους ὑπέμειναν, ἵνα τοὺς μὲν
 φρονούντας τὰ Ἀρείου καθέλωσι, τοὺς δὲ τῶν πατέρων δρους
 ἀκεραίους φυλάξωσιν, ὅσῳ καὶ κανονικῶς τοῦτο βουλευσάμε-
 νοι. Ἠγείτο γὰρ ἕκαστος αὐτῶν, εἰ λύσαιεν τὰ τῶν πρὸ αὐ-
 τῶν, πρόφασιν διδόναι τοῖς μετὰ ταῦτα, ὥστε λύσαι τὰ παρ'
 αὐτῶν νῦν γιγνόμενα. Τίς δὲ οὐκ ἂν καταγνοίῃ τῆς εὐχερείας
 τῶν περὶ Εὐδόξιον καὶ Ἀκάκιον, οἱ τὴν τῶν ἑαυτῶν πατέρων
 τιμὴν προπίνουσι τῇ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀρειομανίτας σπουδῇ καὶ χά-
 ριτι; Ποία γὰρ πίστις τοῖς παρ' αὐτῶν γινομένοις, εἰ τὰ τῶν
 προτέρων καταλύεται; ἢ πῶς 'πατέρας' ὀνομάζουσιν, οὓς διεδέ-
 ξαντο, ὧν αὐτοὶ τῆς γνώμης κατήγοροι γίνονται; Μάλιστα δὲ
 Ἀκάκιος τί ἂν εἴποι πρὸς Εὐσέβιον τὸν ἑαυτοῦ διδάσκαλον, ὃς
 οὐ μόνον ὑπέγραψεν ἐν τῇ κατὰ Νίκαιαν συνόδῳ, ἀλλὰ γὰρ
 καὶ δι' ἐπιστολῆς ἐδήλωσε τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτὸν λαοῖς ταύτην εἶναι
 πίστιν ἀληθῆ, τὴν ὁμολογηθεῖσαν ἐν τῇ κατὰ Νίκαιαν συνόδῳ;

Cp. Ath. ad
Afrs, 7.Soc. i. 8.
Theod. i. 12.

DE SYNOD. εἰ γὰρ καὶ ὡς ἠθέλησεν ἀπελογήσατο διὰ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς, ἀλλὰ
 Cp. de Decr. γε τὰς λέξεις οὐκ ἠρνήσατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατηγορήσῃ τῶν Ἀρειανῶν
 Nic. 3. ὅτι λέγοντες, 'Οὐκ ἦν πρὶν γεννηθῇ ὁ Υἱὸς, οὐδὲ πρὸ Μαρίας αὐτὸν ἠθελον εἶναι.' Τί ἄρα καὶ διδάξουσιν τοὺς λαοὺς, τοὺς παρ' ἐκείνων διδαχθέντας ; ὅτι ἐσφάλισαν οἱ πατέρες ; καὶ πῶς αὐτοὶ πιστευθήσονται παρ' αὐτοῖς οὓς διδάσκουσι παρακούειν τῶν διδασκάλων ; ποίοις δὲ ὁμμασι ἐμβλέψονται καὶ τοῖς μύημασι τῶν πατέρων οὓς ὀνομάζουσι νῦν αἰρετικούς ; Τί δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ Οὐαλεντίνου, καὶ Φρυγίας, καὶ Μανιχαίους διασύρουσι, τοὺς δὲ τὰ ὅμοια φθεγξαμένους, ὡς ὑπονοοῦσιν αὐτοὶ, 'ἀγίους' ὀνομάζουσιν ; Ἡ πῶς ἔτι δύνανται αὐτοὶ εἶναι ἐπίσκοποι, εἰ παρ' αἰρετικῶν, ὡς αὐτοὶ διαβάλλουσι, κατεστάθησαν ; Εἰ δὲ καὶ κακῶς ἐφρόνησαν, καὶ γράψαντες ἐπλάνησαν τὴν οἰκουμένην, παυθῆτω τέλος καὶ ἡ περὶ τούτων μύμη· καὶ εἰ τὰ γράμματα αὐτῶν ἐκβάλλεται, ἐκβάλλετε ὑμεῖς ἀπελθόντες ἀπὸ τῶν κοιμητηρίων τὰ λείψανα τούτων, ἵνα γνῶσιν ἅπαντες ἐκείνους μὲν πλάνους, ὑμᾶς δὲ πατροκτόνους.

14. Ὁ μὲν οὖν μακάριος ἀπόστολος ἀποδέχεται τοὺς Κορινθίους λέγων· 'Ὅτι πάντα μου μέμνησθε, καὶ καθὼς παρέδωκα ὑμῖν τὰς παραδόσεις, οὕτω κατέχετε·' οὗτοι δὲ, τοιαῦτα περὶ τῶν πρὸ αὐτῶν ἐνθυμούμενοι, τὰναντία πάντως τοῖς λαοῖς καὶ εἰπεῖν τολμήσουσιν· 'Οὐκ ἐπαινοῦμεν ὑμᾶς μνημονεύοντας τῶν πατέρων, ἀλλ' ἀποδεχόμεθα μᾶλλον ὑμᾶς, ὅταν τὰς παραδόσεις αὐτῶν μὴ κατέχητε·' καὶ λοιπὸν διαβαλλέτωσαν τὴν ἑαυτῶν δυσγένειαν, καὶ λεγέτωσαν· 'Ἡμεῖς οὐκ εὐσεβῶν, ἀλλ' ἐξ αἰρετικῶν γεγόναμεν.' Τοιαῦτα γὰρ ἀρμόζει λέγειν τοῖς, ὡς προεῖπον, προπίνουσι τὴν τῶν πατέρων τιμὴν, καὶ τὴν ἑαυτῶν σωτηρίαν τῇ Ἀρειανῶν αἵρέσει, καὶ μὴ φοβουμένοις ἀκοῦσαι τὸ ἐν τῇ θείᾳ Παροιμίᾳ γεγραμμένον, 'Ἐκγονοὺν κακὸν πατέρα καταρᾶται,' καὶ τὴν ἐν τῷ νόμῳ κατὰ τῶν τοιοῦτων κειμένην ἀπειλήν. Ἐκείνοι μὲν οὖν διὰ τὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς αἵρέσεως σπουδὴν τοιοῦτον φιλόνεικον ἐσχήκασιν καὶ τὸ φρόνημα· ὑμεῖς δὲ μὴ διὰ τοῦτο ταραχθῆτε, μηδὲ τὴν ἐκείνων τόλμαν ἀλήθειαν ἡγήσησθε. (Part II.) Καὶ γὰρ καὶ πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς ἀνθίστανται, καὶ τῶν πατέρων ἀποστάντες, μίαν οὐκ ἔχουσι τὴν γνώμην, ἀλλὰ ποικίλαις καὶ διαφόροις νήχονται μεταβολαῖς· καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐν Νικαίᾳ σύνο-

δον ἐρίζοντες, πολλὰς μὲν συνόδους πεποιήκασιν καὶ αὐτοὶ, καθ' c. 32.
 ἐκάστην δὲ πίστιν ἐκτιθέμενοι, ἐν οὐδεμιᾷ μεμενέκασιν· ἀλλὰ Ep. Aeg. 6.
 καὶ οὐ παύσονται γε αἱ τοῦτο ποιοῦντες, ὅτι, κακῶς ζητοῦντες,
 οὐχ εὐρήσουσιν ἣν ἐμίσησαν σοφίαν. Ὑπέταξα τοῖσιν ἀναγ-
 καίως ἀπὸ μέρους τὰ τε παρὰ Ἀρείου γραφέντα, καὶ ὅσα συνα-
 γαγεῖν ἡδυνήθην, ὧν ἐν διαφόροις οὗτοι συνόδοις ἐξέθεντο· ἵνα
 γνῶτε καὶ θαυμάσητε, τίνος ἕνεκα, πρὸς οἰκουμενικὴν σύνοδον,
 καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτῶν πατέρας φιλονεικοῦντες, οὐ καταδύονται.
 Ἀρείος καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ φρονήσαντες, καὶ λέγοντες, 'Ἐξ οὐκ Ep. Aeg. 12.
 ὄντων πεποίηκε τὸν Υἱὸν ὁ Θεὸς, καὶ κέκληκεν ἑαυτῷ Υἱόν· ἐν
 τῶν κτισμάτων ἐστὶν ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγος,' καὶ, 'Ἦν ποτε ὅτε
 οὐκ ἦν· τρεπτὸς δὲ ἐστι, δυνάμενος, ὅτε βούλεται, τραπῆναι,'
 ἐξεβλήθησαν τῆς ἐκκλησίας παρὰ τοῦ μακαρίτου Ἀλεξάνδρου.

15. Ἄλλ' ἐκβληθεὶς καὶ ἐπιτριβεὶς Ἀρείος παρὰ τῶν περὶ
 Εὐσέβιον, συνέθηκεν ἑαυτοῦ τὴν αἵρεσιν ἐν χάρτῃ, καὶ ὥς ἐν
 'Θαλίᾳ' ζηλώσας οὐδένα τῶν φρονίμων, ἀλλὰ τὸν Αἰγύπτιον Cp. Orat. c.
 Ari. i. 4, 5.
 Σωσάτην ἐν τῷ ἦθει καὶ τῇ ἐκλύσει τοῦ μέλους, γράφει μὲν
 πολλὰ, ἀπὸ μέρους δὲ ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ ταῦτα·

Βλασφημίαι τοῦ Ἀρείου.

Αὐτὸς γοῦν ὁ Θεὸς καθὼ ἐστίν, ἄρρητος ἅπασιν ὑπάρχει. (Part of
 the Thalia
 of Arius.)
 Ἰσον, οὐδὲ ὅμοιον, οὐχ ὁμόδοξον ἔχει μόνος οὗτος. Ἀγέννητον
 δὲ αὐτόν φαμεν διὰ τὸν τὴν φύσιν γεννητόν· τοῦτον ἀναρ-
 χον ἀνυμνοῦμεν διὰ τὸν ἀρχὴν ἔχοντα, ἀτίδιον δὲ αὐτὸν
 σέβομεν διὰ τὸν ἐν χρόνῳ γεγαότα. Ἀρχὴν τὸν Υἱὸν ἔθηκε
 τῶν γεννητῶν ὁ ἀναρχος, καὶ ἤνεγκεν εἰς Υἱὸν ἑαυτῷ τόνδε
 τεκνοποιήσας. Ἰδιον οὐδὲν ἔχει τοῦ Θεοῦ καθ' ὑπόστασιν
 ιδιότητος· οὐδὲ γάρ ἐστιν ἴσος, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ὁμοούσιος αὐτῷ.
 Σοφὸς δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ Θεὸς, ὅτι τῆς σοφίας διδάσκαλος αὐτός.
 Ἰκανὴ δὲ ἀποδείξῃς, ὅτι ὁ Θεὸς ἀόρατος ἅπασιν, τοῖς τε διὰ
 Υἱοῦ καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ Υἱῷ ἀόρατος ὁ αὐτός. Ῥητῶς δὲ λέξω, πῶς
 τῷ Υἱῷ ὁράται ὁ ἀόρατος· Τῇ δυνάμει ἢ δύνатаι ὁ Θεὸς ἰδεῖν
 ἰδίῳις τε μέτροις ὑπομένει ὁ Υἱὸς ἰδεῖν τὸν Πατέρα, ὥς θέμις
 ἐστίν. Ἦγουν Τριάς ἐστι δόξαις οὐχ ὁμοίαις· ἀνεπίμικτοι
 ἑαυταῖς εἰσιν αἱ ὑποστάσεις αὐτῶν· μία τῆς μιᾶς ἐνδοξοτέρα
 δόξαις ἐπ' ἀπειρον. Ξένος τοῦ Υἱοῦ κατ' οὐσίαν ὁ Πατήρ, ὅτι

DE SYNOD.

(From Arius's 'Thalia'.)

ἀναρχος ὑπάρχει. Σύνες, ὅτι ἡ μονὰς ἦν· ἡ δυνὰς δὲ οὐκ ἦν, πρὶν ὑπάρξῃ. Αὐτίκα γοῦν, Υἱοῦ μὴ ὄντος, ὁ Πατὴρ Θεὸς ἐστι. Λοιπὸν ὁ Υἱὸς οὐκ ᾔδεν (ὑπῆρξε δὲ θελήσει πατρῷ), μονογενὴς Θεὸς ἐστι, καὶ ἐκατέρων ἀλλότριος οὗτος. Ἡ Σοφία σοφία ὑπῆρξε σοφοῦ Θεοῦ θελήσει. Ἐπινοεῖται γοῦν μυρίαὶς ὅσαις ἐπινοαῖς Πνεῦμα, δυνάμεις, σοφία, δόξα Θεοῦ, ἀλήθειά τε καὶ εἰκὼν, καὶ Λόγος, οὗτος. Σύνες, ὅτι καὶ ἀπαύγασμα καὶ φῶς ἐπινοεῖται. Ἰσον μὲν τοῦ Υἱοῦ γεννᾶν δυνατός ἐστιν ὁ κρείτ-

Cp. c. 26. 42.

των· διαφορώτερον δὲ, ἢ κρείττονα, ἢ μείζονα, οὐχί. Θεοῦ θελήσει ὁ Υἱὸς ἡλικὸς καὶ ὅσος ἐστίν, ἐξ ὅτε καὶ ἀφ' οὗ, καὶ ἀπὸ τότε ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ ὑπέστη, ἰσχυρὸς Θεὸς ᾔδεν, τὸν κρείττονα ἐκ μέρους ὑμνεῖ. Συνελόντι εἰπεῖν, τῷ Υἱῷ ὁ Θεὸς ἀβρῆτος ὑπάρχει· ἐστι γὰρ ἑαυτῷ ὅ ἐστι, τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἄλεκτος· ὥστε οὐδὲν τῶν λεγομένων κατὰ τε κατάληψιν συνίει ἐξειπεῖν ὁ Υἱός. Ἀδύνατα γὰρ αὐτῷ τὸν Πατέρα τε ἐξιχνιάσαι, ὡς ἐστὶν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ. Αὐτὸς γὰρ ὁ Υἱὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ οὐσίαν οὐκ οἶδεν· Υἱὸς γὰρ ᾔδεν, θελήσει Πατὴρ ὑπῆρξεν ἀληθῶς. Τίς γοῦν λόγος συγχωρεῖ τὸν ἐκ Πατρὸς ὄντα αὐτὸν τὸν γεννήσαντα γινῶναι ἐν καταλήψει; δῆλον γάρ, ὅτι τὸ ἀρχὴν ἔχον, τὸν ἀναρχον, ὡς ἐστὶν, ἐμπερινοῆσαι, ἢ ἐμπεριδράσασθαι, οὐχ οἶόν τέ ἐστιν.

16. Ἄ δὲ καὶ δι' ἐπιστολῆς ἔγραψαν πρὸς τὸν μακαρίτην Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν ἐπίσκοπον, ἐστι ταῦτα·

Μακαρίῳ πάπᾳ καὶ ἐπισκόπῳ ἡμῶν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ οἱ διάκονοι ἐν Κυρίῳ χαίρουν.

(Letter of Arius and his friends to Alexander.)

Epiph. Hær. 69, 7, Hil. de Trin. iv. 12.

Ἡ πίστις ἡμῶν ἢ ἐκ προγόνων, ἢ καὶ ἀπὸ σοῦ μεμαθήκαμεν, μακάριε πάπα, ἐστὶν αὕτη· Οἶδαμεν ἓνα Θεόν, μόνον ἀγέννητον, μόνον αἰδίου, μόνον ἀναρχον, μόνον ἀληθινόν, μόνον ἀθανασίαν ἔχοντα, μόνον σοφόν, μόνον ἀγαθόν, μόνον δυνάστην, πάντων κριτὴν, διοικητὴν, οἰκονόμον, ἄτρεπτον, καὶ ἀναλλοιώτον, δίκαιον καὶ ἀγαθόν, νόμου καὶ προφητῶν καὶ καινῆς διαθήκης τοῦτον Θεόν· γεννήσαντα Υἱὸν μονογενῆ πρὸ χρόνων αἰωνίων, δι' οὗ καὶ τοὺς αἰῶνας καὶ τὰ ὅλα πεποίηκε· γεννήσαντα δὲ οὐ δοκῆσει, ἀλλὰ ἀληθείᾳ· ὑποστήσαντα ἰδίῳ θελήματι ἄτρεπτον καὶ ἀναλλοιώτον κτίσμα τοῦ Θεοῦ τέλειον, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὡς ἐν τῶν κτισμάτων· γέννημα, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὡς ἐν τῶν

γεγεννημένων, οὐδ' ὡς Οὐαλεντίνος 'προβολὴν' τὸ γέννημα τοῦ <sup>[Eriph. γεν-
νημάτων.]</sup> Πατρὸς ἔδογματίσεν· οὐδ' ὡς ὁ Μανιχαῖος 'μέρος ὁμοούσιον τοῦ Πατρὸς' τὸ γέννημα εἰσηγήσατο· οὐδ' ὡς Σαβέλλιος τὴν μονάδα διαιρῶν, 'υἱοπάτορα' εἶπεν· οὐδ' ὡς Ἰέρακας λύχνον ἀπὸ λύχνου, ἢ ὡς λαμπάδα εἰς δύο· οὐδὲ τὸν ὄντα πρότερον, ὅτε-
ρον γεννηθέντα, ἢ ἐπικτισθέντα εἰς Υἱόν· ὡς καὶ σὺ αὐτὸς, μακάριε πάπα, κατὰ μέσσην τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ ἐν συνεδρίῳ πλειστάκις τοὺς ταῦτα εἰσηγησαμένους ἀπηγόρευσας· ἀλλ', ὥς φαμεν, θελήματι τοῦ Θεοῦ πρὸ χρόνων καὶ πρὸ αἰώνων κτισθέντα, καὶ τὸ ζῆν καὶ τὸ εἶναι παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς εἰληφότα, καὶ τὰς δόξας συνυποστήσαντος αὐτῷ τοῦ Πατρὸς. Οὐ γὰρ ὁ Πατὴρ, δοὺς αὐτῷ πάντων τὴν κληρονομίαν, ἐστέρησεν ἑαυτὸν, ὦν ἀγεννήτως ἔχει ἐν ἑαυτῷ· πηγὴ γάρ ἐστι πάντων. Ὡστε τρεῖς εἰσιν ὑποστάσεις. Καὶ ὁ μὲν Θεὸς, αἷτιος τῶν πάντων c. 36. τυγχάνων, ἔστιν ἀναρχος μονώτατος. Ὁ δὲ Υἱὸς, ἀχρόνως γεννηθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ πρὸ αἰώνων κτισθεὶς καὶ θεμελιωθεὶς, οὐκ ἦν πρὸ τοῦ γεννηθῆναι, ἀλλ' ἀχρόνως πρὸ πάντων γεννηθεὶς, μόνος ὑπὸ τοῦ Πατρὸς ὑπέστη. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔστιν ἀίδιος, ἢ συναίδιος, ἢ συναγέννητος τῷ Πατρί· οὐδὲ ἅμα <sup>[Eriph. συν-
αγέννητος.]</sup> τῷ Πατρί τὸ εἶναι ἔχει, ὥς τινες λέγουσι τὰ πρὸς τι, δύο ἀγεννήτους ἀρχὰς εἰσηγούμενοι· ἀλλ' ὡς μονὰς καὶ ἀρχὴ πάντων, οὕτως ὁ Θεὸς πρὸ πάντων ἐστὶ. Διὸ καὶ πρὸ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἔστιν ὡς καὶ παρὰ σοῦ μεμαθήκαμεν κατὰ μέσσην τὴν ἐκκλησίαν κηρύξαντος. Καθὸ οὖν παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸ εἶναι ἔχει, καὶ τὰς δόξας καὶ τὸ ζῆν, καὶ τὰ πάντα αὐτῷ παρεδόθη, κατὰ τοῦτο ἀρχὴ αὐτοῦ ἐστὶν ὁ Θεός. Ἀρχεὶ γὰρ αὐτοῦ, ὡς Θεὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ πρὸ αὐτοῦ ὦν. Εἰ δὲ τὸ, 'ἐξ αὐτοῦ,' καὶ τὸ, 'ἐκ γαστροῦ,' καὶ τὸ, 'ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐξῆλθον, καὶ ἦκω,' ὡς μέρος αὐτοῦ ὁμοουσίου, καὶ ὡς προβολὴ ὑπὸ τινων νοεῖται, σύνθετος ἔσται ὁ Πατὴρ καὶ διαιρετὸς, καὶ τρεπτός, καὶ σῶμα κατ' αὐτοὺς, καὶ τὸ ὅσον ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, τὰ ἀκόλουθα σῶματι πάσχων, ὁ ἀσώματος Θεός.

Rom. xi. 36.
Psal. cix.
(cx.) 3.
John xvi. 28.

Ταῦτα ἀπὸ μέρους ὦν ἤμεσαν ἐκ τῆς ἑαυτῶν αἰρετικῆς καρ-
δίας οἱ περὶ Ἀρειον ἐστίν.

17. Πρὸ δὲ τοῦ γενέσθαι τὴν ἐν Νικαίᾳ σύνοδον, ἔγραψαν

DE SYNOD.

c. 36.

Cp. Apol. c.
Ari. 49, de
Fuga, 26.

I Cor. xi. 12.

Cp. de Decr.
Nic. 19.
Soc. ii. 45.

καὶ οἱ περὶ Εὐσέβιον, Νάρκισσον τε καὶ Πατρόφιλον, καὶ Μάριν, Παυλῖνόν τε, καὶ Θεόδοτον, καὶ Ἀθανάσιον τὸν ἀπὸ Ναζαρθῶν τὰ ὅμοια αὐτοῖς. Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς Νικομηδείας Εὐσέβιος κατὰ περιττὸν ἔγραφεν Ἀρείῳ, ὅτι· ‘Καλῶς φρονῶν, εὐχου πάντας οὕτως φρονεῖν· παντὶ γὰρ δὴλόν ἐστιν, ὅτι τὸ πεποιημένον οὐκ ἦν πρὶν γενέσθαι. Τὸ γενόμενον δὲ ἀρχὴν ἔχει τοῦ εἶναι.’ Ὁ δὲ ἀπὸ Καισαρείας τῆς Παλαιστίνης Εὐσέβιος, γράφων πρὸς Εὐφρατίωνα τὸν ἐπίσκοπον, οὐκ ἐφοβήθη φανερώς εἰπεῖν ὅτι· ‘ὁ Χριστὸς οὐκ ἔστιν ἀληθινὸς Θεός.’ Καὶ Ἀθανάσιος δὲ ὁ ἀπὸ Ναζαρθῶν ἔτι γυμνότερον ἀπεκάλυπτε τὴν αἵρεσιν, ἕνα τῶν ἑκατὸν προβάτων λέγων εἶναι τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ. Γράφων γὰρ πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν ἐπίσκοπον, ἀπετόλμησεν οὕτως εἰπεῖν· ‘Τί μέμφῃ τοῖς περὶ Ἀρείου, εἰ λέγουσιν· Ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων κτίσμα πεποιήται ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ ἐν τῶν πάντων ἐστίν; ἐν ἑκατὸν γὰρ προβάτοις παραβαλλομένων πάντων τῶν πεποιημένων, εἰς ἐστι καὶ ὁ Υἱὸς ἐξ αὐτῶν. Εἰ μὲν οὖν τὰ ἑκατὸν οὐκ ἔστι κτίσματα καὶ γενητὰ, ἢ ἕνι πλέον τι τῶν ἑκατὸν, δηλονότι μηδὲ ὁ Υἱὸς ἔστω κτίσμα, καὶ εἰς τῶν πάντων. Εἰ δὲ τὰ ἑκατὸν πάντα γενητὰ, καὶ οὐδέν ἐστιν ἐκτὸς τῶν ῥ’ πλὴν μόνου τοῦ Θεοῦ, τί ἄτοπον λέγουσιν οἱ περὶ Ἀρείου, εἰ ἐν ἐν τοῖς ἑκατὸν περιλαβόντες καὶ ἀριθμοῦντες τὸν Χριστὸν, ἕνα τῶν πάντων αὐτὸν εἰρήκασι;’ Γεώργιος δὲ ὁ νῦν ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ, πρεσβύτερος ὢν τότε τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας, καὶ ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ διατρίβων, πρὸς μὲν Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ἔγραψεν, ὅτι· ‘Μὴ μέμφου τοῖς περὶ Ἀρείου, εἰ λέγουσιν· Ἦν ποτε, ὅτε οὐκ ἦν ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ· καὶ γὰρ ὁ Ἡσαίας υἱὸς γέγονεν Ἀμῶς, καὶ ὁμοῦς ὁ μὲν Ἀμῶς ἦν πρὸ τοῦ γενέσθαι τὸν Ἡσαίαν· ὁ δὲ Ἡσαίας οὐκ ἦν πρότερον, ἀλλὰ μετὰ ταῦτα γέγονε.’ Πρὸς δὲ τοὺς Ἀρειανούς ἔγραφε· ‘Τί μέμφεσθε Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ πάπᾳ λέγοντι ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς τὸν Υἱόν; καὶ γὰρ καὶ ὑμεῖς μὴ φοβηθῆτε εἰπεῖν καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸν Υἱόν. Εἰ γὰρ ὁ ἀπόστολος ἔγραψε· “Τὰ δὲ πάντα ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ,” καὶ ἔστι δῆλον ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων πεποιήσθαι τὰ πάντα, ἔστι δὲ καὶ ὁ Υἱὸς κτίσμα, καὶ τῶν πεποιημένων εἰς· λεχθείη ἂν καὶ ὁ Υἱὸς ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ, οὕτως ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ πάντα λέγεται ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ.’ Ἐξ ἐκείνου γοῦν ἔμαθον οἱ τὰ Ἀρείου

φρονούντες ὑποκρίνεσθαι τὴν λέξιν, τὴν 'ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ,' καὶ λέγειν μὲν τὴν λέξιν, μὴ φρονεῖν δὲ καλῶς. Αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Γεώργιος καθηρέθη ὑπὸ 'Αλεξάνδρου δι' ἄλλα μὲν, ὅτι δὲ καὶ ἀσεβὴς ἐφάνη· πρεσβύτερος γὰρ ἦν αὐτὸς, καθὰ προείρηται.

18. Καὶ ὅλως ἔγραφον οὗτοι τοιαῦτα, ὥς ἕκαστον ἐρίξει καὶ φιλοτιμείσθαι, τίς πλέον αὐξήσει τὴν ἀσέβειαν τῆς αἰρέσεως, καὶ μᾶλλον αὐτὴν δείξει γυμνότερον. Καὶ τὰς μὲν ἐπιστολὰς αὐτῶν οὐκ ἔσχον ἐν ἐτοίμῳ, ὥστε καὶ ἀποστεῖλαι· εἰ δ' οὖν, καὶ ἀντίγραφα καὶ αὐτῶν ὑμῖν ἔπεμψα ἄν· τοῦ δὲ Κυρίου θέλοντος, ἔαν εὐπορήσω καὶ τοῦτο ποιήσω. Καὶ Ἀσ-
τέριος δέ τις ἀπὸ Καππαδοκίας, πολυκέφαλος σοφιστῆς, εἰς
ὧν τῶν περὶ Εὐσέβιον, ἐπειδὴ θύσας ἐν τῷ προτέρῳ διωγμῷ,
τῷ κατὰ τὸν πάππον Κωνσταντίου, οὐκ ἠδύνατο παρ' αὐτῶν εἰς
κλῆρον προαχθῆναι, ποιεῖ μετὰ γνώμης τῶν περὶ Εὐσέβιον
συνταγμάτων, ὁποῖον μὲν ἤθελον αὐτοί· ἴσον δὲ τῷ τῆς θυ-
σίας αὐτοῦ τολμήματι· ἐν γὰρ τούτῳ τὴν ἀκρίδα καὶ τὴν κάμ-
πην τῷ Χριστῷ συγκρίνας, μᾶλλον δὲ προτιμήσας αὐτοῦ, καὶ
λέγων ἄλλην εἶναι παρὰ τὸν Χριστὸν ἐν τῷ Θεῷ σοφίαν, τὴν
τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τοῦ κόσμου δημιουργικὴν, περιήρχετο τὰς ἐν
τῇ Συρίᾳ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἐκκλησίας, κατὰ σύστασιν τῶν περὶ
Εὐσέβιον· ἵνα ἀπαξ ἄρνεῖσθαι μελετήσας, οὕτω καὶ νῦν θρασύ-
νηται κατὰ τῆς ἀληθείας. Ἐπέβαινεν οὖν εἰς τοὺς μὴ ἐξόν
αὐτῷ τόπους ὁ πάντα τολμηρὸς, καὶ εἰς τὸν τῶν κληρικῶν τόπον
καθεζόμενος, ἀνεγίνωσκε δημοσίᾳ τὸ συνταγμάτιον, καίτοι τῶν
ἄλλων δυσανασχετούντων ἐπ' αὐτῷ. Καὶ τὸ μὲν συνταγμάτιον
διὰ πολλῶν ἔστι γεγραμμένον. Μέρη δὲ αὐτοῦ ἔστι ταῦτα·
'Οὐ γὰρ εἶπεν ὁ μακάριος Παῦλος Χριστὸν κηρύσσειν τὴν
ἰδίαν αὐτοῦ δύναμιν, ἢ τὴν σοφίαν αὐτοῦ, τουτέστι τοῦ Θεοῦ,
ἀλλὰ δόξα τῆς προσθήκης, "δύναμιν Θεοῦ καὶ Θεοῦ σοφίαν"
ἄλλην μὲν εἶναι τὴν ἰδίαν αὐτοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ δύναμιν, τὴν ἐμφυ-
τον αὐτῷ καὶ συνυπάρχουσαν αὐτῷ ἀγενήτως, κηρύσσω· γεν-
νητικὴν μὲν οὖσαν, δηλονότι τοῦ Χριστοῦ, δημιουργικὴν δὲ τοῦ
παντὸς κόσμου· περὶ ἧς ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους Ἐπιστολῇ διδά-
σκων ἔλεγε· "Τὰ γὰρ ἀόρατα αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου τοῖς
ποιήμασι νοούμενα καθορᾶται, ἢ τε ἀίδιος αὐτοῦ δύναμις καὶ
θειότης." Ὡσπερ γὰρ τὴν εἰρημένην ἐνταυθοῖ θεότητα οὐκ ἄν

Cp. Orat. c.
Ari. i. 30, ii.
24.
Decr. Nic.
20. Soc. i.
36.

Cp. Hist.
Ari. 81, (Con-
testatio.)

(Parts of As-
terius' Treas-
ure.)

† Cor. i. 24.

Rom. i. 20.

DE SYNOD. τις φαίη Χριστὸν εἶναι, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν ὑπάρχειν τὸν Πατέρα· οὕτως, οἶμαι, καὶ ἡ ἀϊδιος αὐτοῦ δύναμις οὐχ ὁ μονογενὴς Θεός, ἀλλ' ὁ γεννήσας ὑπάρχει Πατήρ. "Ἄλλην δὲ δύναμιν καὶ σοφίαν διδάσκει Θεοῦ, τὴν διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ δεικνυμένην δηλονότι, καὶ διὰ τῶν ἔργων αὐτῶν τῆς διακονίας αὐτοῦ γνωριζομένην." Καὶ πάλιν· "Καίτοιγε ἡ μὲν ἀϊδιος αὐτοῦ δύναμις καὶ σοφία, ἣν ἀναρχόν τε καὶ ἀγέννητον οἱ τῆς ἀληθείας ἀποφαινούνται λογισμοί, μία ἂν εἴη δῆπουθεν καὶ ἡ αὐτή· πολλὰ δὲ αἱ καθ' ἕκαστον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κτισθεῖσαι, ὧν πρωτότοκος καὶ μονογενὴς ὁ Χριστός· πᾶσαι γὰρ μὴν ὁμοίως εἰς τὸν κεκτημένον ἀνήρτηνται, καὶ πᾶσαι αἱ δυνάμεις αὐτοῦ τοῦ κτίσαντος καὶ χρωμένου καλοῦνται δικαίως· οἷον ὁ μὲν προφήτης "τὴν ἀκρίδα" δίκην τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ἁμαρτημάτων θεήλατον γινομένην οὐ "δύναμιν" μόνον Θεοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ "μεγάλην" φησὶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ προσαγορευέσθαι τοῦ Θεοῦ· ὁ δὲ γὰρ μακάριος Δαβὶδ ἐν πλείοσι τῶν ψαλμῶν οὐκ ἀγγέλοις μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ "δυνάμεσιν" αἰνεῖν παρακελεύεται τὸν Θεόν· καὶ πᾶσας γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸν ὕμνον παρακαλῶν, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος παρίστησι, καὶ "λειτουργοὺς Θεοῦ" καλεῖν οὐ παραιτεῖται, καὶ "ποιεῖν αὐτοῦ τὸ θέλημα" διδάσκει."

Joel ii. 25.

Cp. c. 39.

Ps. cxlviii. 2.
cii. (ciii.) 21.

19. Τοιαῦτα τολμήσας κατὰ τοῦ Σωτῆρος οὐκ ἠρέκεσθη, ἀλλὰ καὶ πλεον ἐπεκτείνει τὰς βλασφημίας αὐτοῦ, λέγων, ὅτι εἰς τῶν πάντων ἐστὶν ὁ Υἱός· "Πρῶτον γάρ ἐστι τῶν γεννητῶν, καὶ εἰς τῶν νοητῶν φύσεών ἐστι· καὶ ὥσπερ ἥλιος ἐν τοῖς βλεπομένοις εἰς μὲν ἐστὶ τῶν φαινομένων, λάμπει δὲ παντὶ τῷ κόσμῳ κατὰ πρόσταξιν τοῦ πεποιηκότος· οὕτως ὁ Υἱός, εἰς ὧν τῶν νοητῶν φύσεων, φωτίζει καὶ λάμπει καὶ αὐτὸς πᾶσι τοῖς ἐν τῷ νοητῷ κόσμῳ." Πάλιν τέ φησιν· "Ἦν ποτε, ὅτε οὐκ ἦν," οὕτω γράφων· "Καὶ πρὶν τῆς γενέσεως τοῦ Υἱοῦ ὁ Πατήρ προϋπάρχουσαν εἶχε τὴν τοῦ γεννᾶν ἐπιστήμην· ἐπεὶ καὶ ἱατρὸς, πρὸ τοῦ ἰατρεύειν εἶχε τὴν τοῦ ἰατρεύειν ἐπιστήμην." Καὶ πάλιν φησὶν· "Εὐεργετικὴ φιλοτιμία ἐκτίσθη ὁ Υἱός, καὶ περιουσίᾳ δυνάμεως ἐποίησεν αὐτὸν ὁ Πατήρ." καὶ πάλιν, "Εἰ τὸ θέλει τοῦ Θεοῦ διὰ πάντων ἐφεξῆς τῶν ποιημάτων διελήλυθε, δηλονότι, καὶ ὁ Υἱός, πόλημα ὧν, βουλήσει γέγονε καὶ πεποίηται." Ταῦτα δὲ Ἀστέριος ἔγραψε μόνος· οἱ δὲ περὶ Εὐσέβιον ἐφρόνουν αὐτὰ κοινῇ μετ' αὐτοῦ.

Cp. Ep. Aeg.
13.

20. Ταῦτά ἐστιν ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀγωνίζονται, διὰ ταῦτα μάχονται πρὸς τὴν ἀρχαίαν σύνοδον· ὅτι μὴ τὰ ὅμοια αὐτῶν ἔγραψαν οἱ συνελθόντες ἐν αὐτῇ, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἀνεθεμάτισαν τὴν Ἀρειανὴν αἵρεσιν, ἣν ἐσπούδαζον οὗτοι συστήσαι. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ Ἀστέριον τὸν θύσαντα, σοφιστὴν ὄντα, συνήγορον τῆς ἀσεβείας αὐτῶν προὔβαλλοντο, ἵνα μὴ φειδῇται μήτε κατὰ τοῦ Κυρίου φθέγγεσθαι, μήτε τοὺς ἀκεραίους τῇ πιθανολογίᾳ πλανᾶν. Καὶ ἠγνόησάν γε οἱ ἀμαθεῖς ὅτι καθ' ἑαυτῶν εἰργάζοντο τοῦτο. Ἡ γὰρ δυσωδία τῆς εἰς τὰ εἰδῶλα θυσίας τοῦ συνηγόρου ἔτι πλεον τὴν αἵρεσιν Χριστομάχον ἐδείκνυε. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ νῦν πάντα κινοῦσι καὶ θορυβοῦσι, νομίζοντες ὅτι κὰν πλείονας ἀποκτείνωσι, καὶ συνόδους κατὰ μήνα συγκροτήσωσι, παύσεται ποτε ἢ κατὰ τῆς Ἀρειανῆς αἵρέσεως ἀπόφασις. Ἐοίκασι δὲ πάλιν ἀγνοεῖν, ἢ εἰδέναι μὲν, ἀποπροσποιεῖσθαι δὲ, ὅτι καὶ πρὸ τῆς Νικαίας ἡ αἵρεσις ἦν βδελυκτὴ, ὅτε ταύτην Ἀρτεμᾶς κατεβάλλετο, καὶ πρὸ αὐτοῦ τὸ τοῦ Καϊάφα, καὶ τὸ τῶν τότε Φαρισαίων συνέδριον. Καὶ αἰεὶ δὲ τὸ Χριστομάχον ἐργαστήριον βδελυκτόν ἐστι, καὶ οὐ παύσεται τοῦ εἶναι μισητόν, ἑρασμοῦ ὄντος τοῦ Κυριακοῦ ὀνόματος, καὶ ἑκαμπτούσης πάσης τῆς κτίσεως τὰ γόνατα, καὶ ἐξομολογουμένης, ὅτι Κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς εἰς δόξαν Θεοῦ Πατρός.

Cp. Euseb. v. 28.

Phil. ii. 11.

21. Πλὴν ὅτι συνόδους συνεχεῖς κατὰ τῆς οἰκουμένης ποιῶντες οὐδέπω κεκμήκασι. Μετὰ γὰρ τὴν ἐν Νικαίᾳ σύνοδον οἱ περὶ Εὐσέβιον κατηρέθησαν· ἀλλὰ μετὰ χρόνον ἐπιβάντες ἀναισχύτως ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἤρξαντο τοῖς μὲν ἀντιλέγουσιν αὐτοῖς ἐπισκόποις ἐπιβουλεύειν, ἀντὶ δὲ τούτων τοὺς τῆς αἵρέσεως αὐτῶν καθιστάνειν εἰς τὰς ἐκκλησίας· ἵν' ὅτε βούλονται ποιήσωσι τὰς συνόδους, ἔχοντες τοὺς συντρέχοντας αὐτοῖς, οὓς ἐπίτηδες εἰς αὐτὸ τοῦτο προεχειρίσαντο. Συνέρχονται τοίνυν ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ, καὶ γράφουσι ταῦτα·

Cp. Theod. i. 19.

Cp. Apol. c. Ari. 59.

Ἡ ἀγία σύνοδος, ἡ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις Θεοῦ χάριτι συναχθεῖσα, τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ τῇ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, καὶ τοῖς κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν Αἴγυπτον, καὶ Θηβαῖδα, καὶ Λιβύην, καὶ Πεντάπολιν, καὶ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐπισκόποις, καὶ πρεσβυτέροις, καὶ διακόνους, ἐν Κυρίῳ χαίρειν.

(Circular of Council of Jerusalem in 335.)

Πᾶσι μὲν ἡμῖν τοῖς ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συνελθοῦσιν ἐξ ἐπαρχιῶν διαφόρων πρὸς τῇ μεγάλῃ πανηγύρει, ἣν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀφιερώσει τοῦ

Cp. Apol. c. Ari. 84.

DE SYNOD.

(Circular of
Council of
Jerusalem.)

σωτηρίου μαρτυρίου, σπουδῇ τοῦ θεοφιλεστάτου βασιλέως Κωνσταντίνου, τῷ πάντων βασιλεῖ Θεῷ καὶ τῷ Χριστῷ αὐτοῦ κατασκευασθέντος ἐπετελέσαμεν, πλείονα θυμηδῖαν ἢ τοῦ Χριστοῦ χάρις παρέσχεν, ἣν ἐποίησεν αὐτός τε ὁ θεοφιλέστατος βασιλεὺς διὰ γραμμάτων οἰκείων, τοῦθ' ὅπερ ἐχρῆν παρορμήσας· πάντα μὲν ἐξορίσας τῆς ἐκκλησίας τοῦ Θεοῦ φθόνον, καὶ πᾶσαν μακρὰν ἀπελάσας βασκανίαν, δι' ἧς τὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ μέλη πάλοι πρότερον διειστήκει· ἡπλωμένη δὲ καὶ εἰρηναία ψυχῇ δέξασθαι τοὺς περὶ Ἄρειον, οὗς πρὸς τινα καιρὸν ὁ μισόκαλος φθόνος ἔξω γενέσθαι τῆς ἐκκλησίας εἰργάσατο. Ἐμαρτύρει δὲ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ὁ θεοφιλέστατος βασιλεὺς διὰ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς πίστεως ὀρθοτομίαν, ἣν παρ' αὐτῶν πυθόμενος, αὐτός τε δι' ἑαυτοῦ παρὰ ζώσης φωνῆς αὐτῶν ἀκούσας ἀπεδέξατο, ἡμῖν τε φανερὰν κατεστήσατο, ὑποτάξας τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ γράμμασιν ἐγγραφον τὴν τῶν ἀνδρῶν ὀρθοδοξίαν, ἣν ἐπέγνωμεν οἱ πάντες ὑγιῇ τε οὖσαν καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικὴν. Καὶ εἰκότως παρεκάλει τοὺς ἀνδρας ὑποδεχθῆναι καὶ ἐνωθῆναι τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὥσπερ οὖν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐκ τῶν ἱσοτύπων εἴσεσθε τῆς αὐτῆς ἐπιστολῆς, ἧς πρὸς τὴν ὑμετέραν εὐλάβειαν διεπεμψάμεθα. Πιστεύομεν ὅτι καὶ ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς, ὡς ἂν τὰ οἰκεία μέλη τοῦ ὑμετέρου σώματος ἀπολαμβάνουσι, μεγάλη χαρὰ καὶ εὐφροσύνη γενήσεται, τὰ ἑαυτῶν σπλάγχνα καὶ τοὺς ἑαυτῶν ἀδελφούς τε καὶ πατέρας γνωρίζουσί τε καὶ ἀπολαμβάνουσιν· οὐ μόνον τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τῶν περὶ Ἄρειον ἀποδοθέντων ὑμῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ τῆς πληθύος ἀπάσης, ἣ προφάσει τῶν εἰρημένων ἀνδρῶν μακρῷ χρόνῳ παρ' ὑμῖν διειστήκει. Καὶ πρέπει γε ἀληθῶς γνόντας ὑμᾶς τὰ πεπραγμένα, καὶ ὡς ἐκοινώνησαν οἱ ἄνδρες, παρεδέχθησάν τε ὑπὸ τῆς τοσαύτης ἀγίας συνόδου, προθυμότατα καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀσπάσασθαι τὴν πρὸς τὰ οἰκεία μέλη συνάφειάν τε καὶ εἰρήνην, ὅτι μάλιστα τὰ τῆς ἐκτεθείσης ὑπ' αὐτῶν πίστεως ἀναμφήριστον σώζει τὴν παρὰ τοῖς πᾶσιν ὁμολογουμένην ἀποστολικὴν παράδοσιν τε καὶ διδασκαλίαν.

Cp. Soc. i.
26.

22. Αὕτη τῶν συνόδων αὐτῶν ἡ ἀρχὴ γέγονεν, ἐν ᾗ καὶ τὴν προαίρεσιν ἑαυτῶν ταχέως ἐξήγγειλαν, καὶ οὐκ ἡδυνήθησαν κρύψαι. Εἰρηκότες γὰρ ἐξηλάσθαι πάντα φθόνον, καὶ μετὰ τὸ

ἐξορισθῆναι τὸν ἐπίσκοπον τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας Ἀθανάσιον, γράφοντες δεῖν δεχθῆναι Ἀρειον καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ, ἔδειξαν ὅτι διὰ τοῦτο αὐτῷ τε τῷ Ἀθανασίῳ ἐπεβούλευον, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πᾶσιν ἐπισκόποις τοῖς ἀντιλέγουσιν αὐτοῖς ἐπεβούλευσαν, ὑπὲρ τοῦ τοὺς περὶ Ἀρειον δέξασθαι, καὶ τὴν αἵρεσιν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν εἰσαγαγεῖν καὶ εἰ καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἀρείου κακοφροσύνην ἐπῆνεσαν ἐν ταύτῃ, καὶ εἰς κοινωνίαν προσέταξαν αὐτοὺς δεχθῆναι, αὐτοὶ πρότερον τοῦτο ποιήσαντες· ὁμῶς ἡγούμενοι λείπειν αὐτοῖς ἔτι, πρὸς ὃ βούλονται, συγκροτοῦσιν ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ σύνοδον προφάσει τῶν λεγομένων Ἐγκαινίων καὶ ἐπειδὴ αἰεὶ ὑπὸ πάντων κατηγοροῦντο περὶ τῆς αἱρέσεως, γράφουσι διαφόρως, τὰ μὲν οὕτως, τὰ δὲ ἐκείνως. Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐν μιᾷ ἐπιστολῇ γραφέντα παρ' αὐτῶν ἐστὶ ταῦτα·

Cp. Encycl.
2. Apol. c.
Ari. 2.

Soc. ii. 8.

[A.D. 341.]

‘Ἡμεῖς οὔτε ἀκόλουθοι Ἀρείου γεγόναμεν· πῶς γὰρ ἐπίσκοποι ὄντες ἀκολουθοῦμεν πρεσβυτέρῳ; οὔτε ἄλλην τινα πίστιν παρὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς παραδοθείσαν ἐδεξάμεθα. Ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐξετασταὶ καὶ δοκιμασταὶ τῆς πίστεως αὐτοῦ γενόμενοι, μᾶλλον αὐτὸν προσηγάμεθα, ἢ περ ἡκολουθήσαμεν· γνώσεσθε δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν λεγομένων. Μεμαθήκαμεν γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς, εἰς ἓνα Θεὸν τὸν τῶν ὅλων Θεὸν πιστεύειν, τὸν πάντων νοητῶν τε καὶ αἰσθητῶν δημιουργόν τε καὶ προνοητήν· καὶ εἰς ἓνα Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ μονογενῆ, πρὸ πάντων αἰώνων ὑπάρχοντα, καὶ συνόντα τῷ γεγεννηκότῳ αὐτὸν Πατρί· δι’ οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο, τὰ τε ὄρατὰ καὶ τὰ ἀόρατα· τὸν καὶ ἐπ’ ἐσχάτων ἡμερῶν κατ’ εὐδοκίαν τοῦ Πατρὸς κατελθόντα, καὶ σάρκα ἐκ τῆς Παρθένου ἀνελήφοντα, καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν πατρικὴν αὐτοῦ βούλησιν συνεκπεπληρωκότα, πεπονθέναι, καὶ ἐξηγέρθαι, καὶ εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἀνελθόντα, καὶ ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Πατρὸς καθέζεσθαι, καὶ πάλιν ἐρχόμενον κρίναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκροὺς, καὶ διαμένοντα βασιλέα καὶ Θεὸν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Πιστεύομεν δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα· εἰ δὲ δεῖ προσθεῖναι, πιστεύομεν καὶ περὶ σαρκὸς ἀναστάσεως, καὶ ζωῆς αἰωνίου.’

(First Antiochene Creed.)
Soc. ii. 10.

23. Ἄ δὲ καὶ ἐν ἐτέρᾳ ἐπιστολῇ δεύτερον ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς Ἐγκαινίοις ἐκτίθενται, μεταγρόντες μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς προτέροις, ἐπινοήσαντες δὲ καινότερά τινα καὶ πλείονα, ἐστὶ ταῦτα·

(Second or proper Antiochene Creed.)

Soc. ii. 10.
Hil. de Syn.
29.

‘Πιστεύομεν ἀκολουθῶς τῇ εὐαγγελικῇ καὶ ἀποστολικῇ

- DE SYNOD. παραδόσει εἰς ἓνα Θεὸν Πατέρα παντοκράτορα, τὸν τῶν ὅλων δημιουργόν τε καὶ ποιητὴν καὶ προνοητὴν, ἐξ οὗ τὰ πάντα· καὶ εἰς ἓνα Κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν, τὸν Υἱὸν αὐτοῦ, τὸν μονογενῆ Θεόν, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα, τὸν γεννηθέντα πρὸ τῶν αἰώνων ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς, Θεὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ, ὅλον ἐξ ὅλου, μόνον ἐκ μόνου, τέλειον ἐκ τελείου, βασιλέα ἐκ βασιλέως, Κύριον ἀπὸ Κυρίου, Λόγον ζῶντα, σοφίαν ζῶσαν, φῶς ἀληθινόν, ὁδόν, ἀλήθειαν, ἀνάστα-
- (Second An-
tiocene
Creed.) σιν, ποιμένα, θύραν, ἀτρεπτόν τε καὶ ἀναλλοιώτον· τῆς θεότητος, οὐσίας τε καὶ βουλῆς καὶ δυνάμεως, καὶ δόξης τοῦ Πατρὸς ἀπαράλλακτον εἰκόνα, τὸν πρωτότοκον πάσης κτίσεως, τὸν ὄντα ἐν ἀρχῇ πρὸς τὸν Θεόν, Λόγον Θεὸν κατὰ τὸ εἰρημένον ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ· “Καὶ Θεὸς ἦν ὁ Λόγος·” δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐν ᾧ τὰ πάντα συνέστηκε· τὸν ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν κατελθόντα ἄνωθεν, καὶ γεννηθέντα ἐκ Πατρὸς κατὰ τὰς γραφάς, καὶ ἄνθρωπον γενόμενον· μεσίτην Θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων, ἀπόστολόν τε τῆς πίστεως ἡμῶν, καὶ ἀρχηγὸν τῆς ζωῆς, ὥς φησιν, ὅτι “Καταβέβηκα ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, οὐχ ἵνα ποιῶ τὸ θέλημα τὸ ἐμὸν, ἀλλὰ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πέμψαντός με·” τὸν παθόντα ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, καὶ ἀναστάντα τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ· καὶ ἀνελθόντα εἰς οὐρανοὺς, καὶ καθεσθέντα ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Πατρὸς· καὶ πάλιν ἐρχόμενον μετὰ δόξης καὶ δυνάμεως, κρίναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς· καὶ εἰς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον, τὸ εἰς παράκλησιν, καὶ ἁγιασμὸν, καὶ τελείωσιν τοῖς πιστεύουσι διδόμενον, καθὼς καὶ ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς διετάξαι τοῖς μαθηταῖς λέγων· “Πορευθέντες, μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, καὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος·” δηλονότι Πατρὸς, ἀληθῶς Πατρὸς ὄντος, Υἱοῦ δὲ ἀληθῶς Υἱοῦ ὄντος, τοῦ δὲ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἀληθῶς Ἁγίου Πνεύματος ὄντος, τῶν ὀνομάτων οὐχ ἀπλῶς οὐδὲ ἀργῶς κειμένων, ἀλλὰ σημαίνοντων ἀκριβῶς τὴν οἰκείαν ἐκάστου τῶν ὀνομαζομένων ὑπόστασιν τε καὶ τάξιν καὶ δόξαν· ὥς εἶναι τῇ μὲν ὑποστάσει τρία, τῇ δὲ συμφωνίᾳ ἓν. Ταύτην οὖν ἔχοντες τὴν πίστιν, καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ μέχρι τέλους ἔχοντες ἐνώπιον τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, πᾶσαν αἵρετικὴν κακοδοξίαν ἀναθεματίζομεν. Καὶ εἰ τις παρὰ τὴν ὑγιὴ τῶν γραφῶν ὁρθὴν πίστιν διδάσκει,
- c. 38. Cp. Soz. iii. 5.
- John i. 1:
- John vi. 38.
- Matt. xxviii. 19.

λέγων ἢ χρόνον, ἢ καιρὸν, ἢ αἰῶνα, ἢ εἶναι, ἢ γεγενῆναι, πρὸ τοῦ γεννηθῆναι τὸν Υἱὸν, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω. Καὶ εἰ τις λέγει τὸν Υἱὸν κτίσμα ὡς ἐν τῶν κτισμάτων, ἢ γέννημα ὡς ἐν τῶν γεννημάτων, ἢ ποίημα, ὡς ἐν τῶν ποιημάτων, καὶ μὴ ὡς αἱ θεῖαι γραφαὶ παραδέδωκαν, τῶν προειρημένων ἕκαστον ἀφ' ἑκάστου· ἢ εἰ τι ἄλλο διδάσκει, ἢ εὐαγγελίζεται, παρ' ὃ παρελάβομεν, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω. Ἡμεῖς γὰρ πᾶσι τοῖς ἐκ τῶν θείων γραφῶν παραδεδομένοις ὑπὸ τε προφητῶν καὶ ἀποστόλων ἀληθινῶς τε καὶ ἐμφόβως καὶ πιστεύομεν καὶ ἀκολουθοῦμεν.' c. 16.

24. Καὶ Θεοφρόνιος δέ τις ἐπίσκοπος Τυάων συνθεὶς καὶ αὐτὸς ἐξέθετο τὴν πίστιν ταύτην ἐμπροσθεν τῶν πάντων, ἥ καὶ πάντες ὑπέγραψαν, ἀποδεξάμενοι τὴν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου πίστιν·

‘Ὅτι ὁ Θεὸς, ὃν μάρτυρα καλῶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἐμὴν ψυχὴν, ὅτι οὕτως πιστεύω· εἰς Θεὸν Πατέρα παντοκράτορα, τὸν τῶν ὅλων κτίστην καὶ ποιητὴν, ἐξ οὗ τὰ πάντα· καὶ εἰς τὸν Υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ, Θεὸν, Λόγον, δύναμιν καὶ σοφίαν, τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα, τὸν γεννηθέντα ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς πρὸ τῶν αἰώνων, Θεὸν τέλειον ἐκ Θεοῦ τελείου, καὶ ὄντα πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν ἐν ὑποστάσει· ἐπ' ἐσχάτων δὲ τῶν ἡμερῶν κατελθόντα, καὶ γεννηθέντα ἐκ τῆς Παρθένου κατὰ τὰς γραφὰς, ἐνανθρωπήσαντα, παθόντα, καὶ ἀναστάντα ἀπὸ τῶν νεκρῶν, καὶ ἀνελθόντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς, καὶ καθεσθέντα ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ Πατρὸς αὐτοῦ· καὶ πάλιν ἐρχόμενον μετὰ δόξης καὶ δυνάμεως κρίναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκροὺς, καὶ μένοντα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· καὶ εἰς τὸ Πνεῦμα Ἅγιον, τὸν Παράκλητον, “τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας,” ὃ καὶ διὰ τοῦ προφήτου ἐπηγγέλατο ὁ Θεός· “ἐκχέειν” ἐπὶ τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ δούλους, καὶ ὁ Κύριος ἐπηγγέλατο πέμψαι τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ μαθηταῖς, ὃ καὶ ἐπεμψεν, ὡς αἱ Πράξεις τῶν Ἀποστόλων μαρτυροῦσιν. Εἰ δέ τις παρὰ ταύτην τὴν πίστιν διδάσκει, ἢ ἔχει ἐν ἑαυτῷ, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω· καὶ Μαρκέλλου τοῦ Ἀγκύρας, ἢ Σαβελλίου, ἢ Παύλου τοῦ Σαμοσατέως, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ πάντες οἱ κοινωνοῦντες αὐτῷ.’

(Third Antiochene Creed.)

John i. 1.

Joel ii. 28.
John xv. 26.

Acts ii. 3.

25. Ἦσαν δὲ οἱ συνελθόντες ἐν τοῖς Ἐγκαινίοις ἐπίσκοποι ἐνενήκοντα, ὑπατεῖα Μαρκέλλου καὶ Προβίνου, Ἰνδικτιῶνος ὧ', ἐκεῖ ὄντος Κωνσταντοῦ τοῦ ἀσεβεστάτου. Ταῦτα πρά-

DE SYNOD. ξαντες ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τοῖς Ἐγκαίνιοις, νομίσαντες δὲ μὴ τελείως γεγραφέναι, ῥεμβομένην δὲ τὴν διάνοιαν ἔχοντες, αὐθις πάλιν συντιθέασιν ἄλλο γράμμα δῆθεν περὶ πίστεως μετὰ μῆνας ὀλίγους, καὶ ἀποστέλλουσιν εἰς τὰς Γαλλίας Νάρκισσον, Μάριον, Θεόδωρον καὶ Μάρκον. Κἀκεῖνοι ὡς ἀπὸ συνόδου πεμφθέντες ἐπιδεδώκασιν τῷ τῆς μακαρίας μνήμης Κώνσταντι τῷ Αἰγούστῳ, καὶ τοῖς ἐκεῖ πᾶσι, ταῦτα·

(Fourth Antiochene Creed.)

[A.D. 342.]

Soc. ii. 18.

Cp. c. 26, 27.

Eph. iii. 15.

‘Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἓνα Θεόν, Πατέρα παντοκράτορα, κτίστην καὶ ποιητὴν τῶν πάντων, “ἐξ οὗ πᾶσα πατριὰ ἐν οὐρανοῖς καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς ὀνομάζεται.” καὶ εἰς τὸν μονογενῆ αὐτοῦ Υἱὸν τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν, τὸν πρὸ πάντων τῶν αἰώνων ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς γεννηθέντα· Θεὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ, φῶς ἐκ φωτός· δι’ οὗ ἐγένετο τὰ πάντα ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, τὰ ὁρατὰ καὶ τὰ ἀόρατα· Λόγον ὄντα, καὶ σοφίαν, καὶ δύναμιν, καὶ ζωὴν, καὶ φῶς ἀληθινόν· τὸν ἐπ’ ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν δι’ ἡμᾶς ἐνανθρωπήσαντα, καὶ γεννηθέντα ἐκ τῆς ἁγίας Παρθένου, τὸν σταυρωθέντα, καὶ ἀποθανόντα, καὶ ταφέντα· καὶ ἀναστάντα ἐκ νεκρῶν τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ, καὶ ἀναληφθέντα εἰς οὐρανὸν, καὶ καθεσθέντα ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Πατρὸς· καὶ ἐρχόμενον ἐπὶ συντελείᾳ τοῦ αἰῶνος κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς, καὶ ἀποδοῦναι ἐκάστῳ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ· οὗ ἡ βασιλεία ἀκατάλυτος οὔσα διαμένει εἰς τοὺς ἀπείρους αἰῶνας· ἔσται γὰρ καθεζόμενος ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Πατρὸς, οὐ μόνον ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι· καὶ εἰς τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, τοῦτέστι, τὸν Παράκλητον· ὅπερ ἐπαγγειλάμενος τοῖς ἀποστόλοις μετὰ τὴν εἰς οὐρανοὺς αὐτοῦ ἄνοδον ἀπέστειλε, διδάξαι αὐτοὺς καὶ ὑπομῆσαι πάντα· δι’ οὗ καὶ ἁγιασθήσονται αἱ τῶν εἰλικρινῶς εἰς αὐτὸν πεπιστευκότων ψυχαί. Τοὺς δὲ λέγοντας ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων τὸν Υἱόν, ἢ ἐξ ἐτέρας ὑποστάσεως, καὶ μὴ ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ, Ἦν ποτε χρόνος ὅτε οὐκ ἦν, ἄλλοτρίους οἶδεν ἢ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία.’

[A.D. 344-5.]

Cp. Hil.

Fragm. 5. 4.

(adding Demophilus.)

26. Ἐπὶ τούτοις ὥσπερ μεταγνόντες, συλλέγουσι πάλιν τὸ συνέδριον ἑαυτῶν μετὰ ἑτρία, καὶ ἀποστέλλουσιν Εὐδόξιον, Μαρτύριον, καὶ Μακεδόنيον τὸν ἀπὸ Κιλικίας, καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς ἐτέρους τινὰς εἰς τὰ μέρη τῆς Ἰταλίας, ἀποφέροντας πίστιν διὰ πολλῶν γραφεύσαν, προσθήκας τε ἔχουσαν πλείστας παρὰ

τὰς προτέρας· ὥς γὰρ καινότερά τινα ἐπινοήσαντες, ἀπεδή-
μησαν ἔχοντες ταῦτα·

I. 'Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἓνα Θεὸν, Πατέρα παντοκράτορα, κτίσ-
την καὶ ποιητὴν τῶν πάντων, "ἐξ οὗ πᾶσα πατριὰ ἐν οὐρανῷ
καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς ὀνομάζεται·" καὶ εἰς τὸν μονογενῆ αὐτοῦ Υἱὸν τὸν
Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν, τὸν πρὸ πάντων τῶν αἰώνων ἐκ
τοῦ Πατρὸς γεννηθέντα, Θεὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ, φῶς ἐκ φωτός, δι' οὗ
ἐγένετο τὰ πάντα ἐν οὐρανοῖς καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, τὰ ὄρατα καὶ
τὰ ἀόρατα· Λόγον ὄντα, καὶ σοφίαν, καὶ δύναμιν, καὶ ζωὴν, καὶ
φῶς ἀληθινόν· τὸν ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν δι' ἡμᾶς ἐνανθρω-
πήσαντα, καὶ γεννηθέντα ἐκ τῆς ἁγίας Παρθένου, σταυρω-
θέντα, καὶ ἀποθανόντα, καὶ ταφέντα, καὶ ἀναστάντα ἐκ τῶν
νεκρῶν τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ, καὶ ἀναληφθέντα εἰς οὐρανὸν, καὶ
καθεσθέντα ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ Πατρὸς· καὶ ἐρχόμενον ἐπὶ συντε-
λείᾳ τοῦ αἵωνος κρίναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς, καὶ ἀποδοῦναι
ἐκάστῳ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ· οὗ ἡ βασιλεία ἀκατάπαυστος
οὔσα διαμένει εἰς τοὺς ἀπείρους αἰῶνας· καθέζεται γὰρ ἐν
δεξιᾷ τοῦ Πατρὸς, οὐ μόνον ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν
τῷ μέλλοντι. Πιστεύομεν καὶ εἰς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον, του-
τέστι, τὸν Παράκλητον, ὅπερ ἐπαγγειλάμενος τοῖς ἀποστόλοις
μετὰ τὴν εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀνοδὸν ἀπέστειλε διδάξαι αὐτοὺς καὶ
ὑπομῆσαι πάντα· δι' οὗ καὶ ἁγιασθήσονται αἱ τῶν ἐλίκρινῶς
εἰς αὐτὸν πεπιστευκότων ψυχαί.

II. 'Τοὺς δὲ λέγοντας ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων τὸν Υἱὸν, ἢ ἐξ ἐτέρας
ὑποστάσεως, καὶ μὴ ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ ὅτι ἦν χρόνος ποτὲ, ἢ
αἶων, ὅτε μὴ ἦν, ἀλλοτρίους οἶδεν ἢ καθολικὴ καὶ ἁγία ἐκ-
κλησία. Ὁμοίως καὶ τοὺς λέγοντας τρεῖς εἶναι θεοὺς, ἢ τὸν
Χριστὸν μὴ εἶναι Θεὸν, ἢ πρὸ τῶν αἰώνων μήτε Χριστὸν μήτε
Υἱὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι Θεοῦ, ἢ τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι Πατέρα καὶ Υἱὸν, ἢ
Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα· ἢ ἀγέννητον Υἱὸν, ἢ ὅτι οὐ βουλήσει οὐδὲ
θελήσει ἐγέννησε ὁ Πατὴρ τὸν Υἱὸν, ἀναθεματίζει ἢ ἁγία καὶ
καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία.

III. 'Οὔτε γὰρ ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων τὸν Υἱὸν λέγειν ἀσφαλὲς, ἐπεὶ
μῆδαμὺ τοῦτο τῶν θεοπνεύστων γραφῶν φέρεται περὶ αὐτοῦ,
οὔτε μὴν ἐξ ἐτέρας τινὸς ὑποστάσεως παρὰ τὸν Πατέρα προῦ-
ποκειμένης· ἀλλ' ἐκ μόνου τοῦ Θεοῦ γνησίως αὐτὸν γεγεννη-

(*'Macrostich'*
Creed, Soz.
iii. 11.)
Soc. ii. 19.

Cp. c. 15.

DE SYNOD. σθαι διοριζόμεθα· ἐν γὰρ τὸ ἀγέννητον καὶ ἀναρχον τὸν
 ('Macrostich' Creed.) Χριστοῦ Πατέρα ὁ θεῖος διδάσκει λόγος. 'Ἄλλ' οὐδὲ τὸ, "ἦν
 ποτε ὅτε οὐκ ἦν," ἐξ ἀγράφων ἐπισφαλῶς λέγοντας, χρονικόν
 τι διάστημα προευνθυμητέον αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ' ἡ μόνον τὸν ἀχρόνως
 αὐτὸν γεγεννηκότα Θεόν· καὶ χρόνοι γὰρ καὶ αἰῶνες γεγόνασι
 δι' αὐτοῦ. Οὔτε μὴν συνἀναρχον καὶ συναγέννητον τῷ Πατρὶ
 τὸν Υἱὸν εἶναι νομιστέον· συνἀνάρχον γὰρ καὶ συναγεννήτου
 οὐδεὶς κυρίως πατὴρ ἢ υἱὸς λεχθήσεται. 'Ἀλλὰ τὸν μὲν Πα-
 τέρα μόνον ἀναρχον ὄντα καὶ ἀγέννητον γεγεννηκέναι ἀνεπί-
 κτως, καὶ πᾶσιν ἀκαταλήπτως, οἶδαμεν· τὸν δὲ Υἱὸν γεγεννηθῆναι
 πρὸ αἰώνων, καὶ μηκέτι ὁμοίως τῷ Πατρὶ ἀγέννητον εἶναι καὶ
 1 Cor. xi. 3. αὐτὸν, ἀλλ' ἀρχὴν ἔχειν τὸν γεννήσαντα Πατέρα· "κεφαλὴ γὰρ
 Χριστοῦ ὁ Θεός."

IV. 'Οὔτε μὴν τρία ὁμολογοῦντες πράγματα καὶ τρία πρόσ-
 ωπα τοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, καὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος,
 κατὰ τὰς γραφὰς, τρεῖς διὰ τοῦτο τοὺς θεοὺς ποιοῦμεν· ἐπειδὴ
 τὸν αὐτοτελῆ καὶ ἀγέννητον ἀναρχόν τε καὶ ἀόρατον Θεὸν ἕνα
 μόνον οἶδαμεν, τὸν Θεὸν καὶ Πατέρα τοῦ Μονογενοῦς, τὸν μό-
 νον μὲν ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ τὸ εἶναι ἔχοντα, μόνον δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις πᾶσιν
 ἀφθόνως τοῦτο χαριζόμενον. Οὔτε μὴν ἕνα Θεὸν μόνον λέ-
 γοντες εἶναι τὸν τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ Πατέρα, τὸν
 μόνον ἀγέννητον, διὰ τοῦτο ἀρνοῦμεθα καὶ τὸν Χριστὸν Θεὸν
 εἶναι πρὸ αἰώνων· ὅποιοι εἰσιν οἱ ἀπὸ Παύλου τοῦ Σαμοσα-
 τέως, ὕστερον αὐτὸν μετὰ τὴν ἐνανθρώπησιν ἐκ προκοπῆς
 τεθεοποιῆσθαι λέγοντες, τῷ τὴν φύσιν ψιλὸν ἄνθρωπον γεγο-
 νέναι. Οἶδαμεν γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸν, εἰ καὶ ὑποτέτακται τῷ Πατρὶ
 καὶ τῷ Θεῷ, ἀλλ' ὅμως πρὸ αἰώνων γεννηθέντα ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ,
 Θεὸν κατὰ φύσιν τέλειον εἶναι καὶ ἀληθῆ, καὶ μὴ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων
 μετὰ ταῦτα Θεὸν, ἀλλ' ἐκ Θεοῦ ἐνανθρωπήσαι δι' ἡμᾶς, καὶ
 μηδέποτε ἀπολωλεκότα τὸ εἶναι.

V. 'Βδελυσσόμεθα δὲ πρὸς τούτοις καὶ ἀναθεματίζομεν καὶ
 τοὺς λόγον μὲν μόνον αὐτὸν ψιλὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ ἀνύπαρκτον
 ἐπιπλάστως καλοῦντας, ἐν ἐτέρῳ τὸ εἶναι ἔχοντα, νῦν μὲν ὡς
 τὸν προφορικὸν λεγόμενον ὑπὸ τινων, νῦν δὲ ὡς τὸν ἐνδιάθετον·
 Χριστὸν δὲ αὐτὸν, καὶ Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ μεσίτην, καὶ εἰκόνα
 τοῦ Θεοῦ μὴ εἶναι πρὸ αἰώνων θέλοντας· ἀλλ' ἐκ τότε Χρισ-

τὸν αὐτὸν γεγονέναι καὶ Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἐξ οὗ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἐκ τῆς Παρθένου σάρκα ἀνείληφε, πρὸ τετρακοσίων οὐχ ὄλων ἐτῶν. Ἐκ τότε γὰρ τὸν Χριστὸν ἀρχὴν βασιλείας ἐσχηκέναι ἐθέλουσι· καὶ τέλος ἔξειν αὐτὴν μετὰ τὴν συντέλειαν καὶ τὴν κρίσιν.

VI. 'Τοιοῦτοι δὲ εἰσιν οἱ ἀπὸ Μαρκέλλου καὶ Σκοτεινοῦ τῶν [Photinus, Soc. ii. 18, 29.]
'Αγκυρογαλατῶν, οἱ τὴν προαιώνιον ὑπαρξίν τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ τὴν θεότητα, καὶ τὴν ἀτελεύτητον αὐτοῦ βασιλείαν ὁμοίως Ἰουδαίοις ἀθετοῦσιν, ἐπὶ προφάσει τοῦ συνίστασθαι δοκεῖν τῇ μοναρχίᾳ. Ἴσμεν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἡμεῖς, οὐχ ἀπλῶς λόγον προφορικόν, ἢ ἐνδιάθετον τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἀλλὰ ζῶντα Θεὸν Λόγον καθ' ἑαυτὸν ὑπάρχοντα, καὶ Υἱὸν Θεοῦ καὶ Χριστὸν, καὶ οὐ προγνωστικῶς συνόντα καὶ συνδιατρίβοντα πρὸ αἰώνων τῷ ἑαυτοῦ Πατρὶ, καὶ πρὸς πᾶσαν διακονησάμενον αὐτῷ τὴν δημιουργίαν, εἴτε τῶν ὁρατῶν εἴτε τῶν ἀοράτων. Οὗτος γάρ ἐστι, πρὸς δὲ εἶπεν ὁ Πατὴρ, ὅτι, "Ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα ἡμετέραν καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν." ὁ καὶ τοῖς πατριάρχαις αὐτοπροσώπως ὀφθεῖς, δεδωκὼς τὸν νόμον, καὶ λαλήσας διὰ τῶν προφητῶν, καὶ τὰ τελευταῖα ἐνανθρωπήσας, καὶ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ Πατέρα πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις φανερώσας, καὶ βασιλεύων εἰς τοὺς ἀτελευτήτους αἰῶνας. Οὐδὲν γὰρ πρόσφατον ὁ Χριστὸς προσεῖληφεν ἀξίωμα, ἀλλ' ἄνωθεν τέλειον αὐτὸν, καὶ τῷ Πατρὶ κατὰ πάντα ὅμοιον εἶναι πεπιστεύκαμεν. c. 42. Gen. i. 26.

VII. 'Καὶ τοὺς λέγοντας δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι Πατέρα καὶ Υἱὸν καὶ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, καθ' ἑνὸς καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ πράγματός τε καὶ προσώπου τὰ τρία ὀνόματα ἀσεβῶς ἐκλαμβάνοντας, εἰκότως ἀποκηρύσσομεν τῆς ἐκκλησίας· ὅτι τὸν ἀχώρητον καὶ ἀπαθῆ Πατέρα χωρητὸν ἅμα καὶ παθητὸν διὰ τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως ὑποτίθενται· τοιοῦτοι γὰρ εἰσιν οἱ Πατροπασιανοὶ μὲν παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις, Σαβελλιανοὶ δὲ καλούμενοι παρ' ἡμῖν. Οἶδαμεν γὰρ ἡμεῖς τὸν μὲν ἀποστείλαντα Πατέρα ἐν τῷ οἰκείῳ τῆς ἀναλλοιώτου θεότητος ἥθει μεμενηκέναι, τὸν δὲ ἀποσταλέντα Χριστὸν τὴν τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως οἰκονομίαν πεπληρωκέναι. c. 8.

VIII. "Ὅμως δὲ καὶ τοὺς οὐ βουλήσει οὐδὲ θελήσει γεγεν- Cp. c. 15.
νῆσθαι τὸν Υἱὸν εἰρηκότας ἀνευλαβῶς, ἀνάγκην δὲ δηλονότι ἀβούλητον καὶ ἀπροαίρετον περιτεθεικότας τῷ Θεῷ, ἵνα ἄκων γεννήσῃ τὸν Υἱὸν, δυσσεβεστάτους καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ξένους ἐπιγινώσκομεν· ὅτι τε παρὰ τὰς κοινὰς περὶ Θεοῦ ἐννοίας, καὶ

DE SYNODIS. δὴ καὶ παρὰ τὸ βούλημα τῆς θεοπνεύστου γραφῆς, τοιαῦτα
 ('Macrostich' Creed.) τετολμήκασι περὶ αὐτοῦ διορίσασθαι. Αὐτοκράτορα γὰρ ἡμεῖς
 τὸν Θεὸν καὶ Κύριον αὐτὸν ἑαυτοῦ εἰδότες, ἐκουσίως αὐτὸν καὶ
 ἐβελουτήν τὸν Υἱὸν γεγεννηκέναι εὐσεβῶς ὑπειλήφαμεν. Πι-
 Prov. viii. 22. στεύοντες δὲ ἐμφόβως καὶ τῷ περὶ ἑαυτοῦ λέγοντι· “Κύριος
 ἔκτισέ με ἀρχὴν ὁδῶν αὐτοῦ εἰς ἔργα αὐτοῦ,” οὐχ ὁμοίως αὐτὸν
 τοῖς δι' αὐτοῦ γενομένοις κτίσμασιν ἢ ποιήμασι γεγενῆσθαι
 νοοῦμεν. Ἀσεβὲς γὰρ καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς πίστεως ἀλλό-
 τριον τὸ τὸν κτίστην τοῖς δι' αὐτοῦ κεκτισμένοις δημιουργή-
 μασι παραβάλλειν, καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τῆς γενέσεως τοῖς ἄλλοις
 τρόπον ἔχειν καὶ αὐτὸν νομίζειν. Μόνον γὰρ καὶ μόνως τὸν
 μονογενῆ Υἱὸν γεγενῆσθαι γνησίως τε καὶ ἀληθῶς διδάσκου-
 σιν ἡμᾶς αἱ θεῖαι γραφαί.

IX. ‘Ἄλλ’ οὐδὲ τὸν Υἱὸν καθ’ ἑαυτὸν εἶναι, ζῆν τε καὶ
 ὑπάρχειν ὁμοίως τῷ Πατρὶ λέγοντες, διὰ τοῦτο χωρίζομεν αὐ-
 τὸν τοῦ Πατρὸς, τόπους καὶ διαστήματά τινα μεταξὺ τῆς συνα-
 φείας αὐτῶν σωματικῶς ἐπινοοῦντες. Πειπιστεύκαμεν γὰρ
 ἀμεσιτεύτως αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀδιαστάτως ἀλλήλοις ἐπισυνῆφθαι,
 καὶ ἀχωρίστους ὑπάρχειν ἑαυτῶν· ὅλου μὲν τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐν-
 στερνισμένον τὸν Υἱὸν, ὅλου δὲ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἐξηρητημένου καὶ
 προσπεφυκῶτος τῷ Πατρὶ, καὶ μόνου τοῖς πατράσι κόλποις
 ἀναπανομένου διηνεκῶς. Πιστεύοντες οὖν εἰς τὴν παντέλειον
 Τριάδα τὴν ἀγιωτάτην, τουτέστιν εἰς τὸν Πατέρα, καὶ εἰς τὸν
 Υἱὸν, καὶ εἰς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον, καὶ Θεὸν μὲν τὸν Πατέρα
 λέγοντες, Θεὸν δὲ καὶ τὸν Υἱὸν, οὐ δύο τούτους θεοὺς, ἀλλ’
 ἐν ὁμολογοῦμεν τῆς θεότητος ἀξίωμα, καὶ μίαν ἀκριβῆ τῆς
 βασιλείας τὴν συμφωνίαν· πανταρχοῦντος μὲν καθόλου πάν-
 των, καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, μόνου τοῦ Πατρὸς, τοῦ δὲ Υἱοῦ ὑπο-
 τεταγμένου τῷ Πατρὶ, ἐκτὸς δὲ αὐτοῦ πάντων μετ’ αὐτὸν βα-
 σιλεύοντος τῶν δι’ αὐτοῦ γενομένων, καὶ τὴν τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύ-
 ματος χάριν ἀφθόνης τοῖς ἁγίοις δωρουμένου πατρικῶ βουλή-
 ματι. Οὕτω γὰρ τὸν περὶ τῆς εἰς Χριστὸν μοναρχίας συνίστα-
 σθαι λόγον παρέδωκαν ἡμῖν οἱ ἱεροὶ λόγοι.

X. ‘Ταῦτα ἠναγκάσθημεν μετὰ τὴν ἐν ἐπιτομῇ προεκτεθεῖ-
 σαν πίστιν πλατύτερον ἐπεξεργάσασθαι οὐ κατὰ περιττὴν φι-
 λοτιμίαν, ἀλλ’ ἵνα πᾶσαν τὴν τῆς ἡμετέρας ὑπολήψεως ἄλλο-

τρίαν ἀνακαθάρωμεν ὑποψίαν παρὰ τοῖς τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἀγνοοῦσι, καὶ γνῶσιν οἱ κατὰ τὴν δύσιν πάντες ὁμοῦ μὲν τῆς συκοφαντίας τῶν ἑτεροδόξων τὴν ἀναλίδειαν, ὁμοῦ δὲ τῶν ἀνατολικῶν τὸ ἐκκλησιαστικὸν ἐν Κυρίῳ φρόνημα, μαρτυρούμενον ἀβιάστως ὑπὸ τῶν θεοπνεύστων γραφῶν, παρὰ τοῖς ἀδιαστρόφοις.'

27. 'Ἄλλ' οὐδὲ τούτοις ἐνέμειναν· πάλιν γὰρ ἐν Σιρμίῳ συνελθόντες κατὰ Φωτεινοῦ, τότε συνέθηκαν αὐθις πίστιν, οὐκέτι μὲν οὕτω σχοιωτοετῇ, οὐδὲ τοσαύτην τοῖς ῥήμασιν· ἀφελόντες δὲ τὰ πλείστα καὶ προσθέντες ἄλλα, ὥσπερ ἐξ ὑποβολῆς παρὰ τινων ἀκούσαντες, ἔγραψαν ταῦτα.

‘Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἓνα Θεὸν, Πατέρα παντοκράτορα, τὸν κτί- (First Sirmian Creed.)
στην καὶ ποιητὴν τῶν πάντων, “ἐξ οὗ πᾶσα πατριὰ ἐν οὐρανῷ [A.D. 351.]
καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς ὀνομάζεται” καὶ εἰς τὸν μονογενῆ αὐτοῦ Υἱὸν τὸν Hil. de Syn.
Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν τὸν Χριστὸν, τὸν πρὸ πάντων τῶν αἰώ- 38.
νων ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς γεννηθέντα· Θεὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ, φῶς ἐκ φωτός, δι’ οὗ ἐγένετο τὰ πάντα, τὰ τε ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, τὰ ὁρατὰ καὶ τὰ ἀόρατα· Λόγον ὄντα καὶ σοφίαν, καὶ φῶς ἀληθινόν, καὶ ζωὴν· τὸν ἐπ’ ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν δι’ ἡμᾶς ἐνανθρωπήσαντα· καὶ γεννηθέντα ἐκ τῆς ἀγίας Παρθένου, καὶ σταυρωθέντα, καὶ ἀποθανόντα, καὶ ταφέντα· καὶ ἀναστάντα ἐκ νεκρῶν τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ, καὶ ἀναληφθέντα εἰς οὐρανόν, καὶ καθεσθέντα ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Πατρὸς· καὶ ἐρχόμενον ἐπὶ συντελείᾳ τοῦ αἰῶνος κρίναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκροὺς, καὶ ἀποδοῦναι ἑκάστῳ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ· οὗ ἡ βασιλεία, ἀκατάπανστος οὔσα, διαμένει εἰς τοὺς ἀπείρους αἰῶνας· ἔσται γὰρ καθεζόμενος ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Πατρὸς, οὗ μόνον ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι· καὶ εἰς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον, τοῦτέστι τὸν Παράκλητον, ὅπερ ἐπαγγεiliάμενος τοῖς ἀποστόλοις, μετὰ τὴν εἰς οὐρανοὺς αὐτοῦ ἀνοδὸν ἀποστείλαι, διδάξαι καὶ ὑπομνησαι αὐτοὺς πάντα, ἔπεμψε· δι’ οὗ καὶ ἀγιάζονται αἱ τῶν εἰλικρινῶς εἰς αὐτὸν πεπιστευκότων ψυχαί.

I. ‘Τοὺς δὲ λέγοντας ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων τὸν Υἱόν, ἢ ἐξ ἐτέρας ὑποστάσεως, καὶ μὴ ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ ὅτι ἦν χρόνος ἢ αἰὼν ὅτε οὐκ ἦν, ἀλλοτρίους οἶδεν ἡ ἀγία καὶ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία.

II. ‘Πάλιν οὖν ἐροῦμεν· Εἴ τις τὸν Πατέρα καὶ τὸν Υἱὸν δύο λέγει θεοὺς, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.

DE SYNODIS.

(First Sirmian Creed.)

III. 'Καὶ εἴ τις, λέγων Θεὸν τὸν Χριστὸν πρὸ αἰώνων Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὑπουργηκότα τῷ Πατρὶ εἰς τὴν τῶν ὄλων δημιουργίαν μὴ ὁμολογήσῃ, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.

IV. 'Εἴ τις τὸν ἀγέννητον, ἢ μέρος αὐτοῦ, ἐκ Μαρίας λέγειν γεγενῆσθαι τολμᾷ, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.

V. 'Εἴ τις κατὰ πρόγνωσιν πρὸ Μαρίας λέγει τὸν Υἱὸν εἶναι, καὶ μὴ πρὸ αἰώνων ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς γεγεννημένον πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν εἶναι, καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ γεγενῆσθαι τὰ πάντα, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.

Cp. Orat. c.
Ari. iv. 13.

VI. 'Εἴ τις τὴν οὐσίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ πλατύνεσθαι, ἢ συστέλλεσθαι φάσκει, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.

VII. 'Εἴ τις πλατυνομένην τὴν οὐσίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸν Υἱὸν λέγοι ποιεῖν, ἢ τὸν πλατυσμὸν τῆς οὐσίας αὐτοῦ Υἱὸν ὀνομάζοι, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.

VIII. 'Εἴ τις ἐνδιάθετον ἢ προφορικὸν λόγον λέγει τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.

IX. 'Εἴ τις ἄνθρωπον μόνον λέγει τὸν ἐκ Μαρίας Υἱὸν, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.

X. 'Εἴ τις Θεὸν καὶ ἄνθρωπον τὸν ἐκ Μαρίας λέγων, Θεὸν τὸν ἀγέννητον οὕτω νοεῖ, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.

Isa. xlv. 6.
[In Hil. no.
23.]

XI. 'Εἴ τις τὸ, "Ἐγὼ Θεὸς πρῶτος, καὶ ἐγὼ μετὰ ταῦτα, καὶ πλὴν ἐμοῦ οὐκ ἔστι Θεός," ἐπ' ἀναιρέσει εἰδώλων καὶ τῶν μὴ ὄντων θεῶν εἰρημένον, ἐπ' ἀναιρέσει τοῦ Μονογενοῦς πρὸ αἰώνων Θεοῦ Ἰουδαϊκῶς ἐκλαμβάνοι, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.

John i. 14.

XII. 'Εἴ τις τὸ, "Ὁ Λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο," ἀκούων, τὸν Λόγον εἰς σάρκα μεταβεβλήσθαι νομίζοι, ἢ τροπὴν ὑπομεμενηκότα ἀνελιγμένην τὴν σάρκα λέγοι, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.

XIII. 'Εἴ τις, τὸν μονογενῆ Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐσταυρωμένον ἀκούων, τὴν θεότητα αὐτοῦ φθορὰν, ἢ πάθος, ἢ τροπὴν, ἢ μείωσιν, ἢ ἀναίρεσιν ὑπομεμενηκέναι λέγοι, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.

Gen. i. 26.

XIV. 'Εἴ τις τὸ, "Ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον," μὴ τὸν Πατέρα πρὸς τὸν Υἱὸν λέγειν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν λέγοι τὸν Θεὸν εἰρηκέναι, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.

XV. 'Εἴ τις μὴ τὸν Υἱὸν λέγοι τὸν Ἀβραὰμ ἐωρᾶσθαι, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀγέννητον Θεόν, ἢ μέρος αὐτοῦ, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.

XVI. 'Εἴ τις τῷ Ἰακώβ μὴ τὸν Υἱὸν ὡς ἄνθρωπον πεπαλαι-

κέναι, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀγέννητον Θεὸν, ἡ μέρος αὐτοῦ λέγοι, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.

XVII. 'Εἴ τις τὸ, "Ἐβρεξε Κύριος πῦρ παρὰ Κυρίου," μὴ ἐπὶ τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἐκλαμβάνοι, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν παρ' ἑαυτοῦ λέγει βεβρεχέναι, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω· ἔβρεξε γὰρ Κύριος ὁ Υἱὸς παρὰ Κυρίου τοῦ Πατρὸς. Gen. xix. 24.

XVIII. 'Εἴ τις, ἀκούων Κύριον τὸν Πατέρα, καὶ τὸν Υἱὸν Κύριον, καὶ Κύριον τὸν Πατέρα καὶ τὸν Υἱὸν, ἐπεὶ Κύριος ἐκ Κυρίου, δύο λέγει θεοὺς, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω. Οὐ γὰρ συντάσσομεν Υἱὸν τῷ Πατρὶ, ἀλλ' ὑποτεταγμένον τῷ Πατρὶ. Οὔτε γὰρ κατήλθεν ἐπὶ Σόδομα ἀνευ βουλῆς τοῦ Πατρὸς, οὔτε ἔβρεξεν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ, ἀλλὰ παρὰ Κυρίου, αὐθεντοῦντος δηλαδὴ τοῦ Πατρὸς· οὔτε κάθηται ἐκ δεξιῶν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ, ἀλλ' ἀκούει λέγοντος τοῦ Πατρὸς· "Κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου." Psal. cix.
(cx.) 1.

XIX. 'Εἴ τις τὸν Πατέρα, καὶ τὸν Υἱὸν, καὶ τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα ἐν πρόσωπον λέγει, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.

XX. 'Εἴ τις, τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον Παράκλητον λέγων, τὸν ἀγέννητον λέγοι Θεὸν, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.

XXI. 'Εἴ τις, ὡς ἐδίδαξεν ἡμᾶς ὁ Κύριος, μὴ ἄλλον λέγοι τὸν Παράκλητον παρὰ τὸν Υἱόν· εἶρηκε γάρ· "Καὶ ἄλλον Παράκλητον πέμψει ὑμῖν ὁ Πατήρ, ὃν ἐρωτήσω ἐγὼ," ἀνάθεμα ἔστω. John xiv. 16.

XXII. 'Εἴ τις τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον μέρος λέγοι τοῦ Πατρὸς, ἢ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.

XXIII. 'Εἴ τις τὸν Πατέρα, καὶ τὸν Υἱὸν, καὶ τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα τρεῖς λέγοι θεοὺς, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.

XXIV. 'Εἴ τις βουλήσει τοῦ Θεοῦ ὡς ἐν τῶν ποιημάτων γεγενῆσθαι λέγοι τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.

XXV. 'Εἴ τις μὴ θελήσαντος τοῦ Πατρὸς γεγενῆσθαι λέγοι τὸν Υἱὸν, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω. Οὐ γὰρ βιασθεὶς ὁ Πατήρ ὑπὸ ἀνάγκης φυσικῆς ἀχθεὶς, ὡς οὐκ ᾔθελεν, ἐγέννησε τὸν Υἱόν, ἀλλ' ἅμα τε ἡβουλήθη, καὶ ἀχρόνως καὶ ἀπαθῶς ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ αὐτὸν γεννήσας ἐπέδειξεν.

XXVI. 'Εἴ τις ἀγέννητον καὶ ἀναρχον λέγοι τὸν Υἱόν, ὡς δύο ἀναρχα καὶ δύο ἀγέννητα λέγων, καὶ δύο ποιῶν θεοὺς, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω. Κεφαλὴ γὰρ, ὃ ἐστὶν ἀρχὴ πάντων, ὁ Υἱός.

DE SYNODIS. "κεφαλὴ δέ," ὃ ἐστὶν ἀρχὴ "τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὁ Θεός" οὕτω γὰρ εἰς
 (First Sirmian Creed.) μέλαν ἀναρχον τῶν ὄλων ἀρχὴν δι' Ἰοῦ εὐσεβῶς τὰ πάντα
 1 Cor. xi. 3. ἀνάγομεν.

XXVII. 'Καὶ πάλιν συνδιακριβούντες τοῦ Χριστιανισμοῦ
 τὴν ἔννοιαν λέγομεν, ὅτι, Εἴ τις Χριστὸν Θεὸν Ἰῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ
 προαιώνιον ὄντα, καὶ ὑπουργηκότα τῷ Πατρὶ εἰς τὴν τῶν ὄλων
 δημιουργίαν μὴ λέγοι, ἀλλ' ἐξ οὗ ἐκ Μαρίας ἐγεννήθη, ἐκ τότε
 καὶ Χριστὸν καὶ Ἰῶν κεκληῖσθαι, καὶ ἀρχὴν εἰληφέναι τοῦ Θεοῦ
 εἶναι, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.'

28. Ταῦτα πάντα παρωσάμενοι· καὶ ὥσπερ βελτίονα ἐπι-
 νοήσαντες, δογματίζουσιν ἄλλην πίστιν, καὶ γράφουσι ταῦτα ἐν
 Σιρμίῳ Ῥωμαῖστί μὲν, ἐρμηνευθέντα δὲ Ἑλληνιστί·

(Second Sirmian Creed,
 called the
 'Blasphemia'.)

[A. D. 357.]
 Soc. ii. 30. Hil.
 de Syn. 11.

'Ἐπειδὴ περὶ πίστεως ἔδοξε τινα διάσκεψιν γενέσθαι, πάντα
 ἀσφαλῶς ἐζητήθη καὶ διηρευνήθη ἐν τῷ Σιρμίῳ ἐπὶ παρουσίᾳ
 Οὐάλεντος, καὶ Οὐρσακίου, καὶ Γερμινίου, καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν.
 Συνέστηκεν ἓνα Θεὸν εἶναι Πατέρα παντοκράτορα, καθὼς καὶ
 ἐν πάσῃ τῇ οἰκουμένῃ καταγγέλλεται· καὶ ἓνα μονογενῆ Ἰῶν
 αὐτοῦ, τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν, ἐξ αὐτοῦ πρὸ τῶν
 αἰώνων γεννηθέντα· δύο θεοὺς μὴ χρῆναι λέγειν, ἐπειδὴ
 αὐτὸς ὁ Κύριος εἶρηκε· "Πορεύομαι πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα μου καὶ
 Πατέρα ὑμῶν, καὶ Θεὸν μου καὶ Θεὸν ὑμῶν." Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ
 πάντων Θεός ἐστι, καθὼς καὶ ὁ ἀπόστολος ἐδίδασκεν· "'Ἡ
 Ἰουδαίων μόνων ὁ Θεός, οὐχὶ καὶ ἔθνων; Ναὶ καὶ ἔθνων·
 ἐπεὶ περ εἰς ὁ Θεός, ὃς δικαιοῦσι περιτομὴν ἐκ πίστεως, καὶ
 ἀκροβυστίαν διὰ πίστεως" καὶ τὰ μὲν λοιπὰ πάντα συμφωνεῖ,
 καὶ οὐδεμίαν ἔχει ἀμφιβολίαν. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ πολλοὺς τινες κινεῖ
 περὶ τῆς λεγομένης Ῥωμαῖστί μὲν "σουβσταντίας," Ἑλληνιστί
 δὲ λεγομένης "οὐσίας," τουτέστιν, ἵνα ἀκριβέστερον γνωσθῇ, τὸ
 "ὁμοούσιον," ἢ τὸ λεγόμενον "ὁμοιοούσιον" οὐ χρή τινα τούτων
 παντελῶς μνήμην γίνεσθαι, οὐδὲ περὶ τούτων ἐξηγεῖσθαι ἐν τῇ
 ἐκκλησίᾳ διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτον τὸν λογισμόν,
 ὅτι ἐν ταῖς θέλαις γραφαῖς οὐ γέγραπται περὶ τούτων· καὶ ὅτι
 ταῦτα ὑπὲρ τὴν ἀνθρώπων γνῶσιν καὶ τὸν ἀνθρώπων νοῦν ἐστι·
 καὶ ὅτι οὐδεὶς δύναται τὴν γενεὰν τοῦ Ἰοῦ διηγῆσθαι, καθὼς
 γέγραπται· "Τὴν γενεὰν αὐτοῦ τίς διηγῆσεται;" Μόνον γὰρ
 εἶδέναι τὸν Πατέρα φανερόν ἐστι, πῶς τὸν Ἰῶν ἐγέννησε, καὶ

John xx. 17.

Rom. iii. 29,
 30.

c. 33, 36.

Isa. liiii. 8.

πάλιν τὸν Υἱὸν, πῶς αὐτὸς γεγέννηται παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς. Οὐδενὶ δὲ ἀμφίβολόν ἐστι, μείζονα εἶναι τὸν Πατέρα· οὐδὲ γὰρ διστάσειεν ἂν τις τὸν Πατέρα τιμῇ, καὶ ἀξίᾳ, καὶ θεότητι, καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ ὀνόματι τῷ πατρικῷ μείζονα εἶναι, διαμαρτυρουμένου αὐτοῦ τοῦ Υἱοῦ. “Ὁ ἐμὲ πέμψας Πατὴρ μείζων μου ἐστι.” John xiv. 28. Καὶ τοῦτο δὲ καθολικὸν εἶναι οὐδεὶς ἀγνοεῖ, δύο πρόσωπα εἶναι, Πατὴρ καὶ Υἱοῦ· καὶ τὸν μὲν Πατέρα μείζονα, τὸν δὲ Υἱὸν ὑποτεταγμένον τῷ Πατρὶ μετὰ πάντων, ὃν αὐτῷ ὁ Πατὴρ ὑπέταξε· τὸν δὲ Πατέρα ἀρχὴν μὴ ἔχειν, καὶ ἀόρατον εἶναι, καὶ ἀθάνατον εἶναι, καὶ ἀπαθὴ εἶναι· τὸν δὲ Υἱὸν γεγεννησθαι ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς, Θεὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ, φῶς ἐκ φωτός· καὶ τούτου τὴν γένεσιν, καθὼς προεῖρηται, μηδὲνα γινώσκειν, εἰ μὴ μόνον τὸν Πατέρα· αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν Υἱὸν καὶ Κύριον καὶ Θεὸν ἡμῶν σάρκα ἦτοι σῶμα, τουτέστιν ἄνθρωπον, εἰληφέναι ἀπὸ Μαρίας τῆς Παρθένου, καθάπερ καὶ ὁ ἄγγελος προεσηγγελλίστατο· καθὼς δὲ πᾶσαι αἱ γραφαὶ διδάσκουσι, καὶ μάλιστα αὐτὸς ὁ ἀπόστολος ὁ διδάσκαλος τῶν ἔθνων, ἄνθρωπον ἀνέλαβεν ὁ Χριστὸς ἀπὸ Μαρίας τῆς Παρθένου, δι’ οὗ πέποιθε. Τὸ δὲ κεφάλαιον πάσης τῆς πίστεως, καὶ ἡ βεβαιότης ἐστίν, ἵνα Τριάς αἰετὶ φυλάττηται, καθὼς ἀνέγνωμεν ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ. “Πορευθέντες, βαπτίζετε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος.” Ἀκέραιος δὲ καὶ τέλειός ἐστιν ὁ ἀριθμὸς τῆς Τριάδος. Ὁ δὲ Παράκλητος τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον, δι’ Υἱοῦ ἀποσταλὲν, ἦλθε, κατὰ τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν, ἵνα τοὺς ἀποστόλους καὶ πάντας τοὺς πιστεύοντας ἀναδιδάξῃ καὶ ἁγιάσῃ.

29. Ταῦτα γράψαντες καὶ μεταγρόντες, συνέθηκαν μὲν ἐκείνην, ἣν μετὰ τῆς ὑπατείας ἐπιδείξαντες ἡρυθρίασαν. Συνήθως δὲ, ὥσπερ καταγρόντες καὶ ταύτης, ἐποίησαν μὲν αὐτὴν ἄρπασθῆναι ἀπὸ τῶν ἐχόντων ἀντίγραφα διὰ Μαρτινιανοῦ νοταρίου. Καὶ ποιήσαντες τὸν βασιλέα Κωνσταντίον κατ’ αὐτῆς προθεῖναι διάταγμα, δογματίζουνσι πάλιν ἄλλην, καὶ προσθέντες, ὡς εἰώθασι, λέξεις τινὰς, γράφουσι ταῦτα ἐν τῇ Ἰσαυρίᾳ.

‘Οὐ φεύγομεν τὴν ἐκτεθεῖσαν αὐθεντικὴν πίστιν ἐν τοῖς Ἑγκαινίοις τοῖς κατὰ Ἀντιόχειαν, προκομίζοντες αὐτήν· εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν κατ’ ἐκείνο καιροῦ πρὸς τὸ ὑπο-

Matt. xxviii.
19.

c. 8.

c. 12.

(Creed of
Acacians at
Seleucia.)
[Sept. 29,
359.]
Soc. ii. 40.

DE SYNODIS. κείμενον τῆς ζητήσεως συνέδραμον. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ πολλοὺς ἐθορύβησε τὸ “ὁμοούσιον” καὶ τὸ “ὁμοιοούσιον” ἐν τοῖς παρεληλυθόσι χρόνοις καὶ μέχρι νῦν· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀρτίως λέγεται καινοτομεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τινων τὸ “ἀνόμοιον” Υἱοῦ πρὸς Πατέρα· τούτου χάριν τὸ μὲν ὁμοούσιον καὶ τὸ ὁμοιοούσιον ἐκβάλλομεν, ὥς ἄλλότριον τῶν γραφῶν· τὸ δὲ ἀνόμοιον ἀναθεματίζομεν, καὶ πάντα, ὅσοι τοιοῦτοι τυγχάνουσιν, ἁλλοτρίους ἡγοῦμεθα τῆς ἐκκλησίας. Τὸ δὲ “ὅμοιον” τοῦ Υἱοῦ πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα σαφῶς ὁμολογοῦμεν κατὰ τὸν ἀπόστολον, τὸν λέγοντα περὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ·

c. 37.

Coloss. i. 15.

“Ὅς ἐστὶν εἰκὼν τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ἀοράτου.” Ὁμολογοῦμεν δὲ καὶ πιστεύομεν εἰς ἓνα Θεὸν Πατέρα παντοκράτορα, τὸν ποιητὴν οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς, ὁρατῶν πάντων καὶ ἀοράτων. Πιστεύομεν δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν, τὸν Υἱὸν αὐτοῦ, τὸν ἐξ αὐτοῦ γεννηθέντα ἀπαθῶς πρὸ πάντων τῶν αἰώνων, Θεὸν Λόγον, Θεὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ Μονογενῆ, φῶς, ζωὴν, ἀλήθειαν, σοφίαν, δύναμιν, δι’ οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο, τὰ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, εἴτε ὁρατὰ εἴτε ἀόρατα. Τοῦτον πιστεύομεν ἐπὶ συντελείᾳ τῶν αἰώνων εἰς ἀθέτησιν τῆς ἁμαρτίας σὰρκά ἀνειληφέναι ἐκ τῆς ἁγίας Παρθένου καὶ ἐνανθρωπήσαντα· παθόντα ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν, καὶ ἀναστάντα, καὶ ἀναληφθέντα εἰς οὐρανοὺς, καθέζεσθαι ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Πατρὸς· πάλιν ἐρχόμενον ἐν δόξῃ, κρίναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς. Πιστεύομεν καὶ εἰς τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, δ καὶ Παράκλητον ὠνόμασεν ὁ Σωτὴρ καὶ Κύριος ἡμῶν, ἐπαγγειλάμενος μετὰ τὸ ἀπελθεῖν αὐτὸν πέμψαι τοῖς μαθηταῖς τοῦτο, δ καὶ ἀπέστειλε· δι’ οὗ καὶ ἁγιάζει τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ πιστεύοντας, καὶ βαπτίζομένους ἐν ὀνόματι Πατρὸς, καὶ Υἱοῦ, καὶ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος. Τοὺς δὲ παρὰ ταύτην τὴν πίστιν ἄλλο τι κηρύττοντας ἁλλοτρίους οἶδεν ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία. Ὅτι δὲ ταύτῃ τῇ πίστει ἰσοδυναμεῖ καὶ ἡ ἐν Συρμίῳ πρώην ἐκτεθεῖσα πίστις ἐπὶ τῆς εὐσεβείας τοῦ βασιλέως ἡμῶν, γνωρίζουσιν οἱ ἐντυγχάνοντες.

[c. 30, 31,
added later.]

30. Ταῦτα γράψαντες ἐν τῇ Ἰσαυρίᾳ, ἀνελθόντες εἰς τὴν Κωνσταντινούπολιν, ὥσπερ μεταγρόντες, ἥλλαξαν συνήθως ταῦτα, καὶ προσθέντες λεξιδίδια τινα, ὥστε μὴδὲ “ὑπόστασιν” λέγειν ἐπὶ Πατρὸς, καὶ Υἱοῦ, καὶ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος, διεπέμ-

[Jan. A.D.
360.]

ψαντο αὐτὰ τοῖς ἐν Ἀριμήνῳ, καὶ ἠνάγκαζον καὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς μέρεσι τούτοις ὑπογράφειν· τοὺς δὲ ἀντιλέγοντας αὐτοῖς ἐποιοῦν ἐξορίζεσθαι παρὰ Κωνσταντίου. Ἔστιν οὖν ταῦτα·

‘Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἓνα Θεὸν, Πατέρα παντοκράτορα, ἐξ οὗ τὰ πάντα· καὶ εἰς τὸν μονογενῆ Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, τὸν πρὸ πάντων αἰώνων, καὶ πρὸ πάσης ἀρχῆς γεννηθέντα ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ· δι’ οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο, τὰ ὁρατὰ καὶ τὰ ἀόρατα, γεννηθέντα δὲ Μονογενῇ, μόνον ἐκ μόνου τοῦ Πατρὸς, Θεὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ, ὅμοιον τῷ γεννήσαντι αὐτὸν Πατρὶ κατὰ τὰς γραφάς· οὗ τὴν γένεσιν οὐδεὶς γινώσκει εἰ μὴ μόνος ὁ γεννήσας αὐτὸν Πατήρ. Τοῦτον οἶδαμεν μονογενῆ Θεοῦ Υἱὸν, πέμποντος τοῦ Πατρὸς, παραγεγενῆσθαι ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν, ὡς γέγραπται, ἐπὶ καταλύσει τῆς ἁμαρτίας καὶ τοῦ θανάτου, καὶ γεννηθέντα ἐκ Πνεύματος Ἁγίου, ἐκ Μαρίας τῆς Παρθένου τὸ κατὰ σάρκα, ὡς γέγραπται, καὶ ἀναστραφέντα μετὰ τῶν μαθητῶν, καὶ πάσης τῆς οἰκονομίας πληρωθείσης κατὰ τὴν πατρικὴν βούλησιν, σταυρωθέντα, καὶ ἀποθανόντα, καὶ ταφέντα, καὶ εἰς τὰ καταχθόνια κατεληλυθότα· ὧντινα καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ ᾄδης ἔπηξεν· ὅστις καὶ ἀνέστη ἀπὸ τῶν νεκρῶν τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ, καὶ διέτριψε μετὰ τῶν μαθητῶν· καὶ πληρωθεῖσάν τεσσαράκοντα ἡμερῶν, ἀνελήφθη εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς, καὶ καθέζεται ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Πατρὸς, ἐλευσόμενος ἐν τῇ ἐσχάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς ἀναστάσεως ἐν τῇ πατρικῇ δόξῃ, ἵνα ἀποδῷ ἐκάστῳ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ· καὶ εἰς τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, ὅπερ αὐτὸς ὁ μονογενὴς τοῦ Θεοῦ Υἱὸς ὁ Χριστὸς, ὁ Κύριος καὶ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ἐπηγγέλατο πέμπειν τῷ γένει τῶν ἀνθρώπων παράκλητον, καθάπερ γέγραπται· “Τὸ Πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας,” ὅπερ αὐτοῖς ἐπεμψεν, ὅτε ἀνῆλθεν εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς. Τὸ δὲ ὄνομα τῆς “οὐσίας,” ὅπερ ἀπλούστερον ὑπὸ τῶν πατέρων ἐτέθη, ἀγνοοῦμενον δὲ τοῖς λαοῖς, σκάνδαλον ἔφερε, διότι μὴδὲ αἱ γραφαὶ τοῦτο περιέχουσιν, ἤρεσε περιαιρεθῆναι, καὶ παντελῶς μηδεμίαν μνήμην τοῦ λοιποῦ γίνεσθαι· ἐπειδὴ περ καὶ αἱ θεῖαι γραφαὶ οὐδαμῶς ἐμνημόνευσαν περὶ “οὐσίας” Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ. Καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ ὀφείλει “ὑπόστασις” περὶ Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ καὶ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος ὀνομάζεσθαι. Ὅμοιον δὲ λέγομεν τῷ Πατρὶ τὸν Υἱόν, ὡς λέγουσιν αἱ θεῖαι γραφαὶ καὶ διδάσκουσι. Πᾶσαι δὲ αἱ αἱρέσεις, αἱ τε ἤδη πρότερον κατεκρίθησαν, καὶ αἵτινες

(Creed of Nikè and Ariminum, as altered at Constanti-nople.)
Soc. ii. 47.

John xvi. 13.

Cr. c. 36.

DE SYNODIS. ἂν καινότεραι γένωνται, ἐναντίαι τυγχάνουσαι τῆς ἐκτεθείσης ταύτης γραφῆς, ἀνάθεμα ἔστωσαν.'

[A. D. 361.] 31. 'ΑΛΛ' οὐδὲ τούτοις ἐνέμειναν' κατελθόντες γὰρ ἀπὸ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως εἰς τὴν 'Αντιόχειαν, μετέγνωσαν, ὅτι ὅλως ἔγραψαν 'ὅμοιον τῷ Πατρὶ τὸν Υἱόν,' ὡς λέγουσιν αἱ γραφαί· καὶ συνθέντες ἅπερ ἐπενόησαν, ἤρξαντο πάλιν ἀνατρέχειν εἰς τὰ πρῶτα ἑαυτῶν, καὶ λέγειν, 'ὅτι παντελῶς ἀνόμοιός ἐστιν ὁ Υἱὸς τῷ Πατρὶ, καὶ κατ' οὐδένα τρόπον ὅμοιός ἐστιν ὁ Υἱὸς τῷ Πατρὶ,' τοσοῦτον μετεβάλοντο, ὡς καὶ τοὺς τὰ 'Αρείου γυμνότερον λέγοντας προσδέχεσθαι, καὶ τὰς ἐκκλησίας αὐτοῖς παραδιδόναι, ἵνα ἐπ' ἀδείας τὰ τῆς βλασφημίας προσφέρωσι. Διὰ γοῦν τὴν πολλὴν ἀναλίδειαν τῆς βλασφημίας αὐτῶν 'Ανόμοιοι' παρὰ πᾶσιν ἐκλήθησαν, ἔχοντες καὶ τὴν 'ἔξουκόντιον' ἐπωνυμίαν, καὶ τὸν αἰρετικὸν Κωνσταντίον προστάτην τῆς ἀσεβείας αὐτῶν· ὃς, μέχρι τέλους διαμεύας ἐν ἀσεβείᾳ, καὶ λοιπὸν ἀποθνήσκων, ἔδοξε βαπτίσεσθαι, οὐ παρὰ εὐσεβῶν ἀνδρῶν, ἀλλὰ ὑπὸ Εὐζώτου τοῦ διὰ τὴν 'Αρειανὴν αἵρεσιν οὐχ ἁπαξ, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλάκις καθαιρεθέντος, καὶ ὅτε διάκονος ἦν, καὶ ὅτε ἐν 'Αντιοχείᾳ ἐκαθέσθη.

Apol. de Fuga, 26.

[Nov. A. D. 361.]

32. Τέως μὲν οὖν ἄχρι τούτου φθάσαντες, ἔστησαν καὶ καθηρέθησαν οἱ προειρημένοι. 'Αλλὰ οὐδὲ οὕτως, εὖ οἶδα ὅτι στήσονται ὅσοι καὶ νῦν ὑπεκρίναντο, αἰεὶ δὲ συστάσεις ποιήσουσι κατὰ τῆς ἀληθείας, ἕως ἂν εἰς ἑαυτοὺς ἐλθόντες εἴπωσι καὶ οὗτοι· 'Ἀναστάντες πορευσώμεθα πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας ἑαυτῶν, καὶ ἐροῦμεν αὐτοῖς· 'Αναθεματίζομεν μὲν τὴν 'Αρειανὴν αἵρεσιν, ἐπιγινώσκουμεν δὲ τὴν ἐν Νικαίᾳ σύνοδον' πρὸς ταύτην γὰρ ἔχουσι τὴν ἔριν. Τίς οὖν ἔτι, κὰν ὀλίγην αἴσθησιν ἔχων, ἀνέξεται τούτων; τίς βλέπων καθ' ἐκάστην σύνοδον τὰ μὲν ἀφαιρούμενα, τὰ δὲ προστιθέμενα, οὐ συννοῶ τούτους ὑποπτον καὶ ὑπουλον ἔχοντας κατὰ Χριστοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν; τίς, ὁρῶν αὐτοὺς διὰ μακρῶν ἐκτείνοντας ἑαυτῶν τὴν τε τῆς πίστεως σύνθεσιν καὶ τὴν ἀπολογίαν περὶ ᾧ ἐγκαλοῦνται, οὐχ ὁρᾷ τούτους καταγινώσκοντας ἑαυτῶν, καὶ πολλὰ γράφοντας ἐπίτηδες, ἵνα δόξωσι διὰ τῆς ἀκαίρου φιλοτιμίας, καὶ τῆς τοσαύτης πολυλογίας, ὑφαρπάξειν τοὺς ἀκεραίους, καὶ λανθάνειν οἱοὶ τὴν αἵρεσιν τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες; 'Αλλ' ὥσπερ 'οἱ ἔθνικοι,' ὡς εἶπεν

c. 14.

Matt. vi. 7.

ὁ Κύριος, 'βαπτολογοῦντες' ἐν ταῖς εὐχαῖς οὐδὲν ὠφελοῦσιν, οὕτως οὗτοι τοσαῦτα καταντλήσαντες, οὐκ ἠδυνήθησαν σβέσαι τὴν κατὰ τῆς Ἀρειανῆς αἵρέσεως κρίσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μᾶλλον ἐλεγχθέντες καθηρέθησαν, καὶ εἰκότως γε· ποίαν γὰρ αὐτῶν ὁ ἀκούων ἀποδέξεται συγγραφὴν; ἢ ποῖα θαρβήσαντες αὐτοὶ κατηχήσουσι τοὺς ἐρχομένους πρὸς αὐτούς; Εἰ μὲν γὰρ αἱ πᾶσαι μίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχουσι συμφωνίαν, τίς ἢ χρεῖα τῶν πολλῶν; εἰ δὲ τοσούτων χρεῖα γέγονε, δῆλόν ἐστιν ἐκάστην ἐνδεῇ καὶ μὴ πλήρη τυγχάνειν· καὶ τοῦτο μᾶλλον ἡμῶν αὐτοὶ διελέγχουσιν ἐν τῷ πάσας ἐναλλάττειν καὶ μεταποιεῖν. Τὸ δὲ πλῆθος τῶν συνόδων, καὶ ἡ διαφορὰ τῶν γραφομένων δέικνυσι τοὺς ἐν αὐταῖς συνελθόντας μαχομένους μὲν πρὸς τὴν ἐν Νικαίᾳ σύνοδον, ἀσθενοῦντας δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν.

33. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὕτως αὐτοὶ πρὸς τε ἑαυτοὺς, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς (Part III.) πρὸ ἑαυτῶν διετέθησαν, φέρε λοιπὸν ἡμεῖς, ἐξετάσαντες, μάθωμεν παρ' αὐτῶν, ποῖον ἄτοπον θεωρήσαντες, ἢ τίνα λέξιν αἰτιώμενοι τῶν ἐγγεγραμμένων, ἀπειθεῖς μὲν γονεῦσι γεγόνασιν, διαμάχονται δὲ πρὸς οἰκουμενικὴν σύνοδον; Τὸ 'ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας,' c. 28-30. φησὶ, καὶ τὸ 'ὁμοούσιον' οὐκ ἤρεσεν ἡμῖν. Ταῦτα γὰρ τινες ἐσκανδάλισε καὶ πολλοὺς ἐθορύβησεν. Ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὖν οὕτω γράφοντες εἰρήκασιν· ἀπαντήσκει δ' ἂν τις αὐτοῖς εὐλόγως οὕτως.—Εἰ μὲν οὖν αὐτὰ τὰ ῥήματα καθ' ἑαυτὰ τυγχάνει ὄντα αἷτια τούτοις εἰς σκάνδαλον, ἔδει μή τινας σκανδαλίζεσθαι, μηδὲ πολλοὺς θορυβεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμᾶς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας ταυτὸν ἐκείνοις πάσχειν ἐξ αὐτῶν· εἰ δὲ οἱ μὲν πάντες ἀγαπῶσι τὰ ῥήματα, οἱ δὲ ταῦτα γράψαντες οὐχ οἱ τυχόντες, ἀλλ' οἱ ἐκ πάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης συνελθόντες εἰσὶ, καὶ τούτοις ἐπιμαρτυροῦσιν οἱ νῦν ἐν τῇ Ἀριμνῳ συνελθόντες ἐπίσκοποι ὕ' καὶ πλείους· πῶς οὐκ ἀντικρυς ἐλέγχει τοῦτο τοὺς κατὰ τῆς συνόδου λέγοντας, ὥς οὐ τὰ ῥήματά ἐστιν αἷτια, ἀλλ' ἡ κακόνοια τῶν παρεξηγουμένων τὰ τοιαῦτα; Πόσοι, κακῶς ἐντυγχάνοντες ταῖς θείαις γραφαῖς καὶ παρανοοῦντες ταύτας, κατηγοροῦσι τῶν ἀγίων· οἱοι γεγόνασιν οἱ μὲν τότε Ἰουδαῖοι, μὴ δεξάμενοι τὸν Κύριον, οἱ δὲ νῦν Μανιχαῖοι βλασφημοῦντες τὸν νόμον· καὶ οὐχ αἱ γραφαὶ γεγόνασιν αὐτοῖς αἷτια, ἀλλ' ἡ σφῶν αὐτῶν κακοφροσύνη. Εἰ μὲν οὖν ἀποδείξαι δύνασθε τὰ ῥήματα φαῦλα,

DE SYNODIS. τοῦτο ποιεῖτε, καὶ λόγος ἡγείσθω τῆς ἀποδείξεως· καὶ μὴ προ-
 φασίζεσθε τοὺς σκανδαλιζομένους, ἵνα μὴ ταυτὸν πάθητε τοῖς
 τότε Φαρισαίοις. Καὶ γὰρ κακέινων προφασιζομένων σκανδα-
 λίζεσθαι ἐπὶ ταῖς τοῦ Κυρίου διδαχαῖς, ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Κύριος·
 Matt. xv. 13. 'Πᾶσα φυτεία ἣν οὐκ ἐφύτευσεν ὁ Πατὴρ μου ὁ οὐράνιος,
 ἐκριζωθήσεται.' Τοῦτο δὲ λέγων ἐδείκνυνεν ὡς οὐ τὰ τοῦ
 Πατρὸς δι' αὐτοῦ 'φυτευόμενα' ῥήματα σκάνδαλον ἦσαν αὐτοῖς,
 ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ κακῶς ἐκδεχόμενοι τὰ καλῶς λεγόμενα ἐσκανδάλιζον
 ἑαυτούς. Ἐπεὶ καὶ οἱ αἰτιώμενοι τότε τὰς ἐπιστολὰς τοῦ
 ἀποστόλου, οὐ τοῦ Παύλου, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἀμαθίας καὶ
 στρεβλῆς διανοίας κατηγοροῦν.

34. Ἐπεὶ (καλὸν γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐρέσθαι τοῦτο) εἶπατε τίνες
 εἰσὶν οὓς προφασίζεσθε σκανδαλίζεσθαι καὶ θορυβεῖσθαι ἐπὶ
 τούτοις; Τῶν μὲν γὰρ εὐσεβούντων εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν οὐδεὶς,
 αὐτὰ γὰρ πρεσβεύουσι καὶ ἐκδικοῦσιν. Εἰ δὲ τῶν Ἀρειανῶν
 εἰσὶν οἱ τοῦτο πάσχοντες, τί θαυμαστὸν, εἰ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀναιροῦσιν
 αὐτῶν τὴν αἵρεσιν ἀχθονται; Οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς σκάνδαλον
 τὰ ῥήματα· ἀλλὰ λύπη ὅτι στηλογραφία κατὰ τῆς ἀσεβείας
 αὐτῶν ἐστίν. Οὐκοῦν παύσασθε γογγύζοντες κατὰ τῶν πατέ-
 ρων, καὶ τοιαῦτα προφασιζόμενοι· ἐπεὶ ὧρα ὑμᾶς καταμέμφε-
 1 Cor. i. 23. σθαι καὶ τῷ κυριακῷ σταυρῷ, ὅτι 'Ἰουδαίοις μὲν σκάνδαλόν ἐστιν,
 ἔθνεσι δὲ μωρία,' ὡς εἶπεν ὁ ἀπόστολος. Ἀλλ' ὥσπερ οὐ
 1 Cor. i. 24. φαῦλος ὁ σταυρός· ἡμῖν γὰρ τοῖς πιστεύουσιν ἐστὶ 'Χριστὸς
 Θεοῦ δύναμις, καὶ Θεοῦ σοφία,' κὰν Ἰουδαῖοι μαίνωνται· οὕτως
 οὐ φαῦλα τὰ τῶν πατέρων ῥήματα, ἀλλ' ὠφέλιμα τοῖς γνησίως
 ἐντυγχάνουσιν, καὶ ἀναιρετικὰ πάσης ἀσεβείας ἐστὶ, κὰν οἱ
 Ἀρειανοὶ πολλάκις διαβρῆγνύνωνται, κατακρινόμενοι παρ' αὐτῶν.
 Ὅτε τοίνυν ἡ περὶ τῶν σκανδαλιζομένων ἀπίθανος δέδεικται
 πρόφασις, εἶπατε λοιπὸν ὑμεῖς, πῶς οὐκ ἀρέσκεσθε τῷ, 'ἐκ τῆς
 οὐσίας,' ὀνόματι; Τοῦτο γὰρ πρῶτον ἀναγκαῖον ἀνακρίναι·
 [E. g. c. 8, 30.] καίτοι καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐγράψατε 'ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς' γεγεννησθαι τὸν
 Υἱόν; Εἰ μὲν οὖν τὸν 'Πατέρα' ὀνομάζοντες, ἢ τὸ, 'Θεός,'
 ὄνομα λέγοντες, οὐκ 'οὐσίαν' σημαίνετε, οὐδὲ αὐτὸν τὸν ὄντα
 ὅπερ ἐστὶ κατ' 'οὐσίαν' νοεῖτε, ἀλλ' ἑτερόν τι περὶ αὐτὸν, ἢ τὸ
 γοῦν χεῖρον, ἵνα μὴ παρ' ἐμοῦ λέγεται, διὰ τούτων σημαίνετε,
 ἕδει μὴ γράφειν ὑμᾶς 'ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς' τὸν Υἱόν, ἀλλ' 'ἐκ τῶν

περὶ αὐτὸν ἢ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ· ἵνα φεύγοντες λέγειν ἀληθῶς Πατέρα τὸν Θεόν, σύνθετον δὲ τὸν ἀπλοῦν, καὶ σωματικῶς αὐτὸν ἐπινοοῦντες, καινοτέρας βλασφημίας ἐφευρεταὶ γένησθε. Οὕτω δὲ νοοῦντες, ἐξ ἀνάγκης καὶ τὸν Λόγον, καὶ τὸ Υἱὸς, οὐκ 'οὐσίαν' ἀλλ' ὄνομα μόνον νομίζετε, καὶ λοιπὸν ἄχρις ὀνομάτων ἔχετε τὴν ἑαυτῶν φαντασίαν· καὶ ἃ λέγετε οὐκ εἶναι πιστεύετε, ἀλλὰ μὴ εἶναι φρονεῖτε.

35. Τοῦτο δὲ Σαδδουκαίων μᾶλλον καὶ τῶν παρ' Ἑλλήσι λεχθέντων ἀθέων ἐστὶ τὸ τόλμημα. Διὸ οὐδὲ τὴν κτίσιν αὐτοῦ τοῦ ὄντος Θεοῦ δημιουργημα εἶναι φήσετε· εἴ γε τὸ 'Πατὴρ' καὶ τὸ 'Θεὸς' οὐκ αὐτὴν τὴν τοῦ ὄντος 'οὐσίαν' σημαίνουσιν, ἀλλ' ἕτερόν τι, ὅπερ ὑμεῖς ἀναπλάττετε. Ἀλλὰ τοῦτο δυσσεβὲς καὶ λῖαν ἀπρεπὲς ἐστὶ καὶ μόνον ἐνθυμείσθαι. Εἰ δὲ ὅταν ἀκούομεν· 'Εγὼ εἰμι ὁ ὢν' καὶ, 'Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν' καὶ, 'Ἀκουε, Ἰσραὴλ, Κύριος ὁ Θεός σου Κύριος εἷς ἐστι' καὶ, 'Τάδε λέγει Κύριος παντοκράτωρ' οὐχ ἕτερόν τι ἀλλ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἀπλὴν καὶ μακαρίαν καὶ ἀκατάληπτον τοῦ ὄντος 'οὐσίαν' νοοῦμεν· κἂν γὰρ ἀδυνάτως ἔχωμεν καταλαβεῖν, ὅ τι ποτέ ἐστιν, ἀλλ' ἀκούοντες τὸ, 'Πατὴρ,' καὶ τὸ, 'Θεός,' καὶ τὸ, 'Παντοκράτωρ,' οὐχ ἕτερόν τι, ἀλλ' αὐτὴν τὴν τοῦ ὄντος 'οὐσίαν' σημαινομένην νοοῦμεν. Εἰρήκατε δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς 'ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ' τὸν Υἱὸν, δηλοῦντί ἐκ τῆς 'οὐσίας' τοῦ Πατρὸς αὐτὸν εἰρήκατε. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ πρὸ ὑμῶν λέγουσιν αἱ γραφαὶ τὸν Κύριον Υἱὸν τοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ πρὸ αὐτῶν, αὐτὸς ὁ Πατὴρ εἶρηκεν· 'Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός·' Υἱὸς δὲ οὐδὲν ἕτερόν ἐστιν ἢ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς γέννημα· πῶς οὐ φαίνονται καλῶς εἰρηκότες οἱ πατέρες ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Πατρὸς 'τὸν Υἱόν,' λογισάμενοι ταυτὸν εἶναι τὸ εἰπεῖν ὀρθῶς, 'ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ,' καὶ τὸ εἰπεῖν, 'ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας·' Τὰ μὲν γὰρ κτίσματα πάντα, κἂν 'ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ' λέγηται γεγενῆσθαι, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὥς ὁ Υἱὸς εἰσιν ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ· οὐ γὰρ γεννήματα, ἀλλὰ ποιήματά εἰσι τὴν φύσιν. 'Ἐν ἀρχῇ γοῦν ὁ Θεός' οὐκ ἐγέννησεν, ἀλλ' ἐποίησε τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν, καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς, εἶρηται. Καὶ οὐχ 'ὁ γενῶν,' ἀλλ' 'ὁ ποιῶν τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ πνεύματα, καὶ τοὺς λειτουργοὺς αὐτοῦ πυρὸς φλόγα.' Εἰ δὲ ὁ ἀπόστολος εἶρηκεν, 'Εἰς Θεός, ἐξ οὗ τὰ πάντα,' ἀλλ' οὐ τὸν Υἱὸν συναριθμῶν τοῖς πᾶσι, τοῦτό φησιν

Exod. iii. 14.
Gen. i. 1.
Deut. vi. 4.

Ep. ad Monach. 2.

Matt. iii. 17.

Gen. i. 1.

Psal. ciii.
(civ.) 4.

DE SYNODIS. ἄλλ' ἐπειδὴ τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἱ μὲν νομίζουσι κατὰ τύχην καὶ ἐξ ἀτόμων συμπλοκῆς, καὶ ὁμοιομερῶς ἐκ ταυτομάτου συνεστάναι τὴν κτίσιν, καὶ μὴ ἔχειν τὸν αἴτιον· οἱ δὲ ἐξ αἰτίου μὲν αὐτὴν γεγενῆσθαι, οὐ μὴν καὶ διὰ τοῦ Λόγου· τῶν δὲ αἵρετικῶν ἕκαστος ὡς ἠθέλησεν ἀνεπλάσατο, καὶ περὶ τῆς κτίσεως μυθολογεῖ·

1 Cor. viii. 6. τοῦτου χάριν ὁ ἀπόστολος ἀναγκαίως συνείρηκε τὸ, 'ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ' ἵνα καὶ τὸν ποιητὴν γνωρίσῃ, καὶ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ βουλήματος αὐτοῦ τῶν πάντων δημιουργίαν ἀποδείξῃ· εὐθὺς γοῦν ἐπιφέρει, 'Καὶ εἰς Κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα,' ἵνα τῶν πάντων ἐξάρῃ τὸν Υἱόν· τὰ γὰρ 'τοῦ Θεοῦ' λεγόμενα, πάντα ταῦτα δι' Υἱοῦ γέγονε· καὶ οὐχ οἷόν τε μίαν ἔχειν τὰ δημιουργούμενα τῷ δημιουργοῦντι τὴν γένεσιν· καὶ ἵνα τὸ, 'ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ,' λεγόμενον ᾧδε, ἄλλως ἐπὶ τῶν ποιημάτων αὐτὸ σημαίνεσθαι διδάξῃ, ἢ ὡς ἐπὶ Υἱοῦ λεγόμενον νοεῖται. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ γέννημα, τὰ δὲ ποιήματά ἐστι. Διὸ καὶ ὁ μὲν Υἱὸς ἴδιον τῆς οὐσίας γέννημα, τὰ δὲ βουλήματος δημιουργήματα.

Cp. Orat. c.
Ari. i. 9; iii.
62.

36. Ταῦτα καὶ ἡ σύνοδος συνωρώσα, καὶ εἰδυῖα τὴν ἐκ τῆς ὁμωνυμίας διαφορίαν, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μή τινας ὑπονοεῖν κατὰ τὴν κτίσιν οὕτω λέγεσθαι καὶ τὸν Υἱὸν 'ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ,' λευκότερον ἔγραψαν 'ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας' τὸν Υἱόν. Ἐκ μὲν γὰρ τούτου τὸ γνήσιον ἀληθῶς Υἱοῦ πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα γνωρίζεται· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ λέγεσθαι ἀπλῶς 'ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ,' τὸ βούλημα τῆς δημιουργίας τοῦ κτίζοντος σημαίνεται. Εἰ μὲν οὖν καὶ αὐτοὶ τοιαύτην ἔχοντες διάνοιαν, ἔγραψαν 'ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς' τὸν Λόγον, μὴ μεμφέσθωσαν τὴν σύνοδον· εἰ δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ τῆς κτίσεως ἐστὶ γεγραμμένον, οὕτω καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ φρονοῦσι τὸ, 'ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ,' ἔδει, τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς κτίσεως λαμβάνοντας αὐτοὺς, μὴ λέγειν Υἱόν, ἵνα μὴ δοκῶσι φύρειν βλασφημίαν τῇ εὐσεβείᾳ, καὶ ἡ τὸν Κύριον μὴ συναριθμεῖν τοῖς κτίσμασιν, ἢ μὴ ἀνάξια καὶ μὴ ἀρμόζοντα περὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ γράφειν. Εἰ γὰρ Υἱὸς ἐστίν, οὐκ ἐστὶ κτίσμα· εἰ δὲ κτίσμα ἐστίν, οὐκ ἐστὶν Υἱός. Τοιαῦτα δὲ διανοούμενοι, ἀρνήσονται· που καὶ τὸ ἅγιον λουτρὸν, ὅτι εἰς Πατέρα καὶ εἰς Υἱόν, καὶ οὐκ εἰς Κτίστην καὶ κτίσμα δίδεται, ὡς αὐτοὶ νομίζουσιν. 'Ἄλλ' οὐ γέγραπται ταῦτα,' φασίν, 'καὶ ὡς ἀγράφους τὰς φωνὰς ἐκβάλλομεν.' Ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο πάλιν πρόφασίς ἐστιν αὐτοῖς ἀνάλσχυντος. Εἰ γὰρ ἐκβλητέα νομίζουσι τὰ μὴ γεγραμμένα,

Orat. c. Ari.
ii. 42.

Ep. Æg. 14.

διὰ τί τῶν περὶ Ἀρειοῦ ἐξ ἀγράφων ἐπινοησάντων τοσοῦτον
 ῥηματίων συρφετὸν, τὸ, 'ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων,' καὶ τὸ, 'οὐκ ἦν ὁ Υἱὸς πρὶν
 γεννηθῆναι,' καὶ, 'ἦν ποτε ὅτε οὐκ ἦν,' καὶ, 'τρεπτός ἐστι,' καὶ, 'ἄρ-
 ῥητος καὶ ἀόρατος ὁ Πατὴρ τῷ Υἱῷ,' καὶ, 'ὁ Υἱὸς οὐκ οἶδεν οὐδὲ
 τὴν ἑαυτοῦ οὐσίαν,' καὶ ὅσα ἐν τῇ γελοίῳ καὶ ἀσεβεῖ Θαλίᾳ c. 15.
 ἑαυτοῦ φρονῶν ἐξήμεσεν Ἀρειος οὐκ ἀντειρήκασιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 μᾶλλον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀγωνίζονται, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα πρὸς τοὺς
 πατέρας ἑαυτῶν διαμάχονται; Ἐκ πόλας δὲ γραφῆς καὶ αὐτοὶ c. 16.
 εὐρόντες τὸ 'ἀγέννητον,' καὶ τὸ 'οὐσίας' ὄνομα, καὶ, 'τρῆς εἰσιν
 ὑποστάσεις,' καὶ, 'οὐκ ἔστιν ἀληθινὸς Θεὸς ὁ Χριστὸς,' καὶ, 'εἷς
 ἐστι τῶν ἑκατὸν προβάτων,' καὶ, 'ἡ μὲν σοφία τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀγέννη- c. 17.
 τος καὶ ἀναρχὸς ἐστι, πολλὰ δὲ εἰσιν αἱ κτισθεῖσαι δυνάμεις,
 ὧν μία ἐστὶν ὁ Χριστὸς;' Ἡ πῶς ἐν τοῖς λεγομένοις Ἐγκαί- c. 23.
 νίοις, ἀγράφοις χρησάμενοι λέξεσιν οἱ περὶ Ἀκάκιον καὶ Εὐσέ-
 βιον, καὶ εἰπόντες 'οὐσίας τε καὶ δυνάμεις, καὶ βουλῆς, καὶ
 δόξης ἀπαράλλακτον εἰκόνα τὸν πρωτότοκον τῆς κτίσεως,' γογ-
 γύζουσι κατὰ τῶν πατέρων, ὡς 'ἀγράφων' αὐτῶν μνημονευσάντων
 λέξεων, καὶ 'οὐσίας' μνημονευσάντων; Ἔδει γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἢ καθ'
 ἑαυτῶν γογγύζειν, ἢ μηδὲν τοὺς πατέρας αἰτιάσθαι.

37. Εἰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι τινὲς ἐπροφασίζοντο τὰς τῆς συνόδου
 λέξεις, ἡδυναντό πως ἡ ἀγνοίας ἢ εὐλαβείας ὑπόνοιαν ἔχειν καὶ
 περὶ μὲν Γεωργίου τοῦ Καππαδόκος τοῦ ἐκβληθέντος ἀπὸ τῆς [Oct. 2, 358.]
 Ἀλεξανδρείας λόγος οὐδεὶς ἀνθρώπου μήτε ἐκ προάγοντος βίου Fest. Index.
 τὴν μαρτυρίαν ἔχοντος, μήτε ὅλως Χριστιανοῦ τυγχάνοντος, Cp. Ep. Aeg.
 ἀλλὰ μόνον ὑποκριναμένου διὰ τὸν καιρὸν τὸ ὄνομα, καὶ 'πορισ- 7.
 μὸν ἡγησαμένου τὴν εὐσέβειαν' διὸ οὐδὲ μέμφαιτο ἂν τις αὐτὸν Hist. Ari. 75.
 εἰκότως, πταίοντα περὶ τὴν πίστιν, ἀνθρωπον 'μήτε εἰδότα περὶ 1 Tim. i. 7.
 ὧν λέγει, μήτε περὶ ὧν διαβεβαιοῦται,' ἀλλὰ πᾶσι, κατὰ τὸ
 γεγραμμένον, 'ὡς κέφον ἐπακολουθοῦντα' Ἀκάκιος δὲ καὶ Prov. vii. 22.
 Εὐδόξιος, καὶ Πατρόφιλος, ταῦτα λέγοντες, πῶς οὐκ ἄξιοι πάσης Ep. Aeg. 7.
 εἰσὶ καταγνώσεως; Γράφοντες γὰρ 'ἄγραφα' καὶ αὐτοὶ, καὶ ἀπο-
 δεξάμενοι πολλάκις ὡς καλὸν τὸ 'τῆς οὐσίας' ὄνομα, μάλιστα καὶ
 διὰ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν Εὐσεβίου, αἰτιῶνται νῦν τοὺς πρὸ αὐτῶν ὡς Cp. Soc. i. 8.
 τοιαύταις χρησαμένους λέξεσιν. Ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰπόντες αὐτοὶ
 'Θεὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ, καὶ Λόγον ζῶντα, τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Πατρὸς ἀπα-
 ἄλλακτον εἰκόνα τὸν Υἱόν,' κατηγοροῦσι τῶν ἐν Νικαίᾳ εἰπόν-

DE SYNODIS. των, 'ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας, καὶ ὁμοούσιον τὸν γεννηθέντα τῷ γεγεννη-
κότι.' Τί δὲ θαυμαστὸν εἰ τοῖς πρὸ αὐτῶν καὶ τοῖς ἰδίοις πα-
τράσι διαμάχονται, ὅπου γε καὶ αὐτοὶ ἑαυτοῖς ἐναντιούμενοι
τοῖς ἑαυτῶν προσκόπτουσιν ; 'Εκθέμενοι γὰρ ἐν τοῖς λεγομένοις
c. 23. 'Εγκαινίοις ἐν' Ἀντιοχείᾳ 'τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Πατρὸς ἀπαράλλακτον
εἰκόνα εἶναι τὸν Υἱόν,' ὁμόσαντές τε οὕτω φρονεῖν, καὶ ἀναθε-
ματίσαντες τοὺς ἄλλως φρονούντας, ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ ἐν τῇ 'Ισαυρίᾳ
c. 29. γράψαντες· 'Οὐ φεύγομεν τὴν ἐκτεθείσαν αὐθεντικὴν πίστιν ἐν
τοῖς 'Εγκαινίοις τοῖς κατὰ 'Αντιόχειαν' (ἐν αὐτοῖς δὲ ἐγράφη τὸ
τῆς 'οὐσίας' ὄνομα), ὥσπερ ἐπιλαθόμενοι τούτων, μετ' ὀλίγον ἐν
τῇ αὐτῇ 'Ισαυρίᾳ τὰναντία ἔγραψαν, λέγοντες· 'Τὸ ὁμοούσιον καὶ
τὸ ὁμοιούσιον ἐκβάλλομεν, ὡς ἀλλότριον τῶν γραφῶν· καὶ τὸ
c. 30. τῆς οὐσίας ὄνομα περιαιρούμεν, ὡς μὴ κείμενον ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς.'

38. Τίς οὖν ἔτι τοὺς τοιούτους Χριστιανοὺς ἡγήσεται ; Ἡ
ποία πίστις παρὰ τούτοις, παρ' οἷς οὐ λόγος, οὐ γράμμα βέβαιον,
ἀλλὰ πάντα κατὰ καιρὸν ἀλλάσσεται καὶ μεταβάλλεται ; Εἰ
γὰρ, ὦ Ἀκάκιε καὶ Εὐδόξιε, οὐ φεύγετε τὴν ἐκτεθείσαν ἐν τοῖς
'Εγκαινίοις πίστιν, ἐν αὐτῇ δὲ γέγραπται, 'Οὐσίας ἀπαράλλακτος
εἰκὼν ὁ Υἱός·' πῶς ἐν τῇ 'Ισαυρίᾳ γράφετε, 'Εκβάλλομεν τὸ
ὁμοούσιον ;' Εἰ γὰρ οὐκ ἔστι· κατ' οὐσίαν ὁμοιος ὁ Υἱὸς τῷ Πατρὶ,
[Qu. ὁμοού-
σιον.] πῶς 'ἀπαράλλακτος τῆς οὐσίας εἰκὼν' ἔστιν ; Εἰ δὲ μετέγνωτε,
γράψαντες τὸ, 'τῆς οὐσίας ἀπαράλλακτος εἰκὼν' πῶς ἀναθεματί-
ζετε τοὺς 'ἀνόμοιον' εἶναι λέγοντας τὸν Υἱόν ; Εἰ γὰρ οὐχ 'ὁμοιος
κατ' οὐσίαν,' πάντως 'ἀνόμοιός' ἔστι. Τὸ δὲ ἀνόμοιον οὐκ ἂν εἴη
John xiv. 9. 'εἰκὼν.' Εἰ δὲ οὕτω καθ' ὑμᾶς ἔστιν, οὐκ ἄρα 'ὁ τὸν Υἱὸν ἐώρα-
κὼς ἐώρακε τὸν Πατέρα,' πλείστης ὅσης οὐσῆς διαφορᾶς· μᾶλλον
δὲ τὸ ὅλον ὄντος τούτου πρὸς ἐκείνον ἀνομόλου. Τὸ δὲ ἀνό-
μοιον οὐχ οἷόν τε ὁμοιον λέγεσθαι. Ποία τοίνυν μηχανῇ τὸ
ἀνόμοιον 'ὁμοιον' λέγετε, καὶ τὸ ὁμοιον 'ἀνόμοιον' φρονεῖτε, καὶ
ὑποκρίνεσθε λέγοντες 'εἰκόνα εἶναι τοῦ Πατρὸς τὸν Υἱόν ;' Εἰ
γὰρ οὐκ ἔστι κατ' οὐσίαν ὁμοιος ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Πατρὸς, λείπει τι
τῇ εἰκόνι, καὶ οὐκ ἔστι πλήρης εἰκὼν, οὐδὲ τέλειον ἀπαύγασμα.
Col. ii. 9. Πῶς οὖν ἀναγινώσκετε τὸ, 'Ἐν αὐτῷ κατοικεῖ πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα
John i. 16. τῆς θεότητος σωματικῶς·' καὶ, 'Ἐκ τοῦ πληρώματος αὐτοῦ
ἡμεῖς πάντες ἐλάβομεν ;' Πῶς τὸν 'Ἀρειανὸν' Ἀέτιον ὡς αἵρε-
c. 6. τικὸν ἐκβάλλετε, καίτοι τὰ αὐτὰ ἐκείνῳ λέγοντες ; Καὶ γὰρ

σοῦ μὲν, ὦ Ἀκάκιε, ἐταῖρός ἐστιν, Εὐδοξίου δὲ διδάσκαλος εἰς Cp. Theod. ii. 24. [A.D. 350.]
 τὴν τοιαύτην ἀσέβειαν γέγονεν, ἥς ἔνεκα καὶ Λεόντιος αὐτὸν ὁ
 ἐπίσκοπος διάκονον κατέστησεν· ἵνα, ὡς ἐνδύματι προβάτου τῷ
 ὀνόματι τῆς διακονίας χρώμενος, ἐπ' ἀδείας ἐξεμείν δύνῃται τὰ
 τῆς βλασφημίας ῥήματα.

39. Τί οὖν ὑμᾶς ἄρα τοιοῦτον ἔπεισεν, ὥστε καὶ ἑαυτοῖς εἰς
 τὸ ἐναντιὸν περιπεσεῖν, καὶ τοσαύτην αἰσχύνην ἀπενέγκασθαι ;
 ἀλλ' οὐδὲν εὐλογον ἂν εἴποιτε· τοῦτο δὲ μόνον περιλείπεται
 νοεῖν, ὅτι πάντα νῦν ὑποκρίνεσθε, καὶ πάντα προσποιούμενοι
 πλάττετε διὰ τὴν παρὰ Κωνσταντίου προστασίαν, καὶ τὸ παρὰ
 τοῦ τοιοῦτου κέρδος. Καὶ κατηγορεῖτε μὲν εὐχερῶς τῶν πατέ-
 ρων, προφασίζεσθε δὲ ἀπλῶς τὰς λέξεις, ὡς ἀγράφους· καὶ
 κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον, 'διετείνετε τὰ σκέλη παντὶ παρόδῳ' Ezek. xvi. 25.
 ὥστε τοσαντάκις ὑμᾶς μεταβάλλεσθαι, ὅσάκις ἂν ὑμᾶς οἱ μισ-
 θούμενοι καὶ χορηγοῦντες ὑμῖν βούλονται. Καίτοι κἂν ἀγρά-
 φους τις λαλῇ λέξεις, οὐδὲν διαφέρει, ἕως εὐσεβῇ τὴν διάνοιαν
 ἔχει. Ὁ δὲ αἰρετικὸς ἀνὴρ, κἂν τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν γραφῶν χρήση-
 ται λέξεις, οὐδὲν ἦττον ὑποπτος ὢν, καὶ τὸν νοῦν διεφθαρμένος,
 ἀκούσεται παρὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος· 'Ἰνα τί σὺ διηγῇ τὰ δικαιοῦ- Psal. xlix. (l.) 16.
 ματά μου, καὶ ἀναλαμβάνεις τὴν διαθήκην μου διὰ στόματός
 σου ;' Οὕτως ὁ μὲν διάβολος, καίτοι λαλῶν ἀπὸ τῶν γραφῶν,
 πεφίμωται παρὰ τοῦ Σωτῆρος· ὁ δὲ μακάριος Παῦλος, κἂν ἐκ
 τῶν ἔξωθεν λαλῇ· 'Κρήτες ἀεὶ ψεύσται' καὶ, 'Τοῦ γὰρ καὶ Tit. i. 12.
 γένος ἐσμέν' καὶ, 'Φθείρουσιν ἡθὴ χρηστὰ ὁμιλίας κακαί·' ἀλλ' Acts xvii. 28.
 ὅμως, ἅγιος ὢν, ἔχει τὴν διάνοιαν εὐσεβῇ· καὶ 'τοῦ Χριστοῦ 1 Cor. xv. 33.
 νοῦν ἔχων, διδάσκαλός ἐστιν ἐθνῶν ἐν πίστει καὶ ἀληθείᾳ·' καὶ 1 Cor. ii. 16.
 ἃ λαλεῖ μετ' εὐσεβείας φθέγγεται. Ποία τοίνυν ἐν τοῖς 1 Tim. ii. 7.
 Ἀρειανοῖς ῥηματίοις κἂν πιθανότης ἐστίν, ἐν οἷς προτιμᾶται τοῦ
 Σωτῆρος 'ἡ κάμψη καὶ ἡ ἀκρίς,' καὶ λοιδορεῖται παρ' αὐτῶν· 'Οὐκ c. 18.
 ἦς ποτε, καὶ ἐκτίσθης, ξένος τε κατ' οὐσίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ τυγχάνεις'
 καὶ ὅλως οὐδὲν δυσφημίας ἐν αὐτοῖς παραλέλειπται ; Τί δὲ
 πρὸς εὐφημίαν παρήκαν οἱ πατέρες ; Καὶ οὐ μᾶλλον ὑψηλὴ
 διάνοια, καὶ φιλόχριστος εὐσέβεια παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐστι ; Καὶ ὅμως
 ταῦτα μὲν ἔγραψαν, ὅτι 'Εκβάλλομεν' ἐκείνων δὲ τῶν κατὰ τοῦ c. 29.
 Κυρίου λοιδοριῶν ἀνέχονται, καὶ φανεροὺς ἑαυτοὺς πᾶσι καθι-
 στῶσιν, ὅτι δι' οὐδὲν ἕτερον μάχονται πρὸς τὴν σύνοδον ἐκείνην

DE SYNODIS. τὴν μεγάλην, ἣ ὅτι τὴν Ἀρειανὴν αἵρεσιν κατέκρινε. Διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ τὴν τοῦ ὁμοουσίου λέξιν διαβάλλουσι, κακῶς αὐτοὶ φρονούντες καὶ περὶ αὐτῆς. Εἰ γὰρ ἐπίστευον ὀρθῶς, καὶ τὸν μὲν Πατέρα Πατέρα ἀληθῶς ὁμολόγουν, τὸν δὲ Υἱὸν γνήσιον Υἱὸν, καὶ φύσει ἀληθινὸν Λόγον, καὶ Σοφίαν ἐπίστευον εἶναι τοῦ Πατρός· τό τε ἔκ τοῦ Θεοῦ λέγειν τὸν Υἱὸν, εἰ μὴ, ὥσπερ λέγεται περὶ τῶν κτισμάτων, οὕτως ἔλεγον καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Πατρὸς ἴδιον αὐτὸν ἐνόουν εἶναι γέννημα, ὡς ἔστι τὸ ἀπαύγασμα ἐκ τοῦ φωτός· οὐκ ἂν ἕκαστος αὐτῶν κατηγορεῖ τῶν πατέρων, ἀλλ' ἐθάρρουν ὅτι καλῶς ἔγραψεν ἡ συν-οδος· καὶ οὕτως ἐστὶν ἡ ὀρθὴ περὶ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ πίστις.

c. 28.
Soz. iv. 17.

40. Ἄλλ' ἀσαφὲς, φασὶν, ἔστιν ἡμῖν τῶν τοιούτων λέξεων ἡ διάνοια. Καὶ τοῦτο γὰρ προεφασίσαντο, λέγοντες ὅτι ἡ δυνάμενοι καταλαβεῖν τὴν ἐρμηνείαν αὐτῶν, ἐκβάλλομεν ταύτας τὰς λέξεις. Τοῦτο δὲ εἰ ἀληθῶς ἔλεγον, οὐκ ἔδει λέγειν αὐτοὺς, Ἐκβάλλομεν ταύτας· ἀλλ' ἤξιουν μαθεῖν παρὰ τῶν ἐπισταμένων, ἐπεὶ ὀφείλουσιν γε, καὶ ἅπερ ἂν ἐν ταῖς θείαις γραφαῖς μὴ νοήσωσιν ἐκβάλλειν, καὶ κατηγορεῖν τοὺς γράψαντας αὐτά. Ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μᾶλλον αἰρετικῶν, καὶ οὐχ ἡμῶν τῶν Χριστιανῶν τὰ τόλμημα. Ἄ γὰρ ἀγνοοῦμεν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις, οὐκ ἐκβάλλομεν, ἀλλὰ ζητοῦμεν οὗς ἀπεκάλυψεν ὁ Κύριος, καὶ παρ' αὐτῶν μαρθάνειν ἀξιούμεν. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ οὕτω προφασίζονται τὴν

Cp. Soc. i. 8.

ἀσάφειαν τῶν τοιούτων λέξεων, ὁμολογεῖσθαι γοῦν τὰ εὐθὺς ἐπιφερόμενα, καὶ ἀναθεματίζεσθαι τοὺς φρονούντας, ἔξ οὐκ ὄντων εἶναι τὸν Υἱὸν, καὶ, Οὐκ ἦν πρὶν γεννηθῆναι, καὶ ὅτι κτίσμα καὶ ποιεῖν ἔστιν ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγος· καὶ, τρεπτὸς ἔστι τῇ φύσει· καὶ, ἔξ ἐτέρας ὑποστάσεως· καὶ ὁλως ἀναθεματίζεσθαι τὴν Ἀρειανὴν αἵρεσιν, τὴν ἐφευροῦσαν τὴν τοιαύτην ἀσέβειαν. Καὶ λοιπὸν μὴ λεγέτωσαν, Ἐκβάλλομεν τὰς λέξεις, ἀλλ' ὅτι Οὕτω νοοῦμεν αὐτάς· ἵνα οὕτω πιθαγὴν τινα πρόφασιν ἔχωσι τοῦ παραιτεῖσθαι ταύτας. Εὖ δὲ οἶδα καὶ πέπεισμαι, καὶ αὐτοὶ δὲ τοῦτο γινώσκουσιν, ὅτι ταῦτα ἔαν ὁμολογήσωσι, καὶ ἀναθεματίσωσι τὴν Ἀρειανὴν αἵρεσιν, οὐκ ἀρνήσονται κακεῖνας τὰς τῆς συνόδου λέξεις. Διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ οἱ πατέρες, εἰρηκότες ἔκ τῆς οὐσίας ἡ γεννητὸν τὸν Υἱὸν ὁμοούσιον τῷ Πατρὶ, εὐθὺς

ἐπήγαγον· ‘τοὺς δὲ λέγοντας’ τὰ προειρημένα, ἅπερ ἐστὶ τῆς Ἀρειανῆς αἵρέσεως, ‘ἀναθεματίζομεν’ ἵνα δείξωσιν ὅτι ὡς ἐκ παραλλήλου λέλεκται παρ’ αὐτῶν, καὶ αἱ λέξεις ἐκείναι ταῦτα σημαίνουσιν· καὶ ὃς ἂν ἐκείνας ὁμολογήσῃ, πάντως καὶ ταῦτα διανοηθήσεται· οἱ δὲ μήτε ταῦτα φρονούντες, ἀλλὰ κἀκεῖνα διαβάλλοντες, οἱ τοιοῦτοι πανταχόθεν ἐλέγχονται Χριστομάχοι.

41. Καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν ἐξ ὅλου τὴν σύνοδον ἀρνούμενων ἀρκεῖ πρὸς ἔλεγχον τὰ ὀλίγα ταῦτα· πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἀποδεχομένους τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πάντα τῶν ἐν Νικαίᾳ γραφέντων, περὶ δὲ μόνον τὸ ‘ὁμοούσιον’ ἀμφιβάλλοντας, χρὴ μὴ ὡς πρὸς ἐχθροὺς διακείσθαι· καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἡμεῖς οὐχ ὡς πρὸς Ἀρειομανίτας, οὐδ’ ὡς μαχομένους πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας ἐνιστάμεθα, ἀλλ’ ὡς ἀδελφοὶ πρὸς ἀδελφούς διαλεγόμεθα, τὴν αὐτὴν μὲν ἡμῖν διάνοιαν ἔχοντας, περὶ δὲ τὸ ὄνομα μόνον διατάζοντας. Καὶ γὰρ ὁμολογοῦντες ‘ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Πατρὸς’ εἶναι, καὶ μὴ ἐξ ἑτέρας ὑποστάσεως τὸν Υἱόν, κτίσμα τε μὴ εἶναι, μηδὲ ποίημα αὐτὸν, ἀλλὰ γνήσιον καὶ φύσει γέννημα, αἰδίως τε αὐτὸν συνεῖναι τῷ Πατρὶ Λόγον ὄντα καὶ Σοφίαν, οὐ μακράν εἰσιν ἀποδέξασθαι καὶ τὴν τοῦ ‘ὁμοουσίου’ λέξιν. Τοιοῦτος δὲ ἐστὶ Βασίλειος ὁ ἀπὸ Ἀγκύρας, γράψας περὶ πίστεως. Τὸ μὲν γὰρ ‘ὅμοιον’ μόνον λέγειν ‘κατ’ οὐσίαν’ οὐ πάντως σημαίνει καὶ τὸ ‘ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας,’ ἐξ οὗ μᾶλλον, ὡς καὶ αὐτοὶ εἰρήκασι, σημαίνεται τὸ γνήσιον τοῦ Υἱοῦ πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα. Καὶ γὰρ κασσίτερος ὁμοίός ἐστι μόνον τῷ ἀργύρῳ, καὶ λύκος τῷ κυνὶ, καὶ χαλκὸς χρυσίδῳ τῷ ἀληθινῷ χρυσῷ, οὔτε δὲ κασσίτερος ἐκ τοῦ ἀργύρου τυγχάνει, οὔτε λύκος ὡς υἱὸς τοῦ κυνὸς ἂν νομισθῇ. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ ‘ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας’ καὶ ‘ὁμοιούσιον’ αὐτὸν εἰρήκασι, τί ἕτερον σημαίνουν ἐκ τούτων ἢ τὸ ‘ὁμοούσιον;’ Καὶ γὰρ ὥσπερ ὁ λέγων μόνον ‘ὁμοιούσιον’ οὐ πάντως καὶ τὸ ‘ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας’ γνωρίζει, οὕτως ὁ λέγων ‘ὁμοούσιον’ ἀμφοτέρων, τοῦ τε ‘ὁμοιουσίου’ καὶ τοῦ ‘ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας,’ σημαίνει τὴν διάνοιαν. Καὶ αὐτοὶ γοῦν ἐνιστάμενοι πάλιν πρὸς τοὺς κτίσμα λέγοντας εἶναι τὸν Λόγον, καὶ μὴ θέλοντας αὐτὸν γνήσιον Υἱὸν εἶναι, ἐξ ἀνθρωπίνων παραδειγμάτων υἱοῦ καὶ πατρὸς εἰλήφασι τὰς κατ’ αὐτῶν ἀποδείξεις, ἐξαιρουμένου τούτου, ὅτι μὴ ὡς ἀνθρωπὸς ἐστὶν ὁ Θεός, μηδὲ ὡς ἀνθρωπίνῃ γονῇ οὕτως ἐστὶν ἢ τοῦ Υἱοῦ γέννησις, ἀλλ’ ὡς

Cp. Apol. c. Ari. 49.

Ancyrene Council, Epiph. Hær. 73. 4. 5.

Epiph. Hær. 73. 6.

DE SYNODIS. ἡ Θεὸς πρέπουσα, καὶ ἡμᾶς ἀρμόζουσα νοεῖν. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ πηγὴν εἰρήκασι τὸν Πατέρα τῆς σοφίας καὶ τῆς ζωῆς, τὸν δὲ Υἱὸν ἀπαύγασμα φωτὸς αἰδίου, καὶ αὐτὸν εἶναι τὸ ἐκ τῆς πηγῆς γέννημα λέγοντα· 'Εγὼ εἰμι ἡ ζωή,' καὶ, 'Εγὼ ἡ Σοφία κατεσκήνωσα βουλήν.' Τὸ δὲ ἐκ φωτὸς ἀπαύγασμα, καὶ ἐκ πηγῆς γέννημα, καὶ ἐκ Πατρὸς Υἱὸν, πῶς ἂν τις ἀρμόζοντως ὀνομάσειεν ἡ 'ὁμοούσιον;' 'Ἀρ' οὖν μὴ ἐπειδὴ τὰ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων γεννήματα 'ὁμοούσιά' ἐστιν, εὐλαβεῖσθαι δεῖ μὴ καὶ ὁ Υἱὸς, λεγόμενος 'ὁμοούσιος,' νομισθεῖν καὶ αὐτὸς ὡς ἀνθρώπινον γέννημα; μὴ γένοιτο· οὐκ ἔστιν οὕτως. 'Ἀλλὰ καὶ ταχεῖαν ἔχει τὴν λύσιν τοῦτο· Λόγος γάρ ἐστι καὶ Σοφία τοῦ Πατρὸς ὁ Υἱός· ἐξ ὧν τὰ ἀπαθὲς καὶ τὸ ἀμέριστον τῆς ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς γεννήσεως γνωρίζεται. Λόγος γὰρ οὐδὲ ὁ τῶν ἀνθρώπων μέρος ἐστίν, οὐδὲ κατὰ πάθος ἐξ αὐτῶν προέρχεται, μήτι γε ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὃν Υἱὸν εἶναι ἑαυτοῦ ὁ Πατὴρ ἐδήλωσεν· ἵνα μὴ πάλιν τις, ἀκούων μόνον, 'Λόγον,' νομίση τοιοῦτον εἶναι οἷός ἐστιν ὁ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀνυπόστατος· ἀλλ' ἀκούων ὅτι 'Υἱός ἐστι,' γινώσκῃ τοῦτον εἶναι ζῶντα Λόγον, καὶ ἐνούσιον Σοφίαν.

42. Ἐπειτα, ὥσπερ τὸ 'γέννημα' λέγοντες, οὐκ ἀνθρωπίνως νοοῦμεν, καὶ 'Πατέρα' τὸν Θεὸν εἰδότες, οὐ σωματικὴν τινα περὶ αὐτοῦ λαμβάνομεν ἔννοιαν· ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν παραδείγματα καὶ τὰς τοιαύτας λέξεις ἀκούομεν, ἀρμόζοντως δὲ περὶ Θεοῦ νοοῦμεν· οὐ γὰρ ὡς ἀνθρωπος ὁ Θεός· οὕτως ἄρα καὶ τὸ ὁμοούσιον ἀκούουτες, ὑπερβαίνειν ὀφείλομεν πᾶσαν αἴσθησιν, καὶ κατὰ τὴν Παροιμίαν, 'νοητῶς νοεῖν τὰ παρατιθέμενα ἡμῖν'· ὥστε μέντοι γινώσκῃ ὅτι μὴ 'θελήσει,' ἀλλὰ ἀληθῶς Υἱός ἐστιν ἐκ Πατρὸς γνήσιος, ὡς ἐκ πηγῆς ζωῆ, καὶ φωτὸς ἀπαύγασμα. Ἡ διὰ τί τὸ μὲν 'γέννημα,' καὶ τὸ 'Υἱός,' οὐ σωματικῶς, τὸ δὲ 'ὁμοούσιον,' ὡς ἐπὶ σωματῶν διανοούμεθα, καὶ μάλιστα ὅτι οὐ περὶ ἄλλου καὶ ἄλλου ἐστὶ τὰ λεγόμενα, ἀλλὰ περὶ οὗ τὸ 'γέννημα,' περὶ τούτου καὶ τὸ 'ὁμοούσιον' ἐλέχθη; Καὶ πρέπει τὴν αὐτὴν διάνοιαν ἀμφοτέρων τῶν λέξεων ἐπὶ τοῦ Σωτῆρος διασώζειν, καὶ μὴ τὸ μὲν 'γέννημα' καλῶς ἐξηγεῖσθαι, τὸ δὲ 'ὁμοούσιον' ἄλλως· ἐπεὶ ἀκόλουθόν ἐστιν, οὕτω διακειμένους ὑμᾶς καὶ λέγοντας Λόγον καὶ Σοφίαν τοῦ Πατρὸς τὸν Υἱὸν, διάφορον ἔχειν καὶ περὶ τούτων τὴν διάνοιαν, καὶ ἄλλως μὲν τὸν Λόγον νοεῖν, ἐτέ-

John xiv. 6.
Prov. viii. 12.
Cp. Epiph.
Hær. 73. 7.

Cp. Ath. de
Decr. Nic. 15.

Prov. xxiii. 1.
Cp. c. 15.

ρως δὲ τὴν Σοφίαν. Ἄλλ' ὥσπερ ἄτοπον τοῦτο· Λόγος γὰρ καὶ Σοφία τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐστὶν ὁ Υἱὸς, καὶ ἐν ἐστὶ τὸ ἐκ Πατρὸς γέννημα, καὶ ἴδιον τῆς οὐσίας αὐτοῦ· οὕτως εἰς ἐστὶν ὁ νοῦς τοῦ 'γεννήματος' καὶ τοῦ 'ὁμοουσίου'· καὶ ὁ φρονῶν 'γέννημα' τὸν Υἱὸν φρονεῖ τοῦτον ὁρθῶς καὶ 'ὁμοούσιον.'

43. Αὐτάρκη μὲν οὖν ταῦτα δεῖξαι, τῶν ἀγαπητῶν τὴν διανοίαν μὴ ἁλλοτριάν, μηδὲ μακρὰν οὖσαν τοῦ ὁμοουσίου. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ, ὡς αὐτοὶ φασὶ (τὴν γὰρ ἐπιστολὴν οὐκ ἔσχον ἐγὼ), οἱ τὸν Σαμοσατέα κατακρίναντες ἐπίσκοποι γράφοντες εἰρήκασιν μὴ εἶναι 'ὁμοούσιον' τὸν Υἱὸν τῷ Πατρὶ, καὶ λοιπὸν αὐτοὶ, διὰ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς εἰρηκότας εὐλάβειάν τε καὶ τιμὴν, οὕτω περὶ τὴν λέξιν διάκεινται· καλὸν μετ' αὐτῶν μετ' εὐλαβείας καὶ περὶ τούτου διασκέψασθαι. Συγκρούειν μὲν γὰρ τούτους πρὸς ἐκείνους ἀπρεπές· πάντες γάρ εἰσι πατέρες· διακρίνειν δὲ πάλιν, ὡς οὗτοι μὲν καλῶς, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ τούναντίον εἰρήκασιν, οὐχ ὅσιον· οἱ πάντες γὰρ ἐκοιμήθησαν ἐν Χριστῷ. Οὐ χρὴ δὲ φιλονεικεῖν, οὐδὲ τῶν συνελθόντων τὸν ἀριθμὸν συμβάλλειν, ἵνα μὴ δοκῶσιν οἱ τριακόσιοι τοὺς ἐλάττους ἐπικρύπτειν· οὐδ' ἂν πάλιν τὸν χρόνον ἀναμετρεῖν, ἵνα μὴ δοκῶσιν οἱ προλαβόντες ἀφανίζειν τοὺς μετὰ ταῦτα γενομένους. Οἱ πάντες γὰρ, καθὰ προεῖρηται, πατέρες εἰσὶ· καὶ ὅμως οὐδὲ οἱ τ' ἐνώτερόν τι φρονήσαντες ἔγραψαν, οὐδὲ ἑαυτοῖς καταθαρσήσαντες, ἀγράφων προέστησαν λέξεων· ἀλλὰ ἐκ πατέρων ὁμώμενοι καὶ αὐτοὶ, τοῖς ἐκείνων ἐχρήσαντο ῥήμασι. Διονύσιοι γὰρ δύο γεγονάσιν ἔμπροσθεν πολὺ τῶν ἑβδομήκοντα τῶν καθελόντων τὸν Σαμοσατέα· τούτων ὁ μὲν τῆς Ῥώμης, ὁ δὲ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ἦν ἐπίσκοπος. Ἀλλὰ τινων αἰτιασαμένων παρὰ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ Ῥώμης τὸν τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπίσκοπον, ὡς λέγοντα ποίημα, καὶ μὴ ὁμοούσιον τὸν Υἱὸν τῷ Πατρὶ, ἥ μὲν κατὰ Ῥώμην σύνοδος ἡγανάκτησεν· ὁ δὲ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐπίσκοπος τὴν πάντων γνώμην γράφει πρὸς τὸν ὁμώνυμον ἑαυτοῦ. Κάκεινος λοιπὸν, ἀπολογούμενος, τὸ μὲν βιβλίον ἐπιγράφει 'Ἐλέγχου καὶ Ἀπολογίας.' Γράφει δὲ ταῦτα πρὸς ἐκείνους·

44. 'Καὶ δι' ἄλλης ἐπιστολῆς ἔγραψα, ἐν οἷς ἡλεγξα καὶ ὁ προφέρουσιν ἔγκλημα κατ' ἐμοῦ, ψεύδος ὄν, ὡς οὐ λέγοντος τὸν Χριστὸν ὁμοούσιον εἶναι τῷ Θεῷ. Εἰ γὰρ καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦτο

Cp. c. 24, 26.
Euseb. vii. 30.

c. 5.

Ath. de Sent.
Dion. 13.

(Part of
Dionysius
of Alexandria's 'Refu-
tation'.)
Cp. de Sent
Dion. 18.

DE SYKODIS.

(Part of
Dionysius
of Alexan-
dria's 'Refu-
tation'.)

φημι μὴ εὐρηκέναι, μὴδ' ἀνεγνωκέναι που τῶν ἁγίων γραφῶν, ἀλλὰ γε τὰ ἐπιχειρήματά μου τὰ ἐξῆς, ἃ σεσιωπήκασι, τῆς διανοίας ταύτης οὐκ ἀπᾶδει. Καὶ γὰρ ἀνθρωπεῖαν γοιὴν παρεθέμην, δῆλον ὡς οὖσαν ὁμογενή, φήσας πάντως τοὺς γονεῖς μόνον ἐτέρους εἶναι τῶν τέκνων, ὅτι μὴ αὐτοὶ εἶεν τὰ τέκνα· ἢ μήτε γονεῖς ἀναγκαῖον ὑπάρχειν εἶναι, μήτε τέκνα. Καὶ τὴν μὲν ἐπιστολὴν, ὡς προείπον, διὰ τὰς περιστάσεις οὐκ ἔχω προκομίσαι· εἰ δ' οὖν, αὐτά σοι τὰ τότε ῥήματα, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ πάσης ἀνέπεμψα τὸ ἀντίγραφον· ὅπερ ἐὰν εὐπορήσω, ποιήσω. Οἶδα δὲ καὶ μέμνημαι πλείονα προσθεῖς τῶν συγγενῶν ὁμοιώματα. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ φυτὸν εἶπον, ἀπὸ σπέρματος ἢ ἀπὸ ῥίζης ἀνελθόν, ἕτερον εἶναι τοῦ ὅθεν ἐβλάστησε, καὶ πάντως ἐκεῖνῳ καθέστηκεν ὁμοφυές· καὶ ποταμὸν ἀπὸ πηγῆς ῥέοντα, ἕτερον καὶ σχῆμα καὶ ὄνομα μετεληφέναι· μήτε γὰρ τὴν πηγὴν ποταμὸν, μήτε τὸν ποταμὸν πηγὴν λέγεσθαι, καὶ ἀμφοτέρω ὑπάρχειν· καὶ τὴν μὲν πηγὴν οἶονεῖ πατέρα εἶναι, τὸν δὲ ποταμὸν εἶναι τὸ ἐκ τῆς πηγῆς γεννώμενον.' Εἴρηκεν ὁ ἐπίσκοπος.

45. Εἴπερ οὖν μέμφεται τις τοῖς ἐν Νικαίᾳ συνελθοῦσιν, ὡς εἰρηκόσι παρὰ τὰ δόξαντα τοῖς πρὸ αὐτῶν, ὁ αὐτὸς μέμψαιτ' ἂν εἰκότως καὶ τοῖς ἐβδομήκοντα, ὅτι μὴ τὰ τῶν πρὸ αὐτῶν ἐφύλαξαν· πρὸ αὐτῶν δὲ ἦσαν οἱ Διονύσιοι, καὶ οἱ ἐν Ῥώμῃ τὸ τηνικαῦτα συνελθόντες ἐπίσκοποι. Ἄλλ' οὔτε τούτους, οὔτε ἐκείνους ὅσιον αἰτιάσασθαι· πάντες γὰρ ἐπρέσβευον τὰ Χριστοῦ, καὶ πάντες σπουδὴν ἐσχέκασιν κατὰ τῶν αἰρετικῶν, καὶ οἱ μὲν τὸν Σαμοσατέα, οἱ δὲ τὴν Ἀρειανὴν αἵρεσιν κατέκριναν. Ὁρθῶς δὲ καὶ οὗτοι κάκεῖνοι, καὶ καλῶς πρὸς τὴν ὑποκειμένην ὑπόθεσιν γεγράφασι. Καὶ ὥσπερ ὁ μακάριος ἀπόστολος, Ῥωμαίοις μὲν ἐπιστέλλων, ἔλεγεν· 'Ὁ νόμος πνευματικός ἐστι· καὶ, 'Ὁ νόμος ἅγιος,' καὶ, 'Ἡ ἐντολὴ ἁγία, καὶ δικαία, καὶ ἀγαθή· καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον· 'Τὸ γὰρ ἀδύνατον τοῦ νόμου, ἐν ᾧ ἡσθένει·' Ἑβραίοις δὲ ἔγραφεν· 'Ὁ νόμος οὐδένα τετελείωκε· καὶ Γαλάταις μὲν, 'Ἐν νόμῳ οὐδεὶς δικαιοῦται·' Τιμοθέῳ δὲ, ὅτι 'Καλὸς ὁ νόμος, ἐάν τις αὐτῷ νομίμως χρήται·' καὶ οὐκ ἂν τις αἰτιάσαιτο τὸν ἅγιον ὡς ἐναντία καὶ μαχόμενα γράφοντα, ἀλλὰ καὶ μᾶλλον θαυμάσειεν ἁρμοζόντως πρὸς ἐκάστους ἐπιστέλλοντα, ἵνα οἱ μὲν Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι μάθωσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ

Rom. vii. 14.

Ibid. 12.

Rom. viii. 3.

Hebr. vii. 19.

Galat. iii. 1.

1 Tim. i. 8.

γράμματος ἐπιστρέφειν εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα· οἱ δὲ Ἑβραῖοι καὶ Γα-
λάται παιδευθῶσι, μὴ εἰς τὸν νόμον, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸν Κύριον τὸν δε-
δωκότα τὸν νόμον ἔχειν τὰς ἐλπίδας· οὕτως εἰ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν
συνόδων οἱ πατέρες διαφόρως ἐμνημόνευσαν περὶ τοῦ 'ὁμοουσίου,'
οὐ χρὴ πάντως ἡμᾶς διαφέρεισθαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς, ἀλλὰ τὴν διάνοιαν
αὐτῶν ἐρευνᾶν, καὶ πάντως εὐρήσομεν ἀμφοτέρων τῶν συνόδων
τὴν ὁμόνοιαν. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ τὸν Σαμοσατέα καθελόντες, σωματικῶς
ἐκλαμβάνοντες τὸ 'ὁμοούσιον,' τοῦ Παύλου σοφίζεσθαι τέ θέλου-
τος καὶ λέγοντος, 'Εἰ μὴ ἐξ ἀνθρώπου γέγονεν ὁ Χριστὸς Θεὸς, Cp. Hil. de
Syn. 68, 84.
οὐκοῦν ὁμοούσιός ἐστι τῷ Πατρὶ, καὶ ἀνάγκη τρεῖς οὐσίας εἶναι,
μίαν μὲν προηγουμένην, τὰς δὲ δύο ἐξ ἐκείνης' διὰ τοῦτ' εἰκότως
εὐλαβηθέντες τὸ τοιοῦτον σόφισμα τοῦ Σαμοσατέως, εἰρήκασι 'μὴ
εἶναι τὸν Χριστὸν ὁμοούσιον' οὐκ ἔστι γὰρ οὕτως ὁ Υἱὸς πρὸς τὸν
Πατέρα, ὥς ἐκεῖνος ἐνόει· οἱ δὲ τὴν Ἀρειανὴν αἵρεσιν ἀναθε-
ματίσαντες, θεωρήσαντες τὴν πανουργίαν τοῦ Παύλου, καὶ λο-
γισάμενοι μὴ οὕτως καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀσωμάτων, καὶ μάλιστα ἐπὶ
Θεοῦ, τὸ 'ὁμοούσιον' σημαίνεσθαι, γινώσκοντές τε μὴ κτίσμα, ἀλλ'
'ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας' γέννημα εἶναι τὸν Λόγον, καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν τοῦ
Πατρὸς ἀρχὴν, καὶ ρίζαν, καὶ πηγὴν εἶναι τοῦ Υἱοῦ, καὶ αὐτο-
αληθοῦς ὁμοιότης ἦν τοῦ γεννήσαντος, οὐχ ὥς ἑτεροφυῆς, ὥσπερ
ἡμεῖς ἐσμεν, χωριζόμενός ἐστι τοῦ Πατρὸς, ἀλλ' ὥς ἐξ αὐτοῦ
Υἱὸς ἀδιαίρετος ὑπάρχει, ὥς ἔστι τὸ ἀπαύγασμα πρὸς τὸ φῶς·
ἔχοντες δὲ καὶ τὰ τῶν περὶ Διονύσιον παραδείγματα, τὴν 'πηγὴν,'
καὶ τὴν περὶ τοῦ 'ὁμοουσίου' ἀπολογίαν, πρὸ δὲ τούτων τὴν τοῦ
Σωτῆρος ἐνοειδῆ φωνήν· 'Ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ Πατὴρ ἓν ἐσμεν' καὶ, John x. 30.
'Ὁ ἑωρακὼς ἐμὲ ἑώρακε τὸν Πατέρα' τούτου ἕνεκεν εἰκότως John xiv. 9.
εἰρήκασι καὶ αὐτοὶ 'ὁμοούσιον' τὸν Υἱόν. Καὶ ὥσπερ, καθὰ
προεῖπον, οὐκ ἂν τις αἰτιάσαιο τὸν ἀπόστολον, εἰ περὶ τοῦ
νόμου Ῥωμαίοις μὲν οὕτως, Ἑβραίοις δὲ οὕτως ἔγραψε· τὸν
αὐτὸν τρόπον οὔτε οἱ νῦν τοῖς προτέροις ἐγκαλέσαιεν, βλέποντες
αὐτῶν τὴν ἐρμηνείαν· οὔτε οἱ πρότεροι τοὺς μετ' αὐτοὺς μέμ-
ψαιντ' ἂν, ὁρῶντες τὴν ἐρμηνείαν αὐτῶν, καὶ τῆς χρεῖαν δι' ἣν
οὕτως ἔγραψαν περὶ τοῦ Κυρίου. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν ἐκά-
στη σύνοδος εὐλογον ἔχει δι' ἣν οἱ μὲν οὕτως, οἱ δὲ οὕτως
εἰρήκασιν. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ὁ Σαμοσατεὺς ἐφρόνει μὴ εἶναι πρὸ
Μαρίας τὸν Υἱόν, ἀλλ' ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἀρχὴν ἐσχηκέναι τοῦ εἶναι,

DE SYNODIS. τούτου ἕνεκεν οἱ τότε συνελθόντες καθείλουν μὲν αὐτὸν καὶ αἰρετικὸν ἀπέφηναν· περὶ δὲ τῆς τοῦ Υἱοῦ θεότητος ἀπλούστερον γράφοντες, οὐκατεγένοντο περὶ τὴν τοῦ 'ὁμοουσίου' ἀκρίβειαν, ἀλλ' οὕτως ὡς ἐξειλήφασιν περὶ τοῦ 'ὁμοουσίου' εἰρήκασιν. Τὴν φροντίδα γὰρ εἶχον πᾶσαν, ὅπερ ἐπενόησεν ὁ Σαμοσατεὺς ἀνελεῖν, καὶ δεῖξαι πρὸ πάντων εἶναι τὸν Υἱὸν, καὶ ὅτι οὐκ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων γέγονε Θεὸς, ἀλλὰ, Θεὸς ὢν, ἐνεδύσατο 'δούλου μορφὴν,' καὶ Λόγος ὢν, 'γέγονε σὰρξ,' ὡς εἶπεν ὁ Ἰωάννης· καὶ οὕτω μὲν κατὰ τῆς βλασφημίας Παύλου πέπρακται. Ὅτι δὲ καὶ οἱ περὶ Εὐσέβιον καὶ Ἀρείου πρὸ χρόνων μὲν εἶναι τὸν Υἱὸν ἔλεγον, πεποιῆσθαι μέντοι, καὶ ἕνα τῶν κτισμάτων αὐτὸν ἐδίδασκον, καὶ τὸ 'ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ' οὐχ ὡς Υἱὸν ἐκ Πατρὸς γνήσιον ἐπίστευον, ἀλλ' ὡς τὰ κτίσματα, οὕτω καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ, τὸ 'ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ' εἶναι διεβεβαίουντο· τὴν τε τῆς ὁμοιώσεως ἐνότητα τοῦ Υἱοῦ πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα οὐκ ἔλεγον κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν, οὐδὲ κατὰ τὴν φύσιν, ὡς ἔστιν υἱὸς ὁμοῖος πατρὶ, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν συμφωνίαν τῶν δογμάτων καὶ τῆς διδασκαλίας· ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ ἀπασχολοῦν καὶ ἀπεξενούντο. παντελῶς τὴν οὐσίαν τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ Πατρὸς, ἐτέραν ἀρχὴν αὐτῷ τοῦ εἶναι παρὰ τὸν Πατέρα ἐπινοοῦντες, καὶ εἰς τὰ κτίσματα καταφέροντες αὐτόν· τούτου χάριν οἱ ἐν Νικαίᾳ συνελθόντες, θεωρήσαντες τὴν πανουργίαν τῶν οὕτω φρονούντων, καὶ συναγαγόντες ἐκ τῶν γραφῶν τὴν διάνοιαν, λευκότερον γράφοντες, εἰρήκασιν τὸ 'ὁμοούσιον'· ἵνα καὶ τὸ γνήσιον ἀληθῶς ἐκ τούτου γνωσθῇ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, καὶ μηδὲν κοινὸν ἔχη πρὸς τοῦτον τὰ γενητά. Ἡ γὰρ τῆς λέξεως ταύτης ἀκρίβεια τὴν τε ὑπόκρισιν αὐτῶν, ἐὰν λέγωσιν τὸ 'ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ' ῥητὸν, διελέγχει, καὶ πάσας αὐτῶν τὰς πιθανότητας, ἐν αἷς ὑφαρπάζουσι τοὺς ἀκεραίους, ἐκβάλλει. Πάντα γοῦν δυνάμενοι σοφίζεσθαι καὶ μεταποιεῖν ὡς θέλουσι, ταύτην μόνην τὴν λέξιν, ὡς διελέχονσαν αὐτῶν τὴν αἵρεσιν, δεδίασιν· ἥν οἱ πατέρες ὥσπερ ἐπιτελίσματα κατὰ πάσης ἀσεβοῦς ἐπινοίας αὐτῶν ἔγραψαν.

46. Πεπαύσθω τοίνυν πᾶσα φιλονεικία, καὶ μηκέτι προσκόπτωμεν ἡμεῖς, εἰ διαφόρως ἐξειλήφασιν αἱ σύνοδοι τὴν τοῦ 'ὁμοουσίου' λέξιν. Ἐχομεν γὰρ εἰς ἀπολογίαν εὐλόγους περὶ αὐτῶν αἰτίας, τὰς προειρημένας μὲν, καὶ ταύτην δέ· τὸ 'ἀγέννητον,' εἰ καὶ μὴ παρὰ τῶν γραφῶν μεμαθήκαμεν, (οὐδαμοῦ

Phil. ii. 7.
Cp. John i.
14.

De Decr.
Nic. 20; ad
Afros, 6.

γὰρ 'ἀγέννητον' τὸν Θεὸν εἰρήκασιν αἱ γραφαί, ὅμως ἐπειδὴ καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν δοκούντων ἐμνημόνευσαν τοῦ ὀνόματος, φιλοπενησθήσαντες ἔγνωμεν ὅτι καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ὄνομα διάφορα ἔχει τὰ σημα- Orat. c. Ari.
i. 30.
νόμενα· καὶ οἱ μὲν τὸ ὄν μὲν, μήτε δὲ γεννηθὲν, μήτε ὅλως ἔχον τὸν αἴτιον, λέγουσιν 'ἀγέννητον'· οἱ δὲ τὸ ἄκτιστον. Ὡς περ οὖν τούτων οὕτω σημαινόμενων, εἰ ὁ μὲν τις ἀποβλέπων εἰς τὸ πρότερον σημαινόμενον τὸ 'μὴ ἔχον τὸν αἴτιον,' ἔλεγε 'μὴ εἶναι ἀγέννητον τὸν Υἱόν,' οὐκ ἂν κατηγορεῖ βλέπων ἕτερον βλέποντα εἰς τὸ μὴ εἶναι ποιήμα μηδὲ κτίσμα, ἀλλ' αἰδίου γέννημα, καὶ λέγοντα ἀγέννητον 'τὸν Υἱόν,' ἀμφότεροι γὰρ πρὸς τὸν ἴδιον σκοπὸν ὁρῶντες, καλῶς εἰρήκασιν· οὕτως εἰ καὶ τῶν πατέρων οἱ μὲν οὕτως, οἱ δὲ οὕτως εἰρήκασιν περὶ τοῦ 'ὁμοουσίου,' μὴ φιλονεικῶμεν ἡμεῖς, ἀλλ' εὐσεβῶς τὰ παρ' αὐτῶν δεχόμεθα, ἕως μάλιστα τὴν σπουδὴν εἶχον εἰς εὐσέβειαν.

47. Ἰγνάτιος οὖν, ὁ μετὰ τοὺς ἀποστόλους ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ κατασταθεὶς ἐπίσκοπος, καὶ μάρτυς τοῦ Χριστοῦ γενόμενος, γράφων περὶ τοῦ Κυρίου, εἴρηκεν· 'Εἰς ἱατρός ἐστι, σαρκικὸς καὶ πνευματικὸς, γενητὸς καὶ ἀγέννητος, ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ Θεὸς, ἐν θανάτῳ ζωὴ ἀληθινή, καὶ ἐκ Μαρίας καὶ ἐκ Θεοῦ.' Τινὲς δὲ καὶ τῶν μετὰ Ἰγνάτιον διδάσκαλοι καὶ αὐτοὶ γράφουσιν· 'Ἐν τῷ ἀγέννητῳ ὁ Πατὴρ, καὶ εἰς ὁ ἐξ αὐτοῦ Υἱὸς γνήσιος, γέννημα ἀληθινόν, Λόγος καὶ Σοφία τοῦ Πατρός.' Εἰ μὲν οὖν καὶ πρὸς τούτους ἐναντίως διακείμεθα, ἔστω καὶ πρὸς τὰς συνόδους ἡμῶν ἡ μάχη. Εἰ δὲ, τὴν ἐν Χριστῷ πίστιν αὐτῶν γινώσκοντες, πεπέσμεθα ὅτι καὶ ὁ μακάριος Ἰγνάτιος ὀρθῶς ἔγραψε, 'γενητὸν' αὐτὸν λέγων διὰ τὴν σάρκα (ὁ γὰρ Χριστὸς σὰρξ ἐγένετο)· 'ἀγέννητον' δὲ, ὅτι μὴ τῶν ποιημάτων καὶ γεννητῶν ἐστίν, ἀλλ' Υἱὸς ἐκ Πατρός· οὐκ ἀγνοοῦμεν δὲ ὅτι καὶ οἱ εἰρηκότες 'ἐν τῷ ἀγέννητῳ τὸν Πατέρα' λέγοντες, οὐχ ὥς γενητοῦ καὶ ποιήματος ὄντος τοῦ Λόγου οὕτως ἔγραψαν, ἀλλ' ὅτι μὴ ἔχει τὸν αἴτιον· καὶ μᾶλλον αὐτὸς Πατὴρ μὲν ἐστὶ τῆς Σοφίας, τὰ δὲ γενητὰ πάντα ἐν σοφίᾳ πεποίηκε· διὰ τί μὴ καὶ τοὺς πατέρας, τοὺς τε τὸν Σαμοσατέα καθελόντας, καὶ τὴν Ἀρειανὴν αἵρεσιν στηλιτεύσαντας, εἰς εὐσέβειαν συνάγομεν, ἀλλὰ διαστέλλομεν ἀνὰ μέσον αὐτῶν, καὶ οὐ μᾶλλον ὀρθῶς περὶ αὐτῶν φρονοῦμεν ; ὅτι κἀκεῖνοι, καθάπερ εἶπον, πρὸς τὸ σόφισμα τοῦ

S. Ignat.
Eph. 7.

DE SYNOPSIS. Σαμοσατέως, καὶ τὴν ἑρμηνείαν αὐτοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν ἔχοντες, ἔγραψαν, 'Οὐκ ἔστιν ὁμοούσιος'· καὶ οὗτοι δὲ, καλῶς νοήσαντες, εἰρήκασιν 'ὁμοούσιον εἶναι τὸν Υἱόν.' Καὶ γὰρ καὶ γὰρ τοιαῦτα μὲν νοῶν περὶ τῶν εὐσεβούντων εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν δι' ὀλίγων ἔγραψα· εἰ δὲ δυνατόν ἦν εὐπορήσαι καὶ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς, ἣν λέγουσιν ἐκείνους γεγραφέναι, ἡγοῦμαι πλείους εὔρεθήσεσθαι τὰς προφάσεις, δι' ἃς ἡναγκάστησαν οὕτω γράψαι οἱ μακάριοι ἐκεῖνοι. Δεῖ γὰρ ἡμᾶς καὶ πρέπει τοιαῦτα φρονεῖν, τοιαύτην τε σώζειν ἀγαθὴν συνειδησιν πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας, εἶγε μὴ νόθοι τυγχάνομεν, ἀλλ' ἐξ αὐτῶν ἔχομεν τὰς παραδόσεις, καὶ παρ' αὐτῶν τὴν τῆς εὐσεβείας διδασκαλίαν.

48. Τοιαύτη μὲν οὖν ἡ διάνοια τῶν πατέρων λεγέσθω καὶ πιστενέσθω. Φέρε δὲ καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν πάλιν ἐξετάσωμεν τὸ πρᾶγμα πρᾶως, καὶ μετὰ συνειδήσεως ἀγαθῆς, μνημονεύσαντες καὶ τῶν προειρημένων· εἰ μὴ τῷ ὄντι δείκνυνται καλῶς φρονήσαντες· οἱ ἐν τῇ Νικαίᾳ συνελθόντες ἐπίσκοποι. Εἰ μὲν ποίημά ἐστιν ὁ Λόγος, καὶ ἀλλότριος τῆς τοῦ Πατρὸς οὐσίας, ὥστε καὶ χωρίζεσθαι αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ Πατρὸς τῷ ἑτεροφυεῖ χωρισμῷ, οὐκ ἂν εἴη ὁμοούσιος τῷ Πατρὶ, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ὁμογενὴς τῇ φύσει τοῖς ποιήμασι, κὰν ὑπερβάλλῃ τῇ χάριτι· εἰ δὲ ὁμολογοῦμεν μὴ εἶναι αὐτὸν ποίημα, ἀλλὰ γνήσιον 'ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Πατρὸς' γέννημα, ἀκόλουθον ἂν εἴη καὶ ἀχώριστον αὐτὸν εἶναι τοῦ Πατρὸς, ὁμοφυῆ ὄντα διὰ τὸ ἐξ αὐτοῦ γεγενῆσθαι. Τοιοῦτος δὲ ὢν, εἰκότως καὶ 'ὁμοούσιος' ἂν λέγοιτο. Ἐπειτα εἰ μὴ ἐκ μετουσίας ἐστὶν ὁ Υἱός, ἀλλὰ τῇ οὐσίᾳ Λόγος ἐστὶ καὶ Σοφία τοῦ Πατρὸς, ἡ δὲ οὐσία αὕτη τῆς οὐσίας τῆς πατρικῆς ἐστὶ γέννημα καὶ ὁμοιότης αὐτῆς, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ ἀπαύγασμα τοῦ φωτός· λέγει δὲ ὁ Υἱός, 'Εγὼ καὶ ὁ Πατὴρ ἓν ἐσμεν,' καὶ, 'ὁ ἐμὲ ἑωρακὼς ἑώρακε τὸν Πατέρα'· πῶς δεῖ νοεῖν ταύτας τὰς φωνάς; ἢ πῶς αὐτὰς ἐκλαμβάνοντες, σώσομεν τὸ 'ἓν εἶναι' τὸν Πατέρα καὶ τὸν Υἱόν; Εἰ μὲν οὖν τῇ συμφωνίᾳ τῶν δογμάτων, καὶ τῷ μὴ διαφωνεῖν πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα, ὡς οἱ Ἀρειανοὶ λέγουσι, φαῦλος ὁ τοιοῦτος νοῦς. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ οἱ ἅγιοι, καὶ μᾶλλον γε ἄγγελοι καὶ ἀρχάγγελοι, τὴν τοιαύτην ἔχουσι πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν συμφωνίαν, καὶ οὐδεμία παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐστὶ διαφωνία. Ὁ γὰρ διαφωνήσας διάβολος ἐθεωρήθη πίπτων ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν, ὡς

John x. 30.
John xiv. 9.

Cp. c. 23.
Orat. c. Ari.
iii. 10.

Luke x. 18.

εἶπεν ὁ Κύριος. Οὐκοῦν εἰ διὰ τὴν συμφωνίαν ἔν ἐστιν ὁ Πατήρ καὶ ὁ Υἱὸς, εἴη ἂν καὶ τῶν γεννητῶν τὰ συμφωνοῦντα οὕτω πρὸς τὸν Θεόν, καὶ εἴποι ἂν ἕκαστος· ‘Εγὼ καὶ ὁ Πατήρ ἔν ἐσμεν.’ Εἰ δὲ τοῦτο ἄτοπον· ἄτοπον γάρ ἐστιν ἀληθῶς· ἀνάγκη λοιπὸν κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν νοεῖν καὶ τὴν Υἱοῦ καὶ Πατρὸς ἐνότητα. Τὰ μὲν γὰρ γενητὰ, κὰν συμφωνίαν ἔχη πρὸς τὸν πεποιηκότα, ἀλλ’ ἐν κινήσει καὶ μετουσίᾳ καὶ νῶ ταύτην ἔχει, ἥνπερ ὁ μὴ φυλάξας ἐκβέβληται τῶν οὐρανῶν· ὁ δὲ Υἱὸς, ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας ὦν γέννημα, οὐσίᾳ ἔν ἐστιν αὐτὸς καὶ ὁ γεννήσας αὐτὸν Πατήρ.

49. Διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ τὸ ἰσάζον ἔχει πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα ταῖς ἐνοειδέσει φωναῖς, καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τοῦ Πατρὸς λεγόμενα, ταῦτα καὶ ἐπὶ Υἱοῦ λέγουσιν αἱ γραφαί, χωρὶς μόνον τοῦ λέγεσθαι αὐτὸν Πατέρα. Αὐτὸς γὰρ εἶπεν ὁ Υἱός· ‘Πάντα, ὅσα ἔχει ὁ Πατήρ, John xvi. 15. ἐμὰ ἐστι· τῷ τε Πατρὶ ἔλεγε· ‘Πάντα τὰ ἐμὰ σὰ ἐστι, καὶ τὰ John xvii. 10. σὰ ἐμὰ· οἶον τὸ, Θεός. ‘Θεός’ γὰρ ‘ἦν ὁ Λόγος.’ τὸ, Παν- John i. 1. τοκράτωρ· ‘Τάδε λέγει ὁ ὦν, καὶ ὁ ἦν, καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος ὁ Παν- Rev. i. 8. τοκράτωρ·’ τὸ εἶναι φῶς· ‘Εγὼ εἰμι,’ φησί, ‘τὸ φῶς·’ τὸ John viii. 12. δημιουργικὸν αἷτιον· ‘πάντα γὰρ δι’ αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο·’ καὶ, ‘ἃ John i. 3. βλέπω τὸν Πατέρα ποιοῦντα, ταῦτα καὶ γὰρ ποῶ·’ τὸ εἶναι John v. 19. ‘αἰδίου·’ ‘Ἡ τε’ γὰρ· ‘αἰδῖος αὐτοῦ δύναμις καὶ θεϊότης,’ καὶ, Rom. i. 20. ‘Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ Λόγος,’ καὶ, ‘Ἦν τὸ φῶς τὸ ἀληθινόν, ὃ φω- John i. 1. τίζει πάντα ἄνθρωπον ἐρχόμενον εἰς τὸν κόσμον·’ τὸ εἶναι Ibid. 9. ‘Κύριος·’ ‘Ἐβρεξε γὰρ Κύριος θεῖον καὶ πῦρ παρὰ Κυρίου·’ καὶ Gen. xix. 24. ὁ μὲν Πατήρ φησιν· ‘Εγὼ Κύριος,’ καὶ, ‘Τάδε λέγει Κύριος ὁ Mal. iii. 3. Θεός ὁ παντοκράτωρ·’ περὶ δὲ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ὁ Παῦλος φησιν· ‘Εἰς Gen. xvii. 1. Κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς, δι’ οὗ τὰ πάντα.’ Καὶ τῷ μὲν Πατρὶ 1 Cor. viii. 6. λειτουργοῦσιν ἄγγελοι· ὁ δὲ Υἱὸς προσκυνεῖται παρ’ αὐτῶν· ‘Καὶ προσκυνήσάτωσαν αὐτῷ πάντες ἄγγελοι Θεοῦ.’ Λέγεται Hebr. i. 6. δὲ εἶναι καὶ Κύριος ἀγγέλων· ‘δικούνουν’ γὰρ ‘αὐτῷ οἱ ἄγγε- Matt. iv. 11. λοι·’ καὶ, ‘ἀποστελεῖ ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τοὺς ἀγγέλους Matt. xxiv. 31. αὐτοῦ·’ τὸ τιμᾶσθαι ὡς τὸν Πατέρα· ‘Ἰνα’ γὰρ, φησί, ‘τιμῶσι John v. 23. τὸν Υἱὸν, καθὼς τιμῶσι τὸν Πατέρα·’ τὸ εἶναι ἴσα Θεῷ· ‘Οὐχ Philipp. ii. 6. ἀρπαγμὸν ἡγήσατο τὸ εἶναι ἴσα Θεῷ·’ τὸ εἶναι ἐξ ἀληθινοῦ ἀλήθειαν, καὶ ἐκ ζῶντος ζῶην, ὡς ἀπὸ πηγῆς ὄντως τοῦ Πατρὸς, τὸ ζωοποιεῖν τὸν Υἱὸν καὶ ἐγείρειν τοὺς νεκροὺς ὥσπερ ὁ Πατήρ·

DE SYNODIS. οὕτω γὰρ ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ γέγραπται. Καὶ περὶ μὲν τοῦ
 Deut vi. 4. Πατρὸς γέγραπται· 'Κύριος ὁ Θεός σου, Κύριος εἰς ἔστι·' καὶ,
 Psal. xlix. (l.) 'Θεὸς θεῶν Κύριος ἐλάλησε, καὶ ἐκάλεσε τὴν γῆν·' περὶ δὲ
 I. τοῦ Υἱοῦ, 'Θεὸς Κύριος καὶ ἐπέφανεν ἡμῖν,' καὶ, 'Ὁφθῆσεται
 Psal. cxvii. (cxviii.) 27. ὁ Θεὸς τῶν θεῶν ἐν Σιών·' πάλιν τε περὶ μὲν τοῦ Θεοῦ φησιν
 Psal. lxxxiii. (lxxxiv.) 7. ὁ 'Ἡσαίας· 'Τίς Θεὸς ὥσπερ σὺ, ἐξαίρων ἀνομίας, καὶ ὑπερ-
 Mic. vii. 18. βαίνων ἀδικίας;' ὁ δὲ Υἱὸς ἔλεγεν οἷς ἠθέλεον· 'Ἀφέωνται
 Matt. ix. 5. σου αἱ ἁμαρτίαι·' ὅτε καὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων γογγυζόντων, ἔργω
 Mark ii. 11. τὴν ἀφεσιν ἐδείκνυε, λέγων τῷ παραλυτικῷ· 'Ἐγείραι, ἄρον
 1 Tim. i. 17. τὸν κράββατόν σου, καὶ ὑπάγε εἰς τὸν οἶκόν σου.' Καὶ περὶ
 Psal. xxiii. (xxiv.) 7. μὲν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἔλεγεν ὁ Παῦλος· 'Τῷ δὲ βασιλεῖ τῶν αἰώνων·'
 Dan. iv. 31. περὶ δὲ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ὁ μὲν Δαβὶδ ἔψαλλεν· 'Ἄρατε πύλας, οἱ
 Dan. vii. 14. ἄρχοντες, ὑμῶν, καὶ ἐπάρθητε, πύλαι αἰώνιοι, καὶ εἰσελεύσεται
 ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης·' ὁ δὲ Δανιὴλ ἤκουσεν· 'Ἡ βασιλεία
 αὐτοῦ βασιλεία αἰώνιος,' καὶ, 'Ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ οὐ διαφθαρή-
 σεται.' Καὶ ὅλως ὅσα ἂν εὖροις περὶ τοῦ Πατρὸς λεγόμενα,
 τοσαῦτα ἂν εὖροις καὶ περὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ λεγόμενα, χωρὶς μόνου τοῦ
 εἶναι αὐτὸν Πατέρα, καθάπερ εἴρηται.

50. Εἰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλην ἀρχὴν ἐνθυμεῖται τις, καὶ ἄλλον Πα-
 τέρα διὰ τὸ ἰσάζον τῶν λεγομένων, μανικὸν τὸ ἐνθύμημα· εἰ δὲ
 διὰ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς εἶναι τὸν Υἱόν, πάντα τὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς ὡς
 ἐν εἰκόνι καὶ χαρακτῆρι τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἔστι, λογισώμεθα εὐμενῶς, εἰ
 ξένη οὐσία τῆς τοῦ Πατρὸς οὐσίας δεκτικὴ τῶν τοιούτων ἐστὶ·
 καὶ εἰ ὁ τοιοῦτος ἑτεροφυῆς καὶ ἀλλοτριούσιός ἐστι, καὶ οὐχ
 ὁμοούσιος τῷ Πατρί. Εὐλαβητέον γὰρ μὴ τὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἴδια
 μεταφέροντες ἐπὶ τὸ ἀνομοιούσιον αὐτῷ, καὶ ἐν ἀνομοιογενεῖ
 καὶ ἀλλοτριουσίῳ χαρακτηρίζοντες τὴν τοῦ Πατρὸς θεότητα,
 ξένην μὲν ἄλλην εἰσάξωμεν οὐσίαν, δεκτικὴν τῶν τῆς πρώτης
 οὐσίας ἰδιωμάτων, ἐντραπῶμεν δὲ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ λέγοντος·
 'Τὴν δόξαν μου ἐτέρῳ οὐ δώσω·' καὶ εὐρεθῶμεν προσκυνοῦντες
 τῷ ἀλλοτρίῳ, καὶ νομισθῶμεν εἶναι τοιοῦτοι, οἳ οἱ ἦσαν οἱ τότε
 Ἰουδαῖοι λέγοντες· 'Διὰ τί σὺ, ἄνθρωπος ὢν, ποιεῖς σεαυτὸν
 Θεόν;' ὅτε καὶ, τὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος μεταφέροντες, ἐβλασφή-
 μουν λέγοντες, ὅτι· 'Ἐν Βεελζεβούλ ἐκβάλλει τὰ δαιμόνια.'
 Εἰ δὲ τοῦτο ἀπρεπὲς, δῆλον ὅτι οὐκ ἀνομοιούσιος ἂν εἴη ὁ
 Υἱὸς, ἀλλὰ ὁμοούσιος τῷ Πατρί· καὶ γὰρ εἰ τὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς

¹Isa. xlii. 8.
 Ep. Æg. 13.
 Hist. Ari. 80.

John x. 33.

Luke xi. 15.

φυσικῶς τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἐστιν, αὐτός τε ὁ Υἱὸς ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐστι, καὶ διὰ τὴν τοιαύτην ἐνότητα τῆς θεότητος καὶ τῆς φύσεως αὐτὸς καὶ ὁ Πατὴρ ἓν εἰσι, καὶ ‘ὁ ἑωρακὼς τὸν Υἱὸν ἑώρακε τὸν Πατέρα,’ εἰκότως ἐλέχθη παρὰ τῶν πατέρων ‘ὁμοούσιος’ οὐ γὰρ ἑτεροουσίου τὰ τοιαῦτα ἔχειν ἐστί.

51. Πάλιν τε εἰ, καθὰ προείπομεν, οὐκ ἐκ μετουσίας ἐστὶν c. 48.

ὁ Υἱός· ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν γενητὰ πάντα ἐκ μετουσίας ἔχει τὴν παρὰ Θεοῦ χάριν, αὐτὸς δὲ τοῦ Πατρὸς σοφία καὶ Λόγος ἐστίν, οὐ μετέχει τὰ πάντα· δηλὸν ὅτι αὐτὸς ὢν τὸ θεοποιὸν καὶ φωτιστικὸν τοῦ Πατρὸς, ἐν ᾧ τὰ πάντα θεοποιεῖται καὶ ζωοποιεῖται, οὐκ ἀλλοτριουσίου ἐστὶ τοῦ Πατρὸς, ἀλλ’ ὁμοούσιος. Τούτου γὰρ μεταλαμβάνοντες, τοῦ Πατρὸς μετέχομεν, διὰ τὸ τοῦ Πατρὸς εἶναι ἴδιον τὸν Λόγον. Ὅθεν εἰ ἦν ἐκ μετουσίας καὶ αὐτὸς, καὶ μὴ ἐξ αὐτοῦ οὐσιώδης θεότης καὶ εἰκὼν τοῦ Πατρὸς, οὐκ ἂν ἐθεοποίησε, θεοποιούμενος καὶ αὐτός. Οὐ γὰρ οἷόν τε τὸν ἐκ μετουσίας ἔχοντα μεταδιδόναι τῆς μεταλήψεως ἑτέροις, ὅτι μὴ αὐτοῦ ἐστιν ὃ ἔχει, ἀλλὰ τοῦ δεδοκός, καὶ ὃ ἔλαβε μόγις τὴν ἀρκοῦσαν αὐτῷ χάριν ἔλαβε. Καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν δὲ ὁμῶς, δι’ ἣν τινες, ὡς λέγεται, παραιτοῦνται τὸ ‘ὁμοούσιον,’ ἐξετάσωμεν ἀληθῶς, μὴ ἄρα μᾶλλον ἐκ ταύτης ὁμοούσιος δείκνυνται ὁ Υἱὸς τῷ Πατρί. Φασὶ τοίνυν, ὡς ὑμεῖς ἐγράψατε, Cp. Hil. de Syn. 81.
μὴ χρῆναι λέγειν ‘ὁμοούσιον’ τὸν Υἱὸν τῷ Πατρί, ὅτι ὁ λέγων ὁμοούσιον τρία λέγει, οὐσίαν τινὰ προὔποκειμένην, καὶ τοὺς ἐκ ταύτης γεννωμένους ὁμοουσίου εἶναι· καὶ ἐπιλέγουσιν· ‘Ἐὰν οὖν ὁ Υἱὸς ὁμοούσιος ἦ τῷ Πατρί, ἀνάγκη προὔποκεῖσθαι Cp. c. 45,
αὐτῶν οὐσίαν, ἐξ ἧς καὶ ἐγεννήθησαν, καὶ μὴ εἶναι τὸν μὲν Πατέρα, τὸν δὲ Υἱὸν, ἀλλ’ ἀμφοτέρους ἀδελφούς.’ Ταῦτα εἰ καὶ Ἑλλήνων εἰσὶν ἐρμηνεῖαι, καὶ οὐκ ἀναγκαῖα ἡμῖν τὰ παρ’ ἐκείνων· ἀλλ’ ἴδωμεν τὰ εἰρημένα τὰ ‘ὁμοούσια,’ τὰ ἐκ τῆς προνοουμένης οὐσίας ἀδελφὰ, πότερον ἑαυτῶν εἰσιν ‘ὁμοούσια,’ ἢ τῆς οὐσίας ἐξ ἧς καὶ ἐγεννήθησαν· εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἑαυτῶν, ‘ἐτεροούσια’ καὶ ἀνόμοια ἔσται πρὸς τὴν γεννήσασαν αὐτὰ οὐσίαν· ἀντίκειται γὰρ τῷ ὁμοουσίῳ τὸ ἑτεροούσιον· εἰ δὲ τῆς γεννήσασας αὐτὰ οὐσίας ἐστὶν ἕκαστον ὁμοούσιον, δηλὸν ὅτι τὸ ἐκ τινος γεννώμενον ὁμοουσίου ἐστὶ τῷ γεννήσαντι· καὶ οὐκέτι χρὴ ζητεῖν τρεῖς οὐσίας, ἀλλὰ μόνον ζητεῖν, εἰ τόδε ἀληθὲς ἐκ

DE SYNODIS. τοῦδὲ ἐστι. Κὰν γὰρ συμβῇ μὴ εἶναι δύο ἀδελφοὺς, ἀλλὰ καὶ μόνον ἓνα ἐξ ἐκείνης τῆς οὐσίας γενέσθαι, οὐ διὰ τὸ μὴ εἶναι ἕτερον, ἀλλοτριουσίσιος ἂν λεχθεῖη ὁ γεννηθεῖς· ἀλλὰ καὶ μόνος ὢν, εἴη ἂν καὶ αὐτὸς ὁμοούσιος τῷ γεννησάντι. Ἐπεὶ τί ἂν εἴποιμεν περὶ τῆς θυγατρὸς τοῦ Ἰεφθάε, ὅτι 'μονογενῆς ἦν καὶ οὐκ ἦν,' φησὶν, 'ἄλλο τέκνον αὐτῷ,' καὶ περὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ δὲ τῆς χήρας, ὃν ἡγείρεν ἐκ νεκρῶν ὁ Κύριος, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς οὐκ εἶχεν ἀδελφόν, ἀλλὰ 'μονογενῆς' ἦν· ἄρα οὐκ ἦν ὁμοούσιος ἕκαστος αὐτῶν τῷ γεννησάντι; καὶ μὴν ἦσαν τέκνα γὰρ ἦσαν καὶ τοῦτο τέκνων ἰδιόν ἐστι πρὸς γονέας. Οὕτω καὶ τὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ Υἱὸν 'ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας' εἰπόντες οἱ πατέρες, εἰκότως καὶ 'ὁμοούσιον' εἰρήκασι· ταύτην γὰρ ἔχει καὶ τὸ ἀπαύγασμα δύναμιν πρὸς τὸ φῶς. Ἐπεται δὲ τούτοις μηδὲ τὴν κτίσιν ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος γεγενῆναι. Οἱ γὰρ κατὰ πάθος γεννῶντες ἄνθρωποι, αὐτοὶ καὶ τὴν ὑποκειμένην ὕλην ἐργάζονται, καὶ ἄλλως οὐκ ἂν δύναιντο ποιεῖν· εἰ δὲ τὸ 'κτίζειν' οὐκ ἀνθρωπίνως νοοῦμεν ἐπὶ Θεοῦ, πολλῷ μᾶλλον οὐδὲ τὸ 'γεννᾶν' ἀνθρωπίνως πρέπει νοεῖν ἐπὶ Θεοῦ, οὐδὲ τὸ 'ὁμοούσιον' σωματικῶς ἐκλαμβάνειν, ἀλλ' ἀναχωρεῖν δεῖ ἀπὸ τῶν γενητῶν, καὶ ἀποτιθέντας κάτω πῦρ τὰς ἀνθρωπίνους εἰκόνας καὶ πάσας ἀπλῶς τὰς αἰσθήσεις, ἀνιέναι ἐπὶ τὸν Πατέρα, μὴ λάθωμεν ἀφαιροῦντες τὸν Υἱὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ προστιθέντες τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ κτίσμασι.

52. Καὶ ἄλλως δὲ, εἰ μὲν Πατέρα καὶ Υἱὸν ὁμολογοῦντες, δύο τινας ἀρχὰς ἢ δύο θεοὺς, καθάπερ Μαρκίων καὶ Οὐαλεντίνος, λέγομεν, ἢ ἕτερόν τινα τρόπον θεότητος ἔχειν τὸν Υἱὸν, καὶ μὴ εἰκόνα καὶ χαρακτῆρα τοῦ Πατρὸς εἶναι τὸν Υἱόν, διὰ τὸ ἐξ αὐτοῦ πεφυκέναι· ἔστω 'ἀνόμοιος'· ξέναι γὰρ εἰσι παντάπασιν ἀλλήλων αἱ τοιαῦται οὐσίαι· εἰ δὲ μίαν οἶδαμεν καὶ μόνην θεότητα τὴν τοῦ Πατρὸς, τούτου τε Λόγον καὶ Σοφίαν εἶναι τὸν Υἱόν, καὶ οὕτω πιστεύοντες οὐ λέγομεν δύο θεοὺς, τὴν τε ἐνότητα τοῦ Υἱοῦ πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα οὐχ ὁμοιώσει διδασκαλίας, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν καὶ ἀληθείαν φρονοῦμεν· ὥστε διὰ τοῦτο μὴ λέγειν δύο θεοὺς, ἀλλ' ἓνα Θεόν, ἐνὸς ὄντος εἶδους θεότητος, ὡς ἔστι τὰ φῶς καὶ τὸ ἀπαύγασμα· τοῦτο γὰρ ὥφθη τῷ πατριάρχῃ Ἰακώβ, καὶ φησιν ἡ γραφή· 'Ἀνέτειλε δὲ ἀντὶ τοῦ ἡλίου, ἡνίκα παρήλθε τὸ εἶδος τοῦ Θεοῦ' καὶ τοῦτο

θεωροῦντες οἱ ἅγιοι προφῆται, καὶ νοοῦντες, τίνος ἐστὶν Υἱὸς καὶ εἰκὼν, ἔλεγον· ‘Ἐγένετο Λόγος Κυρίου πρὸς μέ.’ Γινώσκοντες τὸν ἐν αὐτῷ θεωρούμενον καὶ ἀποκαλυπτόμενον Πατέρα, ἐθάβρουν εἰπεῖν· ‘Ὡφθη μοι ὁ Θεὸς τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν, ὁ Θεὸς Ἀβραάμ, καὶ Ἰσαὰκ, καὶ Ἰακώβ.’ τούτου δὲ οὕτως οὗτος, διὰ τί τὸν ἕνα ὄντα πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα καὶ φαινόμενον, ὡς ἔστιν ὁ Πατήρ, κατὰ τὴν ὁμοιότητα καὶ μίαν θεότητα, εὐλαβούμεθα εἰπεῖν ‘ὁμοούσιον’; Εἰ μὲν γὰρ, ὥσπερ εἴρηται πολλάκις, οὐκ ἔχει τὴν ιδιότητα τῆς πατρικῆς οὐσίας, οὐδὲ τὴν ἐμφέρειαν ὡς Υἱὸς, καλῶς εὐλαβούμεθα· εἰ δὲ τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ φωτιστικὸν καὶ δημιουργικὸν τὸ ἰδιαίτατον τοῦ Πατρὸς, οὐ ἄνευ οὕτε δημιουργεῖ, οὕτε γινώσκεται (‘πάντα γὰρ δι’ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ συνέστηκε’)· διὰ τί, τὸ πρᾶγμα νοοῦντες, παραιτούμεθα τὴν τοῦτο σημαίνουσαν λέξιν εἰπεῖν; Τί γὰρ ἐστι τὸ οὕτως ὁμοφυὲς τῷ Πατρὶ ἢ ‘ὁμοούσιον’ αὐτοῦ; Οὐ γὰρ ἄλλοτριον, ὡς ὑπουργοῦ δεόμενος, προσελάβετο ὁ Θεὸς τὸν Υἱόν· οὐδὲ τὰ ποιήματα ἰσάξια τοῦ κτίσαντος, ὥστε τιμᾶσθαι ταῦτα ὡς ἐκείνου, ἢ νομίζειν ὅτι ταῦτα καὶ ὁ Πατήρ ‘ἐν εἰσιν.’ *Ἡ τολμησάτω τις διελεῖν, καὶ εἰπεῖν δύο φῶτα εἶναι τὸν ἥλιον καὶ τὸ ἀπαύγασμα, ἢ ἐτέραν τινὰ εἶναι οὐσίαν, ἢ ὅτι ἐπισυμβέβηκε τὸ ἀπαύγασμα, καὶ μὴ ἀπλοῦν εἶναι καὶ καθαρὸν γέννημα ἐκ τοῦ ἡλίου τοῦτο, ὥστε δύο μὲν εἶναι ἥλιον καὶ ἀπαύγασμα, ἐν δὲ τὸ φῶς, διὰ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ ἡλίου εἶναι τοῦτο γέννημα. Τοιαύτης δὲ οὕσης καὶ μᾶλλον ἀδιαιρέτου τῆς φύσεως τοῦ Υἱοῦ πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα, καὶ οὐκ ἐπισυμβάσης τῆς θεότητος τῷ Υἱῷ, ἀλλὰ τῆς πατρικῆς θεότητος οὕσης ἐν τῷ Υἱῷ, ὥστε τὸν ἑωρακότα τὸν Υἱὸν ὁρᾶν ἐν αὐτῷ τὸν Πατέρα, διὰ τί ὁ τοιοῦτος μὴ ἂν λέγοιτο ‘ὁμοούσιος’;

53. Ἔστι μὲν οὖν ἱκανὰ καὶ ταῦτα πείσαι ὑμᾶς μὴ κατηγορεῖν τῶν εἰρηκότων ‘ὁμοούσιον’ εἶναι τὸν Υἱὸν τῷ Πατρί· καὶ αὐτὴν δὲ ὁμῶς τὴν τοῦ ‘ὁμοουσίου’ λέξιν καθ’ ἑαυτὴν ἐξετάσωμεν, ἵνα γνῶμεν, εἰ χρὴ λέγειν ὅλως ‘ὁμοούσιον,’ καὶ εἰ κυρία λέξις ἐστὶ, καὶ ἁρμοζόντως ἐστὶν αὕτη ἐπὶ Υἱοῦ λεγομένη. Οἴδατε γὰρ καὶ ὑμεῖς, καὶ οὐδ’ ἂν τις ἀμφιβάλλοι, ὅτι τὸ ‘ὅμοιον’ οὐκ ἐπὶ τῶν οὐσιῶν, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ σχημάτων καὶ ποιότητων λέγεται ὅμοιον· ἐπὶ γὰρ τῶν οὐσιῶν οὐχ ὁμοιότης, ἀλλὰ

Qu. καὶ γινώσκοντες.
Jer. i. 11, etc.
Exod. iii. 16.

Cp. Col. i. 16, 17.

DE SYNODIS. ταυτότης ἂν λεχθείη. Ἄνθρωπος γοῦν ἀνθρώπῳ ὅμοιος λέγεται, οὐ κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ σχῆμα καὶ τὸν χαρακτῆρα· τῇ γὰρ οὐσίᾳ ὁμοφυεῖς εἰσι. Καὶ πάλιν ἄνθρωπος κυνὶ οὐκ ἁνόμοιος λέγεται, ἀλλ' ἑτεροφυής· οὐκοῦν τὸ μὲν ὁμοφυὲς καὶ ὁμοούσιον, τὸ δὲ ἑτεροφυὲς καὶ ἑτεροούσιον. Διὸ καὶ ὁ λέγων ὅμοιον κατ' οὐσίαν ἐκ μετουσίας τοῦτο λέγει ὅμοιον. Τὸ γὰρ ὅμοιον ποιότης ἐστίν, ἥτις τῇ οὐσίᾳ προσγένοιτ' ἂν. Τοῦτο δὲ τῶν ποιημάτων ἴδιον ἂν εἴη· ταῦτα γὰρ ἐκ μετοχῆς ὁμοιοῦται τῷ Θεῷ. Ὅταν γὰρ, φησὶ, φανερωθῇ, ὅμοιοι αὐτῷ ἐσόμεθα· ὅμοιοι δηλονότι οὐ τῇ οὐσίᾳ, ἀλλὰ τῇ νιότητι, ἧς μεταλαμβάνομεν παρ' αὐτοῦ. Εἰ μὲν οὖν καὶ τὸν Υἱὸν ἐκ μετουσίας λέγετε, λεγέσθω μὲν παρ' ὑμῶν ὁμοιούσιος. Οὐκ ἔστι μέντοι λεγόμενος οὕτως ἀλήθεια, οὐδὲ ὅλως φῶς, οὐδὲ φύσει Θεός. Τὰ γὰρ ἐκ μετουσίας οὐκ ἀληθεία, ἀλλ' ὁμοιώσει τῆς ἀληθείας λέγεται ὁμοία, ὥστε καὶ μεταπίπτειν, καὶ ἀφαιρείσθαι δύνασθαι ἀπὸ τῶν μετεχόντων τὴν μετάληψιν. Τοῦτο δὲ πάλιν ἴδιον τῶν κτισμάτων καὶ ποιημάτων ἐστίν. Οὐκοῦν εἰ τοῦτο ἄτοπον, οὐκ ἂν εἴη ἐκ μετουσίας, ἀλλὰ φύσει καὶ ἀληθείᾳ Υἱὸς, φῶς, σοφία, Θεός. Φύσει δὲ ὦν καὶ οὐ μετοχῇ, οὐκ ἂν κυρίως λεχθείη ὁμοιούσιος, ἀλλ' ὁμοούσιος. Ὁ δὲ μὴδὲ ἐπ' ἄλλων ἂν τις εἴποι· ἐδείχθη γὰρ τὸ ὅμοιον μὴ ἐπὶ τῶν οὐσιῶν λεγόμενον· πῶς οὐκ ἀνόητον μὲν, ἢ τάχα καὶ χαλεπὸν τοῦτο προφέρειν ἐπὶ Υἱῷ, καὶ μὴ μᾶλλον τὸ ὁμοούσιον;

54. Διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ ἡ ἐν Νικαίᾳ σύνοδος καλῶς ἔγραψεν, ὅπερ ἔπρεπεν εἰπεῖν, γεννητὸν ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Πατρὸς τὸν Υἱὸν ὁμοούσιον. Ταῦτα καὶ ἡμεῖς μαθάντες, μὴ σκιαμαχῶμεν, καὶ μάλιστα γνώσκοντες ὅτι οἱ καὶ ταῦτα γράψαντες, οὐχ ὥς παρεξηγούμενοι τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ἀλλ' ἐκδικοῦντες μὲν τὴν ἀλήθειαν καὶ τὴν εἰς Χριστὸν εὐσέβειαν, καθαιροῦντες δὲ τὰς κατ' αὐτοῦ τῶν Ἀρειομανιτῶν βλασφημίας, οὕτως ὁμολόγησαν τὴν πίστιν. Σκεπτέον γὰρ καὶ κατανοητέον ἀκριβῶς ὅτι λέγοντες μὲν ἁνομοιούσιον καὶ ἑτεροούσιον, οὐ σημαίνομεν τὸν ἀληθινὸν Υἱὸν, ἀλλ' ἐν τι τῶν ποιημάτων καὶ τὸν εἰσποιητὸν καὶ θέσει Υἱὸν, ὅπερ τοῖς αἰρετικοῖς δοκεῖ· λέγοντες δὲ μὴ ἔριστικῶς τὸ ὁμοούσιον, Υἱὸν σημαίνομεν γνήσιον ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς πεφυκότα, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ διαβρῆγνύονται πολλάκις οἱ

Χριστομάχοι. Ταῦτα μὲν ἅπερ ἔγνω ἡμεῖς, καὶ διαλεγόμενον ἤκουσα φρονίμων, δι' ὀλίγων γέγραφα· ὑμεῖς δὲ, μένοντες ἐπὶ 'τὸν θεμέλιον τῶν ἀποστόλων,' καὶ τὰς παραδόσεις τῶν πατέρων Eph. ii. 20. κατέχοντες, εὐχεσθε ἵνα ἤδη ποτὲ παύσῃται πᾶσα λοιπὸν ἔρις καὶ ζήλος, τῶν τε αἰρετικῶν αἱ μωραὶ ζητήσεις καταγνωσθῶσι, καὶ πᾶσα λογομαχία· καὶ ἡ μὲν δυσώνυμος καὶ ἀνθρωποκτόνος τῶν Ἀρειανῶν αἵρεσις ἐξαφανισθεῖ, ἀναλάμψει δὲ πάντων ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ἡ ἀλήθεια, ὥστε πάντας πανταχοῦ 'τὸ αὐτὸ 1 Cor. i. 10. λέγειν,' καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ φρονεῖν· μηδεμιᾶς δὲ ἔτι περιλειπομένης Ἀρειανῆς δυσφημίας, λέγεται καὶ ὁμολογῆται κατὰ πᾶσαν ἐκκλησίαν· 'Εἰς Κύριος, μία πίστις, ἓν βάπτισμα,' ἐν Χριστῷ Eph. iv. 5. Ἰησοῦ τῷ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν, δι' οὗ τῷ Πατρὶ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.

55. Μετὰ τὸ γράψαι μετὰ περὶ τῶν συνόδων, ἔγνω γρά- (Postscript.)
ψαντα τὸν ἀσεβέστατον Κωνσταντῖον πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Ἀριμίνῳ μέινοντας ἐπισκόπους· καὶ σπουδῇ ἐσχον λαβεῖν τὰ ἀντί-
γραφα παρὰ γνησίων ἀδελφῶν, καὶ ἀποστεῖλαι ὑμῖν, καὶ τὰ
παρὰ τῶν ἐπισκόπων ἀντιγραφέντα· ἵνα γνῶτε τοῦ μὲν βασι-
λέως τὴν ἀσεβῆ πανουργίαν, τῶν δὲ ἐπισκόπων τὸ ἐδραῖον καὶ
ἀκλινὲς τῆς πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν γνώμης.

Ἑρμηνεία τῆς ἐπιστολῆς.

Κωνσταντῖος νικητὴς καὶ θριαμβευτὴς Αὐγουστος πᾶσιν (Letter of
Constantius
to Council of
Ariminum.)
ἐπισκόποις τοῖς ἐν Ἀριμίνῳ συνελθοῦσιν.

Ἀεὶ μὲν προηγουμένην ἡμᾶς ἔχειν φροντίδα περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ
καὶ προσκυνητοῦ νόμου, οὐδὲ ἡ ὑμετέρα χρηστότης ἀγνοεῖ·
ἀλλὰ νῦν τοὺς παρὰ τῆς συνέσεως ὑμῶν ἀποσταλέντας εἴκοσιν
ἐπισκόπους, ἀναδεξαμένους τὴν παρ' ὑμῶν πρεσβείαν, τέως
οὐκ ἡδυνήθημεν αὐτοὺς ἰδεῖν. Ἀναγκαῖα γάρ τις ἡμᾶς ἤπειγεν
ἡ πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους ὁδός· καὶ, ὥς οἴδατε, πρέπει τὴν ψυχὴν,
καθαρὰν οὖσαν ἀπὸ πάσης φροντίδος, τὰ περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ νόμου
διαγυμνάζειν. Τοιγαρὺν τοὺς ἐπισκόπους ἐκελεύσαμεν ἐν
τῇ Ἀδριανουπόλει ἐκδέξασθαι τὴν ἡμετέραν ἐπάνοδον, ἵνα,
ἐπειδὴν πάντα καλῶς διατεθῇ τὰ δημόσια, τότε λοιπὸν ἅπερ
ἂν ὑποβάλωσιν ἀκοῦσαι καὶ δοκιμάσαι δυνηθῶμεν. Τῇ μέντοι

DE SYNODIS. στεῖρρότητι ὑμῶν μὴ βαρὺ φαινέσθω, ὥστε ἐκδέξασθαι τὴν αὐτῶν ἐπάνοδον, ἵνα ἐπειδὴν ἐπανεέλθωσι κομίζοντες ὑμῖν τὰς ἡμετέρας ἀποκρίσεις, δυνηθῇτε εἰς πέρας ἀγαγεῖν τὰ πρὸς τὴν λυσιτέλειαν ἀνήκοντα τῇ καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ.

(Letter of
Constantinus
to the
Council.)

Ταῦτα ἐδέξαντο οἱ ἐπίσκοποι, ἐπαγομένων τριῶν.

Ἀντίγραφον τῶν ἐπισκόπων.

(Reply of
Council.)
Soc. ii. 37.
Theod. ii. 20.

Τὰ γράμματα τῆς σῆς φιλανθρωπίας ἐδεξάμεθα, κύριε θεοφιλέστατε βασιλεῦ, τὰ περιέχοντα διὰ τὴν δημοσίῳ ἀνάγκῃ τέως μὴ δεδυνῆσθαι σε τοὺς ἡμετέρους πρέσβεις θεωρῆσαι ἡμᾶς τε κελεύεις ἐκδέξασθαι τὴν αὐτῶν ἐπάνοδον, ἕως ἂν τὰ παρ' ἡμῶν ὀρισθέντα ἀκολουθῶς τοῖς προγόνοις ἡμῶν ἐπιγνῶ παρ' αὐτῶν ἡ σὴ εὐσέβεια. Ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν διὰ τούτων τῶν γραμμάτων ὁμολογοῦμεν καὶ διαβεβαιούμεθα, μηδαμῶς ἡμᾶς ἀναχωρεῖν τῆς ἡμετέρας προθέσεως· τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ τοῖς πρεσβῦσιν ἡμῶν ἐνετειλάμεθα. Ἀξιοῦμεν τοίνυν ὅπως γαληναῖα τῇ προσόψει τὰ τε νῦν γράμματα τῆς ἡμετέρας μετριότητος κελύσης ἀναγνωσθῆναι· ἀλλὰ γὰρ κάκεινα, ἃ διὰ τῶν πρεσβέων ἡμῶν ἐνετειλάμεθα, ἡδέως ὑποδέξῃ. Ἐκεῖνο μέντοι συνορᾷ μεθ' ἡμῶν καὶ ἡ σὴ ἡμερότης, ὅση νῦν ἐστὶ λύπη καὶ κατήφεια, ὅτι ἐν τοῖς σοῖς μακαριωτάτοις καιροῖς τοσαῦται ἐκκλησὶαι χωρὶς ἐπισκόπων εἰσὶ· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πάλιν τὴν σὴν φιλανθρωπίαν ἀξιοῦμεν, κύριε θεοφιλέστατε βασιλεῦ, ὅπως πρὸ τῆς τραχύτητος τῶν χειμῶνων, εἴπερ ἀρέσειε τῇ σῇ εὐσεβείᾳ, κελύσης ἡμᾶς εἰς τὰς ἡμετέρας ἐκκλησίας ἐπανελθεῖν, ὑπὲρ τοῦ δύνασθαι ἡμᾶς τῷ παντοκράtori Θεῷ, καὶ τῷ Δεσπότῃ καὶ Σωτῆρι ἡμῶν Χριστῷ, τῷ Υἱῷ αὐτοῦ τῷ μονογενεῖ, ὑπὲρ τῆς σῆς βασιλείας, τὰς ἐθίμους εὐχὰς μετὰ τῶν λαῶν ἀποπληροῦν, καθὼς καὶ αἱ ἐπετελέσαμεν, καὶ νῦν ποιοῦμεν εὐχόμενοι.

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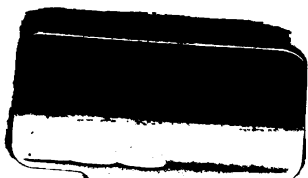




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